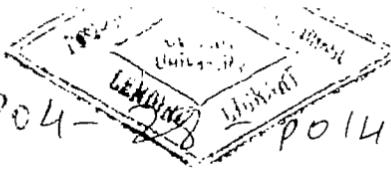


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THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL
REVIEW

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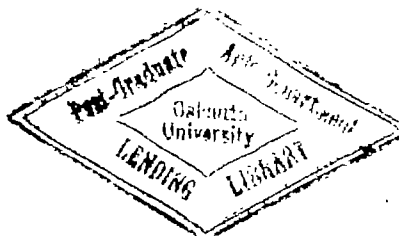
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While these field operations are going on, the headquarters in America must be developed as the focus upon which shall converge the growing evidence collected by these expeditions in the field. This American centre must be able to receive the scientific returns from the field, to study and digest them, and eventually to incorporate them into the available body of knowledge where they may be employed in building up and restoring to us the lost or fragmentary chapters of the early human career. The work of the American headquarters thus eventuates in a task which is essentially historical, and the whole organization, whether in its field operations or its research projects at home, should be regarded as an agency aiming to serve the cause of history.

In the spring of 1920, returning from a rapid survey of the colossal task awaiting the historian in the ancient Near East, I could hardly dare to hope that such an organization as I have suggested above would ever be a human possibility. It seemed much more probable that it would always remain a paper dream, a thing one might draw up in one form or another on neatly typewritten sheets, which would always remain in a drawer of one's desk, keeping company with various other typewritten documents marked: "Plans for the Excavation of Armageddon", or "Plans for an Expedition to Salvage the Inscriptions of Egypt", or "Plans for a Hittite Expedition", or "Notes on the Assyrian Dictionary Project", etc., etc. Some of these briefs continued to look not less attractive on paper because they had lain buried in my desk for a quarter of a century. Would they ever take tangible form?

In the spring of 1919, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., with his customary vision, had agreed to contribute \$10,000 a year for five years, to make possible some preliminary steps leading toward larger operations in the realization of these plans. A year later, on my return from the Near East, the same generous donor promptly raised his annual pledge to \$25,000 a year. It would not be possible within the limits of this address to sketch even in the briefest form the development which has followed. Suffice it to say that the modest organization, consisting at first exclusively of members of the department of Oriental languages at the University of Chicago, beginning work in the spring of 1919 on \$10,000 a year, with a personnel of four or five, was in 1927 operating on a budget of nearly \$300,000 and with a personnel of over fifty, a number which has now risen to sixty people.

It may fairly be expected at this juncture that the Oriental Institute should give some account of its stewardship during these first years of its existence. Beginning chronologically we should first

mention the Prehistoric Survey, an effort to collect systematically the evidences still surviving in the ancient East, which disclose the earliest known stages of human life since man began to be an implement-making creature. Heretofore such work has been haphazard and temporary effort, and only two men, Pitt-Rivers and Schweinfurth, ever attempted anything but surface work on the earliest periods which may be called essentially geological. For this reason it was necessary to secure for this task well-qualified geologists possessing at the same time a sufficient acquaintance with archaeology. Under the direction of Dr. K. S. Sandford of Oxford, assisted by W. J. Arkell, the Prehistoric Survey has now begun its third season in Egypt. The policy which these able young men were asked to follow was to determine the geological structure of the Nile Valley, now very insufficiently understood, and not to collect surface evidence primarily, but to search for human handiwork imbedded in the geological strata and therefore dated in terms of geological periods.

In following out these plans this survey has determined for the first time the southern limit of the prehistoric gulf now called the Nile Valley. It extended some seven hundred miles southward from the Mediterranean, to a point well south of Luxor. In this gulf, which the great river eventually entered, it formed a succession of five terraces, the highest terrace about one hundred and fifty and the lowest some twelve feet above present Nile level. Of these terraces the uppermost is of course the oldest and the others are later, the youngest being at the bottom of the series. This survey has found no evidences of man in the one hundred and fifty-foot terrace; but all the others contain human artifacts, the oldest being at the top in the one hundred-foot terrace. Since the age of the men who lived on this terrace, the river has cut down through the solid rock not only the hundred feet above present Nile level, but also the additional erosion below Nile level, which is a large but uncertain amount and which might vary greatly. While this erosion was going on, the Sahara was a vast, well-watered, and vegetation-covered plateau. Then the rainfall of Northeastern Africa gradually decreased, reducing the drainage and resulting erosion in the Nile Valley. The rate of erosion therefore must have declined. The age of these prehistoric men of the terraces is measured here by two natural processes, the desiccation of Northeastern Africa and the erosion of the Nile Valley. The geologists are reluctant to estimate the length of these processes in terms of years, but it is hardly likely that their length was less than several hundred thousand years.

In any case this Prehistoric Survey has found the oldest human remains ever discovered in the Near East. In this connection it

should be mentioned that the survey has also found the first geologically dated human handiwork along the African shore of the Red Sea. As soon as the general framework of prehistoric human development in Northeastern Africa has been determined, it is intended to transfer the work of the survey to Western Asia, especially to the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates, where no such researches have ever been carried on.

Within the historic age so-called, the Oriental Institute's work in Egypt has been chiefly devoted to salvaging written documents already known, but now perishing without having ever been adequately copied or studied. At Medinet Habu opposite Luxor, there is an enormous temple whose walls are covered with written and pictorial records which reveal the earliest emergence of Europe in the military and political arena of the ancient Near East early in the twelfth century, B.C. It is exactly a century ago that Champollion, the great decipherer, first visited this temple, and with a draughtsman or two and a few ladders, began an effort to save the inscriptions it bears. It was an effort which calls forth our unbounded admiration, and we view the results of his work today with reverence and gratitude. It was not the fault of Champollion that in his day *accurate* epigraphy was entirely unknown. Indeed we may say that in Champollion's generation the science of epigraphy had not yet been born. Even at the present day the accurate reproduction of ancient inscriptions is hardly a generation old, a statement which may easily be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to examine the copies of inscriptions published in the earlier instalments of the *Latin Corpus*. The history of research in Egypt since Champollion's day has been largely a tale of excavation, and while this work of excavation has been enormously valuable, it has overshadowed the more important responsibility for saving the written records already above ground.

At the temple of Medinet Habu, therefore, the Oriental Institute has erected two permanent buildings, containing living quarters, work-rooms, photographic laboratory, and not least the first scientific library in Upper Egypt. The library building is the gift of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, while the books and a permanent endowment for its maintenance were contributed by the General Education Board. At this headquarters, under the direction of Dr. Harold H. Nelson, a corps of epigraphers and draughtsmen, assisted by the best possible modern photographic devices and equipment, are saving the wall records of the Medinet Habu temple. They will be published by the Oriental Institute at heavy cost in five or possibly six folio volumes, and the first of these volumes, which went to the printer last spring, should appear in the course of 1929.

The work of this Epigraphic Expedition has been expanded to include also the architecture of the temple as a beginning of a greatly needed Architectural Survey of Egypt. This new undertaking has involved the Institute in the excavation of the Medinet Habu buildings, especially the elaborate palace which was erected as an adjoining royal residence, really incorporated into the architecture of the temple itself. This excavation, conducted by Professor Uvo Hoelscher, has for the first time disclosed to us the details of a royal dwelling with five apartments, that of the Pharaoh, another for his queen, and three closely adjoining apartments, one for each of three ladies of the harem. Each of these apartments was supplied with a bath, and the equipment for water supply and drainage is still largely in place, although the palace was erected about 1200 B.C. It is greatly hoped that the excavation of the adjoining royal offices may disclose official records, perhaps written on papyrus. The Institute is planning to continue this architectural survey throughout the whole of Egypt.

It is also expected that the work of inscription salvage will continue, and it is planned to extend it as soon as possible to the opposite shore of the Nile to include the colossal temple of Karnak. This enormous building will demand the work of a great expedition for years; but the effort must pass on to other buildings and continue until all the written records of the Nile have been saved for science.

Some of these have already reached the national museum in Cairo, but the scientific staff of the Cairo Museum is too heavily burdened with administration to undertake the publication of the vast body of written records which the museum now includes. The largest group of written documents awaiting study in the museum is a great series of wooden coffins, bearing certain enormously ancient religious texts written in ink on their interior walls. In some cases a single coffin contains as many as five or six hundred lines of writing. The coffins are usually built of massive cedar planks, drawn from the forests of Lebanon a thousand years or more before Solomon purchased his timber there for the temple at Jerusalem; for, as written in the coffins, these Coffin Texts, as we call them, are for the most part over four thousand years old, and the ancient sources from which they were copied into the coffins were probably much older. The coffins themselves begin to contain these texts in the twenty-third century B.C. Written in black ink, if they have been well protected, these texts are as legible today as when they were first written; but unfortunately they have often suffered damage and decay, even after they have reached the museum. In the great majority of cases the work of copying is therefore exceedingly difficult and laborious. Neverthe-

The

American Historical Review

THE NEW CRUSADE¹

THE definition of history which recognizes it as a record of human experience is perhaps the one now most widely accepted. Those definitions which have affirmed it to be chiefly an affair of the state have themselves passed into the limbo of historical evidences for the incredible lack of imagination displayed by some earlier historians—a lack the more extraordinary when one considers the wide prospect of human activity already surveyed by Voltaire in his *Les Moeurs*. If Europe was slow to recognize a broader definition of history after Voltaire had showed the way, America was still slower. The work of Riehl, of Gustav Freitag, and above all, of Burckhardt, in revealing the whole range of human life as a symmetrical whole, and in conceiving such a disclosure of it as the real responsibility of history, was, as we all know, already having a powerful influence in Germany by 1850, that is two generations ago; but notwithstanding the extraordinary work of Parkman, the historians of America were more than a generation behind in recognizing "*Kulturgeschichte*", the history of civilization, as the very life-blood of history.

This slowness of the New World to discern that the very substance of human development lies in those processes which only the history of civilization can set forth, is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the conquest of the New World, consisting as it did so largely in that tremendous drama of the subjugation of the wilderness, was itself a chapter of human experience which could be successfully depicted only by the methods and the inclusiveness of the history of civilization, as Parkman had so powerfully shown. We of America are especially fitted to visualize and to understand the marvellous transformation of a wilderness into a land of splendid cities. But it is obvious that our fathers, whose efforts have planted these

¹ Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 28, 1928. The paper contains some quotations, not indicated as such, from the writer's convocation address entitled "The New Past", published in the University of Chicago *Record*, Oct., 1920; and also from his article in *Scribner's Magazine*, Nov., 1928.

great and prosperous cities along the once lonely trails of our own broad land, received all the fundamentals of civilization as a heritage from their European ancestors. There was an age, however, when the transition from savagery to civilization, with all its impressive outward manifestations in art and architecture, took place *for the first time*. It is the recognition of history as a record of human experience which has inevitably resulted in the inclusion of this conquest of civilization within the framework of a complete human history.

This appearance of civilization *for the first time* is the most remarkable event in the history of the universe, in so far as it is known to us. It has been shown by the palaeontologists that there were several manlike creatures, physically the equals and rivals of the earliest man himself; but the advance in brain power and the expansion of the forebrain, where the faculties of correlation and coördination reside—this advance which enabled one of these creatures to rise from bestial degradation and savagery to the conquest of civilized life, was an unprecedented occurrence in the evolution of life on our planet. Perhaps following Wallace, one of the leading astronomers of modern times has recently suggested that the culmination of evolution in human life on our planet may still remain without a parallel throughout the universe. In any case, in so far as our knowledge of the universe carries us, the advent of civilization for the first time on our globe represents the highest ascent of the life processes to which evolution had anywhere attained.

It is therefore of fundamental importance to determine where this marvellous process took place, and I believe that the materials for settling this question are already in our hands. Today the traveller on the Nile enters a wonderland at whose gates rise the colossal pyramids of which he has had visions perhaps from earliest childhood. As he ascends the river he sees expanding behind palm-fringed shores vast temple precincts, to which avenues of sphinxes lead up from the shore, dominated by the mighty shafts of tall obelisks and stately colonnades. But it does not commonly occur to the traveller that, just as in America, so there on the Nile *the wilderness preceded all this*. Where those vast monuments of stone now rise, once stretched the tangled jungle of the Nile canyon, pathless for thousands of years save where the hunter's winding trail led down through the rustling reeds to the water's edge.

Here it was then that the prehistoric hunter, whose instinct for self-expression had been for ages quite content to ply the flint graving tool in carving symmetrical lines of game beasts along the ivory handle of a stone dagger, was transformed by fifty generations of social evolution into a royal architect, launching great bodies of or-

ganized craftsmen upon the quarries of the Nile cliffs, and summoning thence stately and rhythmic colonnades, imposing temples, and a vast rampart of pyramids, the greatest tombs ever erected by the hand of man, and the first great superstructures of masonry in any country.

Rarely does the modern pilgrim in Egypt realize that there was no civilized ancestry from whom the prehistoric Nile-dweller might receive this inheritance of culture. For example, there was no hewn stone architecture anywhere on earth when the pyramids of Gizeh arose. In their own deepening experience and broadening vision we must find the magic which transformed those primitive hunters and their little settlements of wattle huts into a great society dominated by masterful men of grandly spacious imagination, of imposing monumental vision, whose prodigal hands, stripping off the shackles of tradition, transformed the one-time jungle into a marvellous home of the first known civilization and scattered its mighty monuments far up and down the river. He who knows the story of the transition from the prehistoric hunters of the Nile jungle to the sovereigns and statesmen, the architects, engineers, and craftsmen of a great organized society, which wrought these monumental wonders along the Nile at a time when all Europe was still living in stone-age barbarism, and there was none to teach a civilization of the past—he who knows all this knows the story of *the first rise of civilization anywhere on the globe.*

To the present writer a careful study of the facts now available seems to leave no doubt that civilization was born at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean. The recent disclosures in Babylonia, especially the remarkable discoveries at Ur, have not furnished conclusive evidence for establishing the remote dates which have been assigned to them. It is quite clear that the valley of the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, lay so far toward the north as to be immediately under the southern fringes of the Armenian ice-sheet in the glacial age. Prehistoric Assyria was thus exposed to the northern cold as well as to the ravages of the glacial floods, and with the Persian Gulf at that time extending inland as far north as the latitude of the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean, the alluvial plain known as early Babylonia had not yet been formed in an age when Egypt, protected by the Mediterranean from the rigors of the European Ice Age, was already rapidly out-distancing all her rivals in the advance toward civilization. By 3000 B.C. the art of Egypt was so ripe and so far advanced that it is surprising to find any student of early culture proposing that the crude contemporary art of the early Babylonians is the product of a civilization earlier than that of the

Nile. There is but little room for doubt that Egypt led the way in the creation of the earliest known group of civilizations which arose on both sides of the land bridge between Africa and Eurasia in the fourth millennium B.C.

The important fact is the existence of such a civilized world at a time when Europe still lay in stone-age barbarism. In that earliest civilized world lay the roots of the civilization which our ancestors transplanted to the Western Hemisphere.

This recognition of the earlier human background, now so obvious to us, did not come all at once, for the inclusion of history itself in university instruction is an event less than two centuries old. The man who first gave history a recognized place in science was an *ancient historian*. It was Berthold Niebuhr who first grasped the fundamentals of Roman history in terms of human life as he found it all around him little more than a century ago. His studies of the course of Roman affairs are the first investigations of the career of a people, carried on with sound methods, and it is these methods of an ancient historian, clarified and improved as time went on, which have lifted history to its present recognized place among modern sciences. It is perhaps no accident that Berthold Niebuhr's father, Carsten Niebuhr, was an Orientalist and an explorer of the ancient lands of the East. Associated with such studies from his earliest childhood, the younger Niebuhr's imagination was kindled by the tales his father told him of the older lands lying behind Greece and Rome. We are therefore able to understand that in 1829, only seven years after the decipherment of Egyptian by Champollion and twenty years before the decipherment of cuneiform writing by Rawlinson, Berthold Niebuhr ventured a prophecy that Nineveh would arise as the Pompeii of Western Asia, and that Assyrian civilization would not lack its Champollion. Thus it happened that in the hands of a specialist in *ancient history*, and furthermore in the closest contact with ancient *Oriental history*, the modern study of history was first developed as a methodically pursued scientific discipline.

It is the more remarkable therefore, that over half a century later, in undertaking his universal history begun in 1880, Ranke regarded the origins of society as no longer recoverable and the civilizations of the ancient Near East as wholly unconnected with the main stream of history. Only twenty years later, just at the close of the nineteenth century, Sir Arthur Evans began his epoch-making researches in Crete, which revealed early Cretan culture as the vital link between the civilization of Egypt and that of Southeastern Europe. Evans himself recognized the fact in these memorable words: "Ancient Egypt itself can no longer be regarded as something apart from gen-

eral human history." While this was true of Egypt, it has now become equally true of Western Asia, especially of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. In the intercontinental region enfolding the eastern end of the Mediterranean, a group of civilized nations developed for ages before the rise of European culture and formed the earliest known civilized world. On the borders of this earliest civilized world of Egypt and Western Asia lay for some two thousand years the wilderness of savage Europe, stretching far westward to the Atlantic, untouched by civilization except at its southeastern corner, where the Greek islands looked southeastward to the mouths of the Nile and eastward toward Hittite Asia Minor. The fruits of thousands of years of human experience, garnered in the ancient Near East, thus passed easily and inevitably into the European wilderness. Today it is easy to survey in its main outlines the gradual emergence of Europe from prehistoric savagery, as the light of civilization, dawning slowly in the Southeast, after 3000 B.C., passed gradually westward across all Europe, till its further westward advance was halted for many centuries by the broad barrier of the Atlantic.

There are spots in Europe today where chance has brought strangely near together and left lying side by side the relics of the earliest prehistoric savages and the evidences of so-called modern civilization—the earliest and the latest points in the observable human career. The soil of the battle-scarred hills overlooking the river Somme in northern France is thickly strewn with fragments of steel shells which have penetrated deeply into the slopes and natural terraces made by the river ages ago. Today, when the great guns are silent, a few minutes' work with a shovel will uncover lying together in the gravels along the brow of the valley the flint fist-hatchet, the earliest surviving weapon of man, and the jagged fragments of the modern explosive steel shell. There they lie as you unearth them, side by side, the flint fist-hatchet and the steel shell fragment, and the whole sweep of human history lies between them—a story of at least several hundred thousand years.

It is this conception of the unity of the human career which is perhaps the greatest achievement of historical study, since it gained a place analogous to that of natural science. For with the recognition of this unity we carry back the study of man into the geological ages from which he has emerged, and we link up human development with the unfolding of lower forms of life on our planet. We historians thus take our places side by side with the natural scientists, and while not claiming for our field the precision of method or result obtainable in a natural science, we are nevertheless taking up the process of evolution where the natural scientists leave it, and in following the

upward course of the developing life of man we are tracing later stages of that same development which natural science has disclosed. And what more inspiring task than to follow that tremendous transformation by which the primitive forest of the stone-age savage has at last given way to the modern forest of factory chimneys.

The recognition of this imposing synthesis lays upon us historians a grave responsibility, but it is a responsibility which has emerged so recently that we have hardly become aware of it. How many historians have we in America who contemplate the human career as a whole? Or in doing so, how many have we had who have realized where the greatest body of evidence revealing the past of man still lies unsalvaged and unstudied? It is now a century and a quarter since the preliminary reports of Napoleon's corps of savants revealed to the civilized West the vast extent of the surviving human records in the Nile Valley alone. Over a century ago Champollion's great achievement of 1822 first enabled us to read those records of the Nile, and over a quarter of a century later, about 1850, Rawlinson penetrated the mystery of cuneiform. It has long been obvious that those two remarkable achievements pushed back the field of historical research on the basis of written documents almost three thousand years. Are we able to say that the historians of the Western World have stepped forward to occupy this new field?

It has been from the beginning a twofold task, requiring first the salvaging of the available evidence, and second its laborious interpretation and incorporation into the body of recognized knowledge. It is a remarkable fact, and I think also a regrettable fact, that the historians have left the salvaging of this evidence entirely to the archaeologists. Even so gifted an investigator as Burckhardt, when he came to picture Greek culture, using the same methods which have made his *Culture of the Renaissance* a universal classic, seemed unaware of the fact that a great body of Greek inscriptions revealed by exploration and excavation formed new sources of evidence without which his studies would be hopelessly obsolete. In contrast with this attitude is of course the unconquerable energy of Mommsen in pushing the work of the great *Corpus* of the Latin inscriptions, and the parallel enterprise which is bringing together the Greek inscriptions, although the leadership of the latter project has not been chiefly in the hands of the historians. The more familiar classic discipline, long entrenched in the great universities, and strongly represented in the European academies by men of outstanding ability, has led to a full realization of the historian's responsibility to save from destruction the perishing evidences, and especially the *written* records of Greek and Roman civilization.

In the more recently disclosed field of history in the ancient Near East, however, there has been no such sense of responsibility displayed by historians either in Europe or America. The preliminary work of salvaging the evidence in the field has been left practically exclusively to the archaeologists and philologists in the universities and museums. Such efforts in the field have consisted of temporary expeditions, sometimes nothing more than a university teacher's sabbatic year's leave of absence. I well remember my first experience in the ancient East as a wandering pedagogue on an advance six months' leave of absence. It is now thirty-four years ago that I rode up and stood for the first time under the shadow of the vast temple of Medinet Habu opposite Luxor—a building with its enormous wall-surfaces covered with uncopied and unstudied historical records. There were thousands of square feet of these original sources. An inventory of my equipment for meeting this situation was as follows:

transportation 1 donkey on hire for the day, browsing near by;
stationery 1 pocket note-book;
photography 1 tiny Kodak hand-camera;
supplies 1 basket lunch and 2 bottles of water;
time three-quarters of a day;
family resources 1 wife newly acquired, also browsing near by.

Such a situation would be fantastically ludicrous if it were not so pathetically futile. Today as I look back upon it, I can not but continually contrast it with our present headquarters at the same temple, with two large buildings including a scientific library, an elaborate graphic and photographic equipment, a non-native personnel of thirteen people, besides a staff of some fifty native servants and overseers, and a gang of several hundred native laborers.

But this transformation is a very recent matter. Nearly a quarter of a century later, when, in the summer of 1920, I returned from a year's absence, much of it spent in the Near East, the outlook was not promising. The exhaustion following the World War, and the post-war problems which knocked at our doors with imperious insistence, absorbed all the time and energy of our historians. Even now the historians of America have little time or interest to devote to the Ancient World, and much more was this the fact in the years immediately following the war. In that same summer of 1920 I wrote the following paragraph:

The great centers of human life in the ancient world, the mighty cities and capitals of Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, the region where the earliest civilized societies arose out of savagery and barbarism to bring civilization to barbarian Europe—

all these treasuries of human records which are rapidly perishing in the whole region about the eastern end of the Mediterranean lie there silently awaiting the spade of the excavator. I have seen the ruined capitals of the ancient East slumbering under their gloomy mounds at sunset, and many a time as the sun arose and dispelled the shadows it has seemed as if the banished life that once ebbed and flowed through those now dismantled and rubbish-covered streets must start forth again, till with a regret so poignant that it was almost physical pain I have realized the years that must elapse before these silent mounds can be made to speak again and reveal all the splendid pageant of their marvelous past.

It was obvious that neither the itinerant pedagogue on his sabbatical "Wanderjahr", nor the casual archaeological expedition supported for a time by some museum or university could cope with a situation like this. Mommsen's far-seeing plan for collecting the Latin inscriptions in one great *Corpus*, while he at first greatly underestimated the magnitude of the still unfinished task, was nevertheless from the first conceived as a project which must go on until all Latin records of this kind had been saved. What was true for Mommsen and his colleagues in salvaging the records of the Roman World, must be equally true for the historian who conscientiously faces his responsibility in the study of the ancient Oriental World. But what a colossal responsibility! The surviving remains in Egypt alone probably exceed in bulk all those of the combined Ancient World outside of the Nile Valley; and to this we must add the enormous extent of the surviving documents of Western Asia.

It is appalling to behold these priceless memorials of man's past rapidly perishing with every passing year. The monuments of the ancient East are calling for a New Crusade, and the task of saving them for science is the greatest responsibility confronting the historian anywhere in the whole range of historical research. In the present writer's judgment, it is a responsibility which can be successfully met, as far as America is concerned, only by some permanent agency organized as a headquarters from which can be despatched a whole series of carefully organized expeditions working at the same time and side by side, but each one investigating and salvaging the remains of one great civilization. The central organization here in America, like the unified command in the World War, must be able to keep these expeditions systematically operating in correlation with each other along the whole scientific frontier, which stretches in the Near East from the Black Sea on the north around the eastern end of the Mediterranean to the Upper Nile in the south—a front some 2000 miles long, which bends eastward in its centre to include Assyria and Babylonia, together with Persia and its neighbors.

less their peculiar importance is ample compensation for the labor of copying; for in these writings we find emerging for the first time a new revelation, which was dawning upon the minds of these men of over four thousand years ago: the belief that felicity in the life beyond the grave will be reserved for those who have lived a morally worthy life on earth. In these documents therefore we have the earliest known evidence that man has discovered a realm of ethical values, a new arena of human achievement—the conquest of self, a victory higher than that of purely material conquest such as we find in those colossal royal tombs which we call the pyramids. By such purely material agencies as these titanic husks of masonry, in which they enveloped their royal bodies, the earlier pharaohs had sought to ensure purely physical survival; but after a lapse of five or six centuries which had revealed the futility of merely physical survival, we find in the Coffin Texts the dawning consciousness that worthy character will be the sole basis of survival and happiness after death.

Under the able editorship of Dr. Alan H. Gardiner of London, assisted by Dr. A. de Buck, the Oriental Institute has for six years past been engaged in copying and saving these texts. The coffins are taken to pieces in a large gallery in the Cairo Museum, the planks are set up on tables and photographed, and the hand copies, which contain much that is lost in a photograph, are carefully made and conscientiously checked. Another season will see the great Cairo series completed. The coffins in the European museums are also very nearly finished, and the few remaining in America can probably be completed in a single winter's work. Then the laborious task of editing, translating, and publication will begin—a task of several years, for the copies comprise many thousand lines of text. When the publication is completed, we shall at last be in a position to understand the famous Egyptian Book of the Dead, which is very largely built up from the Coffin Texts; but the text of the Book of the Dead has been so corrupted by careless scribes that, in spite of the fact that several translations into English exist, much of it is at present quite unintelligible.

As I have elsewhere said, such sources as the Coffin Texts disclose to us the fact that the Nile Valley was being transformed from a battlefield of purely material conquests into an arena of social forces which disclose the emergence of conscience and the earliest known cry for social justice, later to be taken up and sounded far down the ages by the greatest prophets of the ancient East, Egyptian, Hebrew, Christian, and Moslem. At the same time other researches of the Institute are revealing man's earliest ability to contemplate rationally the visible world about him, and disregarding the shackles of inherited

belief in demoniacal medicine, to make a rational effort to penetrate the mysteries of the human body. In the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, the earliest known treatise on surgery, and at present the earliest known scientific discussion, the Institute is about to publish a document copied in the seventeenth century B.C., but without doubt a thousand years older. This extraordinary treatise reveals the fact that man's earliest ability to divest his mind of theological tradition and to contemplate the world from a rational point of view, is already discernible at least a millennium before the rise of Greek civilization introduced the complete emancipation of the human mind.

It will be observed that in such researches as the Coffin Texts project and the study of this surgical treatise, the Institute is disclosing the gradual unfolding of ancient human life in all directions, as the earlier, purely material conquests created a stabler social situation, in which permanence and stability of institutions offered the human spirit the opportunity and the stimulus, the security and the leisure, for the development of those new and intangible values of which the life of man had never before been aware.

Reference has already been made to the heavy burden of administrative work carried by the staff of the national museum of Egypt—a burden which led the Oriental Institute to undertake the publication of the great body of Coffin Texts preserved in that museum. This situation with regard to the staff, together with the manifest insufficiency of the present museum building, became increasingly evident as the work on the Coffin Texts proceeded, and eventually led to an effort to make outside aid available. It was under these circumstances that Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., made his proffer of a gift of ten million dollars for a new museum at Cairo and for the maintenance of an adequate scientific staff. In making the offer of this magnificent gift, the greatest ever placed at the disposition of humanistic and historical research, Mr. Rockefeller asked only for officially guaranteed assurances that the new museum would be administered for a term of years by a staff sufficiently large and scientifically competent. The gift was never refused, as has been commonly stated by the press, but after a reasonable lapse of time, lacking the indispensable assurances for which he asked, Mr. Rockefeller withdrew his offer of the gift.

It has been one of the purposes of the Institute from the first to do all in its power to see that the enormous body of original documents of every kind, already salvaged in the Near East, should be properly housed and protected in modern museum buildings where they may be subjected to the needed processes of physical conservation, installed, and exhibited as far as may be useful and instructive

to the public, and above all exhaustively studied, published, and thus made accessible to scientists all over the civilized world. It was in pursuance of this policy that the Institute has done what it could in this direction in Egypt. As we turn now to take up the work of the Institute in Western Asia, it is gratifying to report more satisfactory results in Palestine, where Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr.'s gift of two million dollars will for the first time enable the Palestine government properly to house, preserve, exhibit, and study the memorials of a land whose past is more cherished and revered than the past of any other land. The new museum building will occupy a noble site just outside the walls of Jerusalem at the northeast corner of the city, where it will command an impressive prospect of the Temple Mount, the city walls, and the Mount of Olives. The architectural plans are about completed and the building will be ready for occupancy in 1930.

The Institute has realized from the first the vital importance of effective attention to Western Asia, where the amount of evidence to be salvaged is overwhelming. So large has been the volume of cuneiform documents, the innumerable multitude of clay tablet writings, that it has ceased to be possible for the individual scholar to keep abreast of the new materials. Every published instalment of new records has brought with it a list of unfamiliar words, which the cuneiform scholars have never seen before, and of which they often do not know the meaning. In the earlier days of cuneiform research each scholar kept his card catalogue of such new words, forming his own personally compiled dictionary. The day has long since passed when the strength and time of the individual scholar were equal to this task. Six years ago, therefore, the Oriental Institute organized a staff of collaborators consisting chiefly of graduate students and doctors of the University of Chicago, and under the editorship of Dr. D. D. Luckenbill, then professor of Assyriology in the same institution, the work of compiling a comprehensive dictionary of the ancient Assyrian language was begun. The plan was to file every occurrence of each word together with its context—a method so successfully followed in the production of the great Murray Dictionary of the English language at Oxford, and also by the Egyptian Dictionary at Berlin, a project which has been going on for over thirty years. Our Assyrian Dictionary materials at present contain nearly six hundred and seventy-five thousand alphabetically filed cards, a block of material which probably represents somewhat more than two-thirds of the available cuneiform sources. In this work we shall have when completed the first Assyrian dictionary to be based on all the known cuneiform documents. After Dr. Luckenbill's lamented death in June, 1927, Dr. Edward Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania

was called as his successor, and Dr. Chiera is now in charge of this great dictionary task.

The work of the Institute in Western Asia, however, has not been confined to home projects carried on here in America. Already in its first winter's work in 1919-1920, the preliminary reconnaissance of the Institute in Western Asia included a hazardous expedition along the Middle Euphrates, which resulted in salvaging a group of wall paintings, the oldest of which date from the first century of the Christian era, and prove to be the first, and thus far the only known surviving Oriental ancestors of Byzantine painting. The later paintings of the group belong to the third century of our era. They reveal to us a group of Roman soldiers at worship, led by their garrison commander. These are the easternmost representations of Roman legionaries ever found, and the great fortress of Dûra-Europos, which contains the paintings, has been disclosed by further excavation as a Hellenistic foundation which is furnishing priceless evidences of the commingling of East and West in that cosmopolitan age.

In 1925, by the generous aid of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., the Institute was able to begin the excavation of the historic site of Armageddon (Megiddo), the powerful stronghold of central Palestine which was so often the strategic centre of power between Asia and Africa. The commodious house which this expedition has erected at Armageddon serves as the headquarters of the Oriental Institute in Western Asia. Begun under the leadership of Dr. Clarence S. Fisher as field director, the work has been continued under Mr. P. L. O. Guy. The task of salvaging all the evidence in this enormous mound will consume years of labor. At present the excavations have passed down through four levels, and the lowermost of these seems to be a city of King Solomon. Its clearance has disclosed a series of stables, in interesting confirmation of the Book of Kings, which tells us of Solomon's use of Armageddon as a centre of his horse-marketing operations. While the walls of the building are mostly gone, the massive stone piers which supported the roof are still in position; they still display the tie-holes where the horses were fastened, and a number of the mangers are still preserved.

The portable monuments discovered include a large number of Egyptian scarabs and other indications of Egyptian influence. Early in the work a massive fragment of a huge stone stela was discovered, bearing the name of the Pharaoh Shishak whom we know from the Book of Kings as the conqueror of Palestine in the tenth century B.C., and whom his own records in Egypt proclaim as having captured Armageddon. At the same time a number of Babylonian

cylinder seals with admirably cut intaglios and cuneiform inscriptions, besides the statue of a Hittite warrior-god, demonstrate the presence of foreign influence on the Asiatic side. We are now beginning to see the streets and houses, and to behold for the first time the town plan of a Solomonian city. For the Jerusalem of Solomon has long since perished, and we are now uncovering an outlying city of his kingdom, where we can make our first observations among the buildings, like the stables we have just mentioned, which were erected in the reign of the most splendid of the Hebrew kings. This field-work is equipped and organized on a permanent basis, and it is expected to continue until all the available evidence in Palestine has been duly salvaged.

Among the northerners whom the Egyptian sculptors have depicted on the walls of our temple at Medinet Habu, we not infrequently find the Hittites. In the ruins of Armageddon we have found the statue of a Hittite warrior-god. During the World War, as is now well known, the researches of Hrozný and Forrer resulted in the decipherment of Hittite cuneiform, revealing a totally new world in which the so-called Hittites are discovered as actors in that great cycle of the Trojan Wars, which have thereby become a well-established sequence of historical events thus disclosed to us in contemporary Hittite sources. We begin to discern the far-reaching Asiatic background in constant contact with which Greek civilization arose. In the investigation of this situation the Oriental Institute is deeply interested.

Three years ago a preliminary exploring expedition sent out by the Institute under H. H. von der Osten as field director, resulted in the discovery of over fifty hitherto unknown Hittite sites, towns, settlements, and cities. On the basis of these observations and with funds contributed by the General Education Board, a mound known as Alishar Hüyük some one hundred and twenty-eight miles east-southeast of Angora was chosen as the first centre of intensive work. Here the excavations under Dr. Erich Schmidt have for two seasons past been revealing for the first time the sequence of evidence to be expected in such a mound, especially the stratigraphically dated pottery, as revealed by the successive strata lying one over the other. No such body of observations has ever been made in a Hittite mound, for no site of Hittite origin has ever been systematically cleared for this purpose. The mound of Alishar therefore is being used as a source for the new and fundamental data which are indispensable to the understanding of the evidence and the dating of the discoveries to

be revealed by future Hittite excavation. Among the materials furnished by this excavation the most notable are, perhaps a series of Hittite bodies, the first ever found, which should therefore reveal to us for the first time the race of the Hittites as determined by the physical anthropologists. These bodies are now in course of investigation by Dr. Fay Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago. It is a pleasure to express here our appreciation of the cordial spirit of co-operation which the officials of the Turkish government have exhibited toward the Oriental Institute since these Hittite researches began.

These Hittite investigations, following closely upon the heels of Hittite decipherment, are now in a stage about like that of Egyptology immediately after the decipherment by Champollion a century ago, when the great decipherer himself was the first professor of the new science of Egyptology. Hittite, however, deciphered as it was during the Great War, has been somewhat slower in developing as a branch of university teaching and research. There has never yet been a professor of Hittite.

Such were the situation and the record of the Oriental Institute in November, 1928, operating almost exclusively on temporary pledges, the latest of which would expire in 1932, and with an endowment of only \$250,000. Was this research laboratory for the study of early man soon to disband its various staffs, forsake its buildings, and cease operations, or could it look forward to permanent operations? This question, a very pressing one a month ago, has now been answered.

I am authorized to announce that the Oriental Institute is now assured a splendid new building, an annual grant which ensures the maintenance of its research projects for the next ten years, and an endowment for teaching which will enable the Institute to call to its ranks a group of the leading Orientalists and historians of the world. These new funds form the larger part of plans for a total endowment of nine and a half million, which will place the Institute and its programme of research and teaching on a permanent basis. Henceforth we shall be able for the first time to look upon the Oriental Institute as a permanent agency, to be employed in meeting this great responsibility for saving and interpreting to the modern world the vast body of perishing human records which still lie scattered far across the distant lands of the ancient Near East.

As a result of this splendid support the Oriental Institute is now able to lay out a programme which will include teaching, research, publication, and a new building. The teaching staff will be compre-

hensive and will include the establishment of the first chair of Hittitology. Investigation in this new science, both at the University of Chicago and in field expeditions, will be carried on as permanent research projects. Among these it is hoped that the Institute may produce the first dictionary of Hittite, in connection with the development of the Assyrian dictionary. At the same time Sumerian, the language which was the first to be written in cuneiform, and which was deciphered a little earlier than Hittite, will also be represented both in the teaching and in the researches carried on at the Institute, and it is therefore planned also to appoint a professor of Sumerian, who will likewise be the first to occupy such a post.

The programme of the Institute, indeed, makes a highly specialized teaching staff indispensable. To man the staffs of its research projects both at home and abroad, it will be called upon to train many of its own personnel. To deal effectively with the great body of cuneiform documents there must therefore be available a cuneiform group including two general Assyriologists, besides the Hittitologist and Sumerologist just mentioned. All of these specialists will devote as much time as possible to the Assyrian dictionary. In Egyptology there must likewise be a substaff of at least two men, one for the later age of Demotic and Coptic and the other for the earlier period of classical Egyptian. Both of these men will be training young recruits for service with the Epigraphic Expedition. In Hebrew and Arabic the present staff of three men now in the department of Oriental languages is sufficient. The above group of nine men will form the philological and interpretative staff of the Institute. To these must be added another group teaching the history of civilization as the researches of the Institute disclose it. This group will necessarily include a teacher of field archaeology and practical field methods; a professor of Oriental history, another of Oriental and Mediterranean archaeology, and finally a professor of Oriental art.

Under these thirteen men and often serving as their assistants and research associates, the Institute will be able to appoint a small and carefully selected group of fellows, each receiving a fellowship of \$2000 a year. Whenever it becomes necessary or useful to send them out to the field for special service with one of the field expeditions, a special fund will make it possible to pay the travelling expenses of these appointees, whether teachers or fellows. Such service will be part of the fellows' training and will often be invaluable to the researches of the teaching members of the Institute; for teaching and research will be so closely associated in the Institute that it will sometimes be difficult to distinguish between them.

Such a programme of combined teaching and research will require an extensive headquarters building here in America. There must in the first place be ample space to receive the large bodies of original monuments and other materials which the field expeditions will be sending in. There must be a laboratory with complete equipment, where they may be put through the preservative processes of physical conservation and then carefully consigned to storage magazines, or installed in museum cases. For the proper exhibition of important and instructive monuments the building must contain a series of large exhibition halls, forming the museum of the Institute. There must also be a group of work-rooms for the study of these materials, and their use in teaching will require class-rooms, seminar rooms, a large lecture hall, and especially a library and reading room, with offices for the two librarians. The Institute is already issuing an extensive series of publications, which will necessitate editorial offices, a draughting room, and a photographic laboratory with photostatic equipment. The business and administrative affairs of such an organization with an income and personnel exceeding those of the average college, will of course also require offices for the administrative staff. This building is now being planned and the ground will be broken within the next few months.

The walls of this first laboratory dedicated to the greatest transition in the whole course of evolutionary development, will not inappropriately rise close beside the imposing new cathedral recently dedicated to the upbuilding of religious life at the University of Chicago. For the disclosures which the researches of the Oriental Institute should bring to the world will contribute to make more clear to all modern men that imposing vista of the human past which saw the emergence of the highest human values, and transformed our father Man from savagery in some remote cavern, where at most he could count five by the aid of his fingers, into a godlike creature who reached out to the stars on those Babylonian plains and made the first computations which have at length enabled us to plumb the vast depths of the universe. It was along with such responses to the visible world of Nature around him in the ancient East that these early men began to look also within and first became conscious of an inner world—a world of new and higher values, the hardly audible whispers of inner impulses about to become the imperious voice of conscience. It was there in the ancient East that the power of character first dawned in the human heart, and with it the realization of social obligations which character lays upon the individual. Here emerge for the first time these fundamentals of enlightened religion

and the basis of the great religions which have since arisen in the ancient Near East.

There are some who have fancied that such investigations, dealing with an immature age, concern man exclusively in his endeavors to appropriate the purely material values of the physical world around him, and that it was not until the advent of the Hebrews and especially of Greek culture that we can follow the aspiring soul of man in such a sense that we are at once conscious of kinship and fellowship with him. In following the life of man in the ancient Orient our sense of kinship and of fellowship with him is strangely enhanced and intensified when we realize that in the lives of these men of the East the capacity for contemplation was emerging for the first time in human experience. The flowering of the human spirit is far older than we have fancied.

I wonder if Spenser realized how old were some of the thoughts which he has phrased so beautifully in the *Faerie Queene*. In the speech of Despair we find the following lines in praise of death, which it is very instructive to place beside the thoughts of an ancient Egyptian Job, who was ruminating on the same subject nearly 2000 years before Christ, that is some 3600 years before Spenser was born.

SPENSER	THE EGYPTIAN JOB
He there does now enjoy eternal rest,	Death is before me today, Like the recovery of a sick man,
Is not short pain well borne that brings long ease, And lays the soul to sleep in quiet grave? Sleep after toil, port after stormy seas, Ease after war, death after life, does greatly please. ²	Like going forth into a garden after sickness Death is before me today, Like the course of the freshet, Like the return of a man from the war-galley to his house.

It was under the burden of suffering and misfortune that early man first gained the capacity to contemplate human life; it was under the shadow of affliction and death that the contemplative life first emerged. Those who have so often quoted Vergil's familiar words, "et haec olim meminisse juvabit", have probably not been aware that the same reflection had been coined in the ancient East 2000 years before Vergil lived, when the Egyptian Sindebad, in telling of his own hardships, exclaimed: "Happy he who tells of his misfortunes after they are past!" It is to this ancient East of our cultural ancestry that we of the Oriental Institute are turning.

The inspiring task which confronts America in the Near East can not be achieved without the aid of a new generation of young

² *Faerie Queene*, IX. 40 ff.

Americans who are willing to spend the years necessary to gain the training and equipment without which we can not hope to meet these new responsibilities which await the historian in the ancient Orient. Such new recruits, both young men and young women, may look forward to a life-work of absorbing interest and of ideal usefulness to science, coupled with a living return for labor achieved. Great opportunities await the young historians in this field. It will be a life of some sacrifices. Those who elect to undertake it must set their faces to the East, feeling a deep reverence for the life of man on the earth and highly resolving to devote their all to this New Crusade. To such spirits it will not be irksome to dwell among the memories of the past; to them the recovery of the unfolding life of man will not be a toilsome task, but rather a joyful quest, the modern quest for the Holy Grail, from which arduous journeys and weary exile in distant lands will not deter us. For in this crusade of modern scientific effort in the ancient Orient, we know what the first crusaders could not yet discern, that we are returning to ancestral shores.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

THE PACT OF OSBORNE

A CONTROVERSIAL EPISODE IN THE MAKING OF RUMANIA

IN the short period between the Congress of Paris and the various incidents that led up to the rupture between Austria and Sardinia in 1859 the chief preoccupation of the Powers of Europe was the question of establishing a new régime for the Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. The decision of the Congress to obtain full information on the subject by appointing an international commission to investigate conditions there and report the results of its findings shows the advance which the Powers had made in handling international problems, while the plan of convoking popular assemblies to express the wishes of the inhabitants was a concession to Napoleon III.'s avowed faith in the principle of nationality. Yet international enterprises, however hopeful in their inception, are rarely able to escape the counter-play of national interest. Austria and Turkey were, for obvious reasons, bitterly opposed to the union of the principalities—the form in which the Rumanian question had first appeared before the Congress—and had assented to the plebiscite only because Great Britain had thrown her support to France and the other Powers in favor of union. Before many months, however, Palmerston and Clarendon were contending that so drastic an innovation would prove too great a menace to the shaky fabric of Ottoman power, and, as a consequence, after the firman of convocation had been issued, the Porte, with Austria's connivance, set to work by fraud and violence to pack the Moldavian divan in the belief that a vote adverse to union in one of the principalities, would invalidate the claim that the provinces themselves really desired this reform. The alteration in British policy coincident as it was with Napoleon's active espousal of union, bade fair to shatter the alliance which had so lately humbled Russia;¹ and, since the international commission had no authority to watch over the elections, the controversy ended in a quarrel among the ambassadors at Constantinople. Thouvenel, the French ambassador, demanded of the Porte that it suspend the electoral preparations in Moldavia, and order a revision of the list of qualified voters. Lord

¹ Much controversy had also taken place over the fixing of the new Russo-Turkish frontier, France throwing her support to Russia, while Great Britain, backed by Austria, upheld the Turkish claims. The question was finally settled by a conference at Paris in January, 1857, but the episode left angry feelings.

Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador, and Baron Prokesch, the Austrian internuncio, took the position, on the other hand, that no intervention of this sort was necessary or desirable, and that the elections should be held. Then the Porte's proposal to suspend matters until London and Paris could reach an agreement was blocked by Stratford; while Thouvenel, on the other hand, refused to consent to a conference of the ambassadors. The multiplicity of telegrams between the cabinets and their ambassadors at Constantinople seemed only to draw Europe deeper into the meshes, and the Porte itself contributed powerfully to the muddle by bending first to the one side, then to the other, in accordance with the apprehensions of the moment. Finally, supported by Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia, the French government instructed Thouvenel to demand immediate annulment of the elections in Moldavia² on threat of severing diplomatic relations, and, since the Porte was still determined, *more suo*, to play for time, the four ambassadors hauled down their flags. Thus the quarrel had reached the dimensions of an international crisis.³

The only practicable settlement of the question lay in the conclusion of some *entente* between the principal antagonists, namely, France and Great Britain. On the part of the former, the question of forcing the Porte to give way to French dictation had become a "point of honor",⁴ but, apart from such temporary "satisfaction", Napoleon was not unwilling to seek a basis for an accommodation.⁵

² The elections had finally taken place, July 19-21, and resulted, of course, in a separatist victory, though most of the unionists who were privileged to vote had absented themselves from the polls.

³ For a fuller account of this controversy, see the writer's "Concert of Europe and Moldavia in 1857", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII. 227 ff.

⁴ Thouvenel, *Trois Années de la Question d'Orient*, p. 150; Cowley to Clarendon, Aug. 4, 1857, F.O. 78: 1201, no. 1120, etc. After the Porte had failed to persuade Thouvenel to let the quarrel be referred to a conference at Paris, the Sultan thought to appease the French by making a scapegoat of Reshid Pasha, the grand vizier—a solution to which France naturally could not subscribe without, as Walewski expressed it, "exposing herself to the reproach of following in Turkey a personal policy" (Walewski to Persigny, Aug. 3, 1857, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 84), and though Thouvenel seems actually to have instigated Reshid's fall, Walewski later expressed his disapproval of such a course (Cowley to Clarendon, Oct. 4, 1857, F.O. 27: 1204; no. 1382).

⁵ It is a rather singular fact that, while at first the frauds in Moldavia had formed the basis of French action, the chief issue soon became the question whether, in accordance with a decision of the ambassadors and the Porte on May 30, the electoral regulations should be identically applied in both principalities. Then the course of events shifted the ground of the controversy to the matter of delaying the elections and finally to the question of immediate annulment. The propriety of holding an honest plebiscite seldom finds a place in the discussion, and even the question of union, which was at bottom the actual stake, was almost completely ignored. Clarendon himself showed singular ineptitude when he de-

With Great Britain, the question of *amour-propre* was perhaps less national than personal, since Palmerston was not accustomed to accept defeat in a diplomatic battle; yet a disposition to leave matters to Stratford, whose experience was invaluable, but whose arrogance was notorious, had largely contributed to bring about the present *impasse*. The fact that Stratford had undoubtedly incurred his government's displeasure by his high-handed conduct⁶ was now, it would seem, a slight inducement to concession; the fact also that the British ministers were forced against their will to acknowledge that the elections might be open to serious scrutiny⁷ would seem to suggest a rational reopening of the question. Yet the consciousness of being in a false position does not usually prove a sedative to angry feelings. Clarendon made much of Thouvenel's refusal to attend a conference,⁸ and Palmerston wrote letters to Persigny, the French ambassador at London, which so exasperated Napoleon that he refused to allow any more to be given him to read.⁹ Only gradually it seemed to dawn on both sides that neither was sufficiently clear on what had occurred to carry on the debate with any prospect of a peaceful issue. There was no chance of an adjustment unless the two Powers cut through the mass of controversial detail, with which telegrams and despatches were congested, and sought to examine the question *vis-à-vis* on a fairly restricted basis. Matters had gone too far, indeed, for either side to win a decisive victory. Fortunately, too, neither Power was willing to wreck an alliance which had lately fathered an international settlement. And, finally, the sudden news of the Great Mutiny stunned the British public into a realization that the question of the principalities was to England of relatively little concern. Palmerston

plored the fact that the Powers should come to the brink of war over the question of whether persons with mortgaged property should or should not vote in Moldavia (Persigny to Walewski, July 20, 1857, *Aff. Étr., Angleterre*, vol. 708, no. 63). So complicated had the situation become that the Vienna *Oesterdeutsche Post* (Aug. 9) really wondered if there were any other recourse than war.

⁶ See Riker, *op. cit.* Yet Palmerston's letters to Persigny (*Aff. Étr., Angleterre*, vol. 708) show that there was no disposition to make a scapegoat of Stratford, who was loyally and consistently sustained against Thouvenel.

⁷ In a last overture before the rupture at Constantinople Clarendon had suggested that the whole question might come before a meeting of the ambassadors, when "all alleged grievances could be brought to light" (Persigny to Walewski, July 30, 1857, *ibid.*, no. 67). In response to a question later in the House of Lords, Clarendon admitted "*prima facie* proof of irregularity" (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., CXLVII. 1529). Though the British commissioner in the principalities had admitted that scandals had occurred, Stratford had consistently ignored or made light of the charges; hence the truth was only beginning to impress itself upon the British ministers.

⁸ Persigny to Walewski, Aug. 2, 1857, *Aff. Étr., Angleterre*, vol. 708, no. 69.

⁹ Émile Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral*, III. 415.

had already incurred sharp criticism from the opposition papers for his handling of the Eastern Question.¹⁰ If his government could retreat with some degree of dignity, there was every chance that Great Britain, at least, would welcome an escape from a predicament which her own vacillation and the effrontery of her ambassador had combined to bring about. It only remained for France, who had forced the issue, to make the first move.

The magnanimity of Napoleon III. was quite equal to the occasion, and no doubt he had the sagacity to believe that momentary concessions would not appreciably alter the final result. As far back as May he had meditated a visit to the Queen of England,¹¹ and now the execution of this plan might serve a practical purpose. So on August 6 the emperor's party arrived at Osborne on the Isle of Wight to enjoy a few days' hospitality at the "summer palace". Having already an esteem for both emperor and empress, the queen and prince consort had no difficulty in making themselves agreeable, and Victoria testified later to her satisfaction with the visit. Napoleon and Albert enjoyed two discussions of the international situation, and, though they did not agree on all points, there was no trace of any rancor, as far as may be judged from the prince's own narrative.¹² When it came to be a question of settling the pending crisis, the British royalties, mindful of their constitutional position, withdrew themselves from the picture. Both Palmerston and Clarendon had come to Osborne for the practical objects of the meeting, and Napoleon had with him his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Walewski. On August 9 an agreement was definitely reached, and, to all appearances, a reconciliation was effected.

We have little evidence on the course of the debate which led to the agreement. The decisive session had taken place, we are told, on the night of the seventh, and did not break up until two in the morning.¹³ According to Walewski, the British ministers were duly enlightened upon the frauds which had been perpetrated in Moldavia, and, though they had hoped at first that France would not insist upon an annulment of the elections, the two statesmen, on finding Napoleon

¹⁰ More particularly the *Press* and the *Saturday Review*. The *Times*, though not opposed to the government, was very caustic on Stratford's part in the imbroglio.

¹¹ Sir Theodore Martin, *Life of the Prince Consort*, IV. 53-54. Persigny had made a special effort, it seems, to persuade Napoleon to try to come to better terms with England.

¹² *Ibid.*, ch. LXXIX.

¹³ Vitzthum, *St. Petersburg and London*, I. 225; Walewski also announced the decision in part in a letter to Thouvenel the next day. *Actes et Documents relatifs à la Régénération de la Roumanie*, ed. Petrescu, Sturdza, and Sturdza, vol. V., no. 1671.

obdurate, and being unable to prove that the elections had been "equally conducted", had finally, albeit reluctantly, given way.¹⁴ Clarendon told Count Apponyi, the Austrian ambassador, that Napoleon was very much exasperated against the Turks, expressing doubt upon the stability of the Ottoman Empire, and affirming that "the Christian Powers would have played a fine rôle, if they had chased them out of Europe, and pushed them back into Asia"; that the British ministers had then convinced him that the existence of the Ottoman Empire was a necessity for the equilibrium of Europe, and that the day of its downfall would be the harbinger of a general European war.¹⁵ These two accounts can only be said to supplement each other, but it is natural that each side should dwell upon the reluctance of the other to give way. One is unable to guess whether the grounds for compromise were readily grasped, or not.

Of more importance is the question as to what was really decided; for there was no signed convention, and we have several versions of the Pact of Osborne, which can not be entirely reconciled. On the nature of the British concession, there is no conflicting evidence. Great Britain was to request Austria to join her in demanding of the Porte that the Moldavian elections be immediately annulled and new electoral lists be prepared on the basis of the interpretation of the firman that had already been adopted in Wallachia. The impression, which the French wished later to create, was that this decision bore no relation to the concession that they themselves had made;¹⁶ but such a view is inconsistent with common-sense. The French did concede something—there are statements of Walewski to prove it—and it is impossible to suppose that the British government would have accepted defeat in a diplomatic battle without being assured of compensation. "Voyant que la France plaçait la question d'amour-propre en première ligne", said Clarendon to Apponyi, "nous avons pensé qu'il valait mieux sacrifier la forme pour obtenir le fond, et nous avons proposé de conseiller unanimement au Sultan l'annulation des élections et la rectification des listes électorales, à condition que la France renonçât complètement à l'idée de l'union politique des Prin-

¹⁴ Cowley to Clarendon, Aug. 15, 1857, F.O. 27: 1202, no. 1144. Walewski wrote the French minister at Turin (Aug. 13) that, "les explications que nous avons échangées en édifiant Lord Palmerston et Lord Clarendon sur plusieurs points dont ils n'avaient qu'une connaissance imparfaite, ont conduit les deux ministres à reconnaître que la sincérité des élections qui ont eu lieu en Moldavie pouvait être contestée". *Aff. Étr., Sardaigne*, vol. 342, no. 29.

¹⁵ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, 1857, *Staatsarchiv* (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E.

¹⁶ Walewski to Thouvenel, Aug. 21 and Sept. 3, 1857, *Actes et Documents*, vol. V., nos. 1717 and 1750.

cipautés.”¹⁷ In contradiction to this alleged statement of Clarendon’s, we have Walewski’s protest that one of his letters proves, “combien on serait peu fondé à prétendre que nous avons dû renoncer à la manière dont nous avons toujours envisagé la réunion des provinces Dannubiennes, pour obtenir l’acquiescement du gouvernement anglais à l’annulation des élections moldaves”.¹⁸ One might almost suppose from this that Walewski was actually denying that France had renounced the idea of union (namely, union under a single prince), which she had steadily advocated. But the statement was probably made in order to minimize the notion of reciprocal concessions.

We are thus brought to the question of just what France did concede. Albert’s biographer tells us that the prince persuaded Palmerston and Clarendon to draft a memorandum of the agreement and present it to Walewski for his signature—provided, of course, the French were satisfied with its accuracy. That portion of the memorandum which treats of the French concession runs as follows:

Secondly, it is agreed that, in the deliberations to be held at Paris by the Congress to which the Report of the Commissioners at Bucharest and the representations of the divans of Wallachia and Moldavia are to be submitted it shall be the endeavour of the French and British governments, on the one hand to secure the suzerainté [*sic*] of the Sultan over the Danubian Principalities, and, on the other hand, to assure to those Provinces an internal organization calculated to maintain their ancient privileges, and to promote their well-being and prosperity. For this purpose it is agreed to be desirable that the two Provinces shall have similar organic institutions, and that, while retaining their separate governments, they should have a common system in regard to all matters, civil and military, to which such a community of system can advantageously be established.¹⁹

When this document was presented to Walewski, he is said to have assented to its veracity, but refused to sign it on the ground that his government wished to keep the satisfaction to be obtained from the Porte distinct from the arrangements to be made for the principalities, and he did not wish it to appear that France had paid a price for the Porte’s humiliation.²⁰ In this reasoning we can perhaps imagine the ground of France’s desire to represent the concessions, when they should become known, as entirely unrelated, but one could hardly suppose that any one could be so dull as not to perceive the truth. Moreover, why did the absence of a signature affect the moral strength of the bargain? Baron Hübner, the Austrian ambassador

¹⁷ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E.

¹⁸ Walewski to Thouvenel, Sept. 3, *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1750.

¹⁹ Memorandum, Aug. 9, 1857. F.O. 93: 67x, no. 19.

²⁰ Martin, *op. cit.*, IV. 114.

at Paris, says that Lord Cowley, his British colleague, showed him a copy of the memorandum which Walewski had signed;²¹ but there is no such copy to be found in the British archives, and what is officially regarded as the original document certainly bears no signature.²² Moreover, investigation shows that the statement of Albert's biographer rests, almost word for word, on a memorandum in the royal archives at Windsor, dated August 10, 1856, and signed by the initial "C", accompanying a letter of Clarendon to the queen, August 20. Another reason for Walewski's refusal will be presently suggested.

The version which Walewski himself gives of the Pact of Osborne—at least the one which he penned immediately afterward—is contained in a letter to the French ambassador at Vienna, Baron Bourqueney.²³ The part pertaining to France's obligation is as follows:

Nous avons dû, comme de raison, une fois le présent réglé, nous préoccuper de l'avenir, et tout me fait espérer d'après les conversations échangées à Osborne, que nous nous entendrons sur la conduite à tenir au congrès de Paris quant à l'organisation définitive. Le terrain de ces transactions sera celui d'une large union administrative, qui, à nos yeux au moins, pourra être le prélude d'une union complète. Rien de définitif ni de précis n'a été déterminé; mais nous avons dit au Gouvernement anglais, après qu'il nous a eu manifesté sa disposition d'agir dans notre sens à Constantinople, ce que nous étions décidés à lui dire, sans l'incident de la rupture, (et) c'est que nous avons toujours eu l'intention de chercher à nous entendre et à nous mettre d'accord au moyen de concessions mutuelles, et que, si l'union complète et avec un prince étranger, combinaison que nous trouvions la meilleure, rencontrait de trop grandes difficultés, nous étions prêts à modifier nos vues, afin d'éviter un désaccord avec nos alliés.

Pour le moment, toutefois, il ne saurait nous convenir, de peur de fausses interprétations, de discuter les bases d'une entente quelconque; il faut d'abord que la Commission finisse son travail, que les Divans se prononcent, et, lorsque la Conférence de Paris se réunira, nous arrêterons d'une manière plus précise, avec le Gouvernement anglais, la combinaison à laquelle nous pourrions nous rallier.

Now, it will be perceived that Walewski declares that the groundwork of the new organization for the principalities is to be a "broad administrative union", though nothing more precise had been decided upon for the present. He says nothing of two separate hospodars

²¹ Hübner, *Neuf Ans de Souvenirs d'un Ambassadeur d'Autriche à Paris sous le Second Empire, 1851-1859*, II. 45.

²² Neither does the copy which Cowley sent to Lord Malmesbury in June, 1858, for the purpose of enlightening the new Tory Cabinet.

²³ Walewski to Bourqueney, Aug. 9, 1857, Aff. Étr., Autriche, vol. 468, f. 276 ff. This letter bears the note: "Cette lettre a été communiquée avant d'être expédiée à Lord Palmerston et à Lord Clarendon, qui en ont approuvé tous les termes comme reproduisant fidèlement l'accord qui s'est établi à Osborne entre eux d'une part et M. le Comte de Walewski de l'autre."

(though such may be implied); and he seems to want to weaken the force of what he has said by affirming that no bases of an understanding were discussed. If the language of the British memorandum is rather ponderous, that of the French account is a marvel of succinctness! The following year, when the Conference of Paris met to concert a definite plan, France did not insist on the mergence of the principalities, notwithstanding her professed preference for it,²⁴ but Walewski told Cowley that at Osborne he had insisted on the "principle of legislative union", and that "this was not objected to".²⁵ Is that what is meant by a "broad administrative union"? Is that what the British meant by a "common system in regard to *all* matters *civil* and military"? If we are to place any credit in the version which Hübner gives, as proceeding from Walewski himself, "*les deux Principautés auront une organisation, militaire, douanière et judiciaire en commun, mais il y aura deux gouvernements et deux hospodars, comme par le passé*".²⁶ This is also admitted in a memorandum, drawn up some time in August by the French Foreign Office, which, in view of prospective opposition to union at the forthcoming Congress, assumes the necessity of a plan that "shall have, as its basis, a sort of association, founded on uniform institutions, permitting the two provinces to organize a single army, and to establish a customs line, and facilitating, in general, the adoption of such other measures, as might, to advantage, be adopted by both principalities"; and it goes on to say that the system, thus proposed, envisages the maintenance of "two hospodars", rather than a single head or, in other words, union.²⁷ The whole tone of this document indicates that France was reconciled to this arrangement for the present. Such a scheme might well be called a "broad administrative union". Such was what Cowley understood his government to mean, and such was the basis which the British successfully maintained at the Conference of Paris in 1858. One is tempted to believe that Walewski, in seeking to include in the agreement an acceptance of "legislative union", was trying to take advantage of a change of ministries in England, and the degree of accuracy with which information on the Pact of Osborne could be obtained. In any event, France had, for the present, abandoned union, as the term was then applied.

There was also one further condition of the Pact, on which both the French and British versions are agreed. For the present at least,

²⁴ See protocol no. 1 of the conférences: *British and Foreign State Papers*, XLVIII. 81-85.

²⁵ Cowley to Malmesbury, June 4, 1858, F.O. 27: 1251, no. 593.

²⁶ Hübner, *op. cit.*, II. 43.

²⁷ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1740.

the substance of the agreement was to remain secret,²⁸ partly because the Powers were supposed not to commit themselves as to the new arrangements until the Commission's report had been received²⁹ (there is here the suggestion of an intrigue against the spirit of the Treaty of Paris), and partly in order that Napoleon might break the news gently to his friends that he had reversed himself by a secret agreement behind their backs.³⁰ This may well have been the cause of Walewski's refusal to sign the British memorandum. If some one divulged the secret, France could, if she chose, deny that any such agreement had been made.

But in all of Walewski's shambling, there is nothing more curious than his long withholding from Thouvenel the fundamental facts of the Pact of Osborne. The French ambassador had been allowed by his government to wait at his post after severing diplomatic relations, and, oddly enough, before any feature of the Pact was known, the Porte had signified its willingness to annul the elections.³¹ While some incidental matters were under discussion, however, the news came that France and Great Britain had reached an agreement.³² Thouvenel received a telegram from Walewski, dated August 8 (the day before the Pact was finally consummated), announcing that Great Britain would advise Turkey to submit to the French demand, and, as soon as the annulment should be granted, he was to resume diplomatic relations with the Porte.³³ It was not till August 14 that Walewski mentioned the question of union, and then he merely stated (in a confidential despatch) that he had told the Powers which had supported France in the recent crisis that "an exchange of general ideas" had taken place at Osborne, but "nothing precise had been decided".³⁴ Thus kept in the dark about the real truth of the transaction, Thouvenel was amazed to hear it said by various persons that France had completely abandoned union. His Russian colleague even made a point of quizzing him on the ground of the rumor that he had heard, and the French ambassador, while able to convince him of his own good faith, or rather, ignorance of the matter, was obliged to complain to Walewski that "the confidence which sustained and

²⁸ Walewski to Bourqueney, Aug. 9, 1857; Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12; Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, F.O. 78: 1249, no. 740.

²⁹ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, 1857.

³⁰ Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, 1857. Napoleon had also stated, according to Clarendon, that "il s'était trop avancé pour abandonner d'un seul coup les principes qu'il avait ouvertement professés jusqu'à présent".

³¹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1683; Bulwer to Clarendon, Aug. 15, 1857, telegram, F.O. 78: 1282.

³² *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1683.

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 1671.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1694.

re-enforced our common action during the crisis has been shaken, and I suffer in not being able to re-establish it". Simultaneously the city was filled with rumors of the abandonment of union, and Stratford assumed a "mysterious air", as though there was much that he might tell, if he should choose.³⁵ Why Walewski should have kept the ambassador in the dark is quite incomprehensible, unless he really wished him to be in a position to show an unassumed ignorance of the bargain, thereby to quiet the suspicions of the embassies. At all events, it was not until August 21 that he hinted at the real truth of the matter;³⁶ and it is no great wonder that Thouvenel remarked to a friend upon the "enigma of Osborne", and questioned whether his government really knew its own mind.³⁷ Who had, meanwhile, divulged the secret, we do not know. The Turkish ambassador at London had telegraphed the whole story to his government, and explicitly counselled secrecy;³⁸ but it is not hard to imagine that there were many opportunities for a "leak" in Turkish official circles. Interestingly enough, the episode reacted unpleasantly on Walewski himself. "The Emperor might, if he chose", wrote Clarendon to Stratford, "declare himself absolved from his engagement, but his minister confines himself to denying that any such engagement has been taken, and he has, moreover, been led to adopt this course with reference (*sic*) to the humiliating position in which the French ambassador has been placed in consequence of our instruction not having been at once acted upon."³⁹

This brings us to mention another curious feature of the tangle. Clarendon had telegraphed Stratford on August 10, acquainting him with the substance of the bargain at Osborne, and adding that Austria had been asked to concur in putting the demand before the Sultan.⁴⁰ Stratford acknowledged this telegram on the twelfth, stating that, as he was not ordered to act at once, he presumed that he was expected to wait for Austria's reply, and he then proceeded to expatiate upon the ill-effects of such a move, which, among other things, would establish the "ascendency of France".⁴¹ Clarendon accordingly replied that the advantages of the agreement seemed to outweigh the disadvantages, and added: "It is, however, very important that the Turkish government should do what we are going to recommend, and

³⁵ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1708.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1717. The hint was, even then, merely conveyed in a denial of the truth.

³⁷ Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

³⁸ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., nos. 1679, 1680.

³⁹ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 25, telegram, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, Aug. 10, *ibid.*

⁴¹ Stratford to Clarendon, Aug. 12, telegram, F.O. 78: 1269.

we rely on your zeal and ability for persuading it to do so.”⁴² Stratford said later that he “was led to expect some further or more precise instructions”,⁴³ and he replied to Clarendon on August 19 that, as the Porte had asked the Turkish ambassador at London for more definite information, he “did not feel at liberty to take any steps beyond the conclusion of the Osborne agreement until [I am] honored with further instructions”.⁴⁴ It is certain that Vienna had sent orders to the internuncio, August 15, to join Stratford in putting the demand before the Porte,⁴⁵ and Stratford was fully aware of this fact; yet he allowed his government’s want of precision and the pretext of the Sultan’s hesitation to deter him from taking the step which was absolutely essential for ending the crisis—a step, which, moreover, was obviously intended. Clarendon expressed his surprise rather brusquely in a telegram of August 20, and bade him act at once.⁴⁶ “What are we to do”, remarked the *Times*, “with a refractory ambassador? France and England are now perfectly agreed on the Danubian Principalities question, the countries are agreed, the sovereigns are agreed, and everybody is satisfied, but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe will not consent. If this is not a strong case of *ego et Rex meus*, it is at any rate ultra-patriotism.”⁴⁷ It is, no doubt, often rather embarrassing for an ambassador to know more than his government about a question in dispute!

It is not astonishing, under the circumstances, that the patience of the French was sorely tried. On learning from Thouvenel that no active step had been taken to bring the Porte to book, Walewski had telegraphed him, August 18, that, if annulment were not granted in three days, he should telegraph the fact, and would probably then be ordered to quit his post.⁴⁸ Clarendon did his best to pacify France,⁴⁹ and expressed to Apponyi his indignation at Stratford’s behavior.⁵⁰ Fortunately both London and Paris were anxious to avoid a new

⁴² Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 13, telegram, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴³ Stratford to Clarendon, Aug. 26, F.O. 78: 1269, no. 756. It might occur to the reader that Stratford might, conceivably, have been misled by a private letter from Clarendon; but no such letter is to be found in the unpublished Stratford-Canning papers at the Public Record Office, and the ambassador himself bases his arguments on the telegrams he received.

⁴⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, Aug. 19, F.O. 78: 1269, no. 738. One wonders why this explanation was not telegraphed.

⁴⁵ Buol’s instructions to Prokesch, dated Aug. 15, are found in *Staatsarchiv* (Vienna), xii: 61.

⁴⁶ Clarendon to Stratford, Aug. 20, F.O. 78: 1249.

⁴⁷ Sept. 8, editorial.

⁴⁸ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., nos. 1709 and 1710.

⁴⁹ Persigny to Walewski, Aug. 21, *Aff. Étr.*, Angleterre, vol. 708, no. 72.

⁵⁰ Apponyi to Buol, Sept. 8, *Staatsarchiv* (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 59 A.

rupture; and when Stratford and Prokesch finally bestirred themselves, and the Porte announced to Thouvenel that the elections were annulled,⁵¹ the four ambassadors who had broken with the Porte resumed diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had the unpleasant task of extricating himself from the tangle which he had knowingly brought upon himself by reversing his position without consulting his allies. Clarendon had been not a little surprised that he had treated them as "satellites, submitted blindly to his will".⁵² Yet the evidence seems to show that even the dignity of a power may on occasions prove elastic; and Walewski's cryptic language had, at least, the merit of success. To St. Petersburg and Turin he wrote that France had not decided on a basis of organization for the principalities, as she had told Great Britain that she could not act without her allies, though she was ready, of course, to enter upon "reciprocal concessions".⁵³ Gorchakoff seemed a little puzzled at what was meant by "reciprocal concessions", but he was obliging enough not to ask embarrassing questions,⁵⁴ and Cavour, who was ready to follow Napoleon in anything, seems to have ignored the hoax completely. Only Prussia was slightly sullen at first, having been goaded, it seems, by Austrian gibes that France had wantonly let her down;⁵⁵ yet she, also, had cogent reasons for retaining Napoleon's friendship;⁵⁶ and the French ambassador was soon able to report that she, too, had pronounced her "satisfaction".⁵⁷ It is probably an evidence of the striking prestige which Napoleon III. enjoyed in Europe in 1857 that, in spite of the awkward diplomacy of his minister, France stood forth as the promoter of a common programme, the pivot, for the moment, of international politics, and, in a sense, the arbiter of Europe.⁵⁸

⁵¹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1720.

⁵² Apponyi to Buol, Aug. 12, Staatsarchiv (Vienna), viii: 48, no. 55 A-E. Benedetti, who was then director of political affairs in the department of foreign affairs at Paris, also remarked upon the *docilité* of these Powers, but concluded that they had been satisfied to see the other side fail of their point, and were anxious not to aggravate the present crisis. Thouvenel, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁵³ Walewski to Baudin, Aug. 19, Aff. Étr., Russie, vol. 214, no. 60; Walewski to Gramont, Aug. 13, *ibid.*, Sardaigne, vol. 342, no. 29; similarly to Prussia in telegram to Belcastel, Aug. 13.

⁵⁴ Baudin to Walewski, Aug. 24, *ibid.*, Russie, vol. 215, no. 38.

⁵⁵ Belcastel to Walewski, Aug. 14, *ibid.*, Prusse, vol. 330, no. 6.

⁵⁶ It was Napoleon, who had been chiefly responsible for gratifying Prussia's wish to participate in the Congress of Paris and to be represented on the international commission in the principalities. He had also thrown his support to Prussia in a controversy with Switzerland in 1856 over Neuchâtel.

⁵⁷ Belcastel to Walewski, Aug. 22, Aff. Étr., Prusse, vol. 330, no. 60.

⁵⁸ Napoleon may be said to have completed his triumph by an interview with his quondam enemy, the Tsar, at Stuttgart in September. There seems to be no

The Pact of Osborne was not a masterpiece of diplomacy, but it undoubtedly cleared the air, and, unlike the average compromise, it seemed to leave behind no angry feelings. As so often, however, when governments have wandered from the straight road, and have to find it again by groping, the agreement was not wholly creditable to either party. Great Britain, despite her earlier contention that the Powers should not prejudice the Rumanian question but wait until all the evidence was presented, had extorted, as the price of her willingness to allow a fair election in Moldavia, a basis of negotiation which might not accord either with the expressed wish of the principalities or with the report of the Commission. France, in order to procure immediate redress for the Moldo-Wallachians (perhaps, more accurately, in order to sustain a "point of honor") had bartered their ultimate fate, besides betraying the Powers which had previously followed her lead. Yet a compromise has frequently no importance beyond the attainment of an immediate object. Napoleon must have been shrewd enough to see that the question was not yet settled; and the conduct of France, when the international conference met in 1858, showed that the emperor meant to stretch the meaning of the Pact to allow as near an approximation to union as the Powers would then permit; more than that, he was plainly showing the Moldo-Wallachians that France was still the champion of their cause. "Nous tendons toujours vers le même but", Walewski had written on August 17, 1857; "mais nous avons toujours eu l'intention de nous prêter à des concessions, qui, en ajournant le succès, ne le rendront que plus certain".⁵⁹ Napoleon had really won the essential thing when he obtained a new election in Moldavia. The overwhelming sentiment of the principalities in favor of union must constitute a moral argument, to which the Powers, one and all, would eventually have to yield.⁶⁰

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archival evidence, however, to support the statement of Débidour (*Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe*, II. 172) that France, in return for a free hand in Italy, promised not to abandon the principalities. Débidour also wrongly places the interview in July.

⁵⁹ *Actes et Doc.*, vol. V., no. 1704.

⁶⁰ It will be recalled that in 1859 the principalities brought about a personal union by both electing the same individual as hospodar, and that the Powers not only ratified this *fait accompli*, but subsequently allowed the complete fusion of the provinces.

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE LIBERTY PARTY

IN a review of Theodore Clarke Smith's *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, about thirty years ago, the Honorable George W. Julian expressed the hope that a similar study might be made for the Middle States and New England.¹ The hope has been long deferred, and it may be doubted if such a study would at that time have been profitable. With the more recent interest in economic influences upon history, and, in particular, upon the history of events leading to the Civil War, the matter assumes a somewhat different aspect. Examined in the light of its economic background, the Liberty party takes on new interest. The process which brought the party into existence is better understood, the story of its struggle for recognition is considerably enlivened, and the reasons for its decline, if it may justly be said to have declined, are more clearly discerned when account is taken of the economic circumstances of the time.

The history of abolition, from the organization of the first of the great anti-slavery societies in 1833² to the formation of the Liberty party in 1840,³ is a story of simple procedure and of exalted ideals. There was much that was substantial and constructive in the activities of this period, and there was much that was impractical and visionary. It is the special merit of the abolitionists that they worked out, in the early 'thirties, the classical doctrines of the anti-slavery movement, doctrines usually associated with the political leaders of the last decade before the Civil War. Little remained to be added in later years to the view set out by William Goodell, in 1835. "The struggle is between the antagonistic principles of free and slave labor. They can not much longer coexist. One must prevail to the destruction of the other. The laborers of America will either be free or enslaved. The laborers at the south will be free, or the laborers at the north will lose their freedom. . . ." ⁴

Distinctly less practical was the belief of the early abolitionists that to accomplish the emancipation of the slaves it was necessary only to awaken the religious sentiment of the South,⁵ or, as it was

¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, IV. 180.

² American Anti-Slavery Society, organized in Philadelphia, December, 1833.

³ The date of the first Presidential campaign in which the party participated is taken for convenience.

⁴ From the *Emancipator* (Boston) of December, 1835.

⁵ *Philanthropist* (Cincinnati), Dec. 30, 1836, and Apr. 30, 1839.

sometimes less happily said, to bring the South up to the level of the North. Moral suasion was relied on as the best means of promoting the work. Carnal weapons were not to be employed, but only those which were spiritual and "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds".⁶ There was to be no party organization, no scramble for offices, no fight at the polls.⁷ The only form of political action endorsed by the early abolitionist was that of persuading men to right political action. Dependence for ultimate success was, in good abolitionist phrase, "mainly on the blessings of the Almighty".⁸

The later 'thirties witnessed important modifications in the programme of the abolitionists. Humanitarian interest in the effect of slavery upon the slave was not forgotten, but the effect of slavery upon the North became a matter of active concern. Anti-slavery men thought they saw in the South a combination of pro-slavery interests, which, with the aid of Northern politicians, dominated the national government. This aggressive force they called the slave power,⁹ later the slavocracy,¹⁰ and still later, marking commendable progress in invective, the cottonocracy. Abolitionists were presently to explain that they were driven from the high moral position which they at first occupied and were forced into politics by the aggressions of the slave power, aggressions which included, among other things, a movement toward the annexation of Texas and the maintenance of a policy "injurious to the interests of industry, to the stability of credit, and to the progress of improvement"¹¹ in the Northern states. The political force of the slave power was to be met by political force and not by moral suasion. In popular phrase moral suasion was to be expressed in the "terse rhetoric of the ballot box". Terse rhetoric was not the strong point of the abolitionist, but the phrase doubtless produced an agreeable impression upon his mind.

Abolitionists were not of one mind concerning the formation of a party, and the opposition of those who were averse to party strife was not lacking in vigor. It was perhaps inevitable that the advocates of political action should triumph, but they were aided in a marked

⁶ Report of the Committee on Political Action, Third Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, May 30, 1838, *Philanthropist*, June 12, 1838.

⁷ *The Voice of Freedom*, monthly continuation of the *Emancipator*, May, 1836.

⁸ *Philanthropist*, June 11, 1839.

⁹ The popular view of the slave power is well stated by C. S. Boucher, "In re that Aggressive Slavocracy", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VIII. 13-79.

¹⁰ Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *Philanthropist*, remarks, Feb. 11, 1840, "the word has lately come into use, among some of our friends . . .".

¹¹ Address of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, Albany, N. Y., July 31, 1839, in the *Philanthropist*, Sept. 17, 1839; similarly, the discussion in the Essex County, Mass., Liberty Convention, *Free American*, Sept. 2, 1841; and in numerous other conventions.

degree by the economic distress which spread over the country following the panic of 1837. Political abolitionists made effective use of "hard times" and labored zealously to fasten upon slavery the responsibility for them. Through the medium of speeches, editorials, tracts, resolutions of conventions, and published addresses to voters they repeated, with infinite variations, the story of the wrongs visited by a spendthrift, slaveholding South upon a frugal, industrious, and unsuspecting free-labor North. The propaganda was conducted with energy, and aside from the immediate effect of convincing the impractical and irresolute that a party was necessary, it was destined to have a distinct effect upon the aim and spirit of the abolition movement itself.

The fourth annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in New York City, May 9, 1837, was the first of the annual meetings to take account of the economic distress in the North and to fix the responsibility upon slavery. "The commercial world", said the annual report of the executive committee, "is now passing into one of those collapses which never fail to succeed an overblown system of credit. The scramble for wealth has probably been rendered more than usually ardent and headlong by the general peace which has existed since the last great man-tiger was caged at Waterloo." The South had plunged heavily in the production of cotton, and "Northern merchants, anxious to partake the rich plunder", had "offered their aid to the whip-wielding power". "They have furnished their capital for the extension of slave labor, and have been permitted to reap great profit from the carrying trade. Madly hastening to be richer, they have outbid each other in long credits, to secure Southern custom, till the South, like all well-trusted and prodigal customers, has squandered her own means and theirs, and they are left in the lurch." The South had sought in the last few years "to help her failing fortunes by the necromancy of banking", and had "thus set her slave system into the most feverish and fearful activity. In the State of Mississippi alone, the bank circulation is said to be not less than \$60,000,000, while the paid capital is but \$10,000,000, and the specie but \$2,000,000. . . . But with all this abundance of money, the State is mortgaged to Northern merchants, who have advanced for crops that are yet to be planted. The same state of things exists, in a greater or less degree, through the whole cotton-growing South".¹² Northern merchants must have found the report cheerless as to prospect of collection.

¹² *Fourth Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (New York, 1837), pp. 50-51. The statements agree in the main with Alexander Trotter, *Observations on the Financial Position and Credit of such of the States of the*

Slavery is the rule of violence and arbitrary will, and not of reason or law. It would be quite in character both with its theory and practice, as exhibited at the South, if the slave-drivers should refuse to pay their debts, and meet the sheriff with dirk and pistol. In a country where hanging without trial is justified by the highest authority—the body of the people—it is hardly to be expected that the sacredness of contracts can be very deeply felt. Should Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, subject the claims of our merchants to their favorite “Lynch law”, it will have the good effect, at least, to cool their ardor in the defence of “the peculiar institutions of the South”.¹³

The report obviously reflects as much prejudice as scientific analysis, but its conclusions are unmistakable—money had been lost, the slave system was responsible, and the prospect of recovering anything was poor. Birney, with characteristic reasonableness, selected for the *Philanthropist* this motto: “We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.” The spiritual distress of 1836 was rapidly giving place to another kind. The new kind was borne with less equanimity.

At the seventh annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in May, 1840, the connection between slavery and “hard times” was an accepted fact. It was assumed that: “Slavery must be destroyed, or the agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing and commercial interests of the country must perish.” The society resolved: “That the existence of Slavery is the grand cause of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country; and that no real or permanent relief is to be expected by the establishment of a national bank or sub-treasury, until the total abolition of that execrable system.” The annual report of the executive committee found some consolation in the fact that: “The hard times, which have so deeply embarrassed the Committee, have yet been doing our work, by compelling a reluctant people to look at the commercial and political bearing of slavery.”¹⁴ Merchants and bankers still under the spell of Southern trade and politicians dependent on Southern support might assign other reasons for the distress into which the industrial centres and farming areas had fallen, but the abolitionists were satisfied with their own analysis. In the language of Elizur Wright, “the industrious north had trusted the slack-twisted financial honor of the south, and it failed”.¹⁵ This theme promised to be more useful than the

North American Union as Have Contracted Public Debts (London, 1839), pp. 305-312, 322-332; and with William M. Gouge, *The Fiscal History of Texas* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 66.

¹³ *Fourth Annual Report* of the Am. Anti-Slavery Soc., p. 52.

¹⁴ *Seventh Annual Report* of the Am. Anti-Slavery Soc. (New York, 1840), pp. 13-14, 53.

¹⁵ Elizur Wright, *Myron Holley; and What He Did for Liberty and True Religion* (Boston, 1882), p. 300.

wrongs of the slave or even the menace to the personal liberties of the freemen of the North.

One of the most widely circulated and most influential documents employed by political abolitionists in their effort to form a party was an address on the "Financial Power of Slavery", written by Joshua Leavitt, editor of the *Emancipator*, and one of the ablest of abolitionists. This paper is described by the author as, "the substance of some remarks made at different times and places during a late tour in Ohio". Leavitt had become convinced that an abolition party was necessary, and his tour in Ohio, in 1840, was a part of his untiring effort to popularize the idea that resistance to slavery must come to the ballot box. His remarks appear to have been grouped under two main headings, the "Political Power of Slavery" and the "Financial Power of Slavery". In the first of these he set out, with abundant illustration, the already accepted view of a slave power dominant in Congress and in other branches of the national government. The "Financial Power of Slavery" dealt with the less well-recognized influence of slavery upon the material prosperity of the Northern states. Brief quotations only can be made.¹⁸

Go among the merchants or the manufacturers, and you will find one complaining of his ten thousand, and another of his hundred thousand, and another of his two or five hundred thousand dollars of southern debts. He would get along very well now, if it were not for that southern debt. And behind every one of these stands another class, who have sold goods, or lent money, or given their endorsement to others that have trusted their all to the South, and now cannot pay. And behind these another class, and another, and another, until there is hardly a remote hamlet in the free States that has not been directly or indirectly drained of its available capital by the southern debt.

The capital of the North as naturally flows to the South as water runs down hill. . . . Eighty years ago, a great statesman, in the British Parliament, laid it down as an axiom in political economy, that planters are always in debt. The system of society in a slave holding community is such as to lead to the contraction of debt, which the system itself does not furnish the means of paying, and which must, therefore, be wiped off by periodical bankruptcies. The ill economy of slave labor is seen in a thousand particulars, the wastefulness of the slaves is exceeded only by the extravagance of the masters, while the social *rank* (!) which is generally conceded to him who exercises power over his fellow-men, is a passport to credit. . . . The sense of obligation to pay debts is essentially different between people who always live on the earnings of the poor, and those who have nothing but what they have earned by their own industry. The effect is, that in our commercial revulsions, there is a general calculation that the bulk of indebtedness from the free States will be paid, and that the bulk of the slave debt will be lost. The free

¹⁸ Quotations from the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841.

expect to pay their debts, if it takes years of toil and self-denial; the slave holder likes to pay debts if it is convenient, but to work and save to pay an old debt enters not into his thoughts.

Two things were necessary, in Leavitt's opinion, for, "the deliverance of the free industry of the North from this intolerable burthen, of supporting slavery and enduring these perilous revulsions and bankruptcies". One was "to develop the true nature of slavery, as an element of our domestic fiscal economy, so that our merchants and manufacturers will understand the danger of carrying on a southern trade". The other was to offer "direct resistance to the political domination of the Slave Power". Leavitt thought both commerce and slavery were intimately mixed with politics, and that political influence tended to maintain the commercial delusion that the South was the source of wealth and that Southern trade was indispensable. His conclusion was: "We shall never get the commercial community to read or to think on the subject, until the question can be made to present itself at the ballot box, and the opposers of slavery become the arbiters of destiny to political aspirants." Then only would the general government be emancipated from the control of slavery, and then only would such new fields of business be opened as would divert the Northern merchant and manufacturer from excessive attention to Southern trade.

The "Financial Power of Slavery" is an excellent example of the economic reasoning that gave the abolition movement a new orientation and contributed to the formation of the Liberty party. It is not necessary to discuss, here, the soundness of Leavitt's conclusions. Soundness and fairness may be secondary considerations in the field of propaganda; and it may be assumed that Northern readers were willing to believe that slaveholders, along with their other obliquities, were capable of absorbing the hard earnings of free labor. More important for the immediate purpose is the extent to which the address was circulated. It was printed first in the *Emancipator*, the most influential of the abolition newspapers before the establishment of the *National Era*. It was printed twice in the *Philanthropist*,¹⁷ the leading abolition newspaper west of the mountains. It was printed, in part, in the *Emancipator and Free American*, the organ of the Massachusetts Abolition Society.¹⁸ It appeared in the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the official publication of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. It was also widely circulated as a tract. The editor of the *Philanthropist* stated, in May, 1841, that in the previous week he had sent out over 2500 copies of

¹⁷ Dec. 30, 1840, Apr. 21, 1841.

¹⁸ Jan. 13, 1842.

the address, and that since the preceding November he had circulated some 14,000 copies.¹⁹ It was extensively distributed as a tract in the Eastern states.

The influence of the address is observable in numerous conventions held during the years 1840, 1841. Leavitt addressed the state convention of abolitionists at Hamilton, Ohio, in September, 1840. "His remarks on the connection of slavery with the financial embarrassments of the country", said Gamaliel Bailey, the able editor of the *Philanthropist*, "cannot be forgotten."²⁰ Bailey had strongly opposed the formation of a party, but his conversion appears to have been instantaneous. Conventions in Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, and even in distant Maine, adopted resolutions concerning the financial power of slavery, a power that appeared to extract money from guileless Northern merchants and bankers with comparative ease.²¹ In no place were the views of Leavitt more concretely expressed or given more specific application than in the sparkling address to the electors of Massachusetts in the summer of 1841.²²

If there are any who do not feel the force of these considerations, for under this slaveholding government it has become monstrously unfashionable to feel it, to them we say *interest*—the mighty power of *dollars*—dictates the same course. Slavery takes value out of the pockets of the free, as well as out of the sinews of the enslaved, without rendering an equivalent. It is a vampire which is drinking up the life blood of free industry. What has swallowed up the manufactures of the North and the provisions of the West, the products of years of economical, self-denying, heaven-blessed industry—and left us little besides our empty hands? The extravagant luxury of the slaveholding South, which consumes faster than it pays. . . . The South is supposed by those who have the best means of knowing, to have taken from the North, within five years, more than \$100,000,000, by notes which will never be paid. First and last, northern industry has lost by southern debts more than has been expended on two wars with Great Britain. This is the effect of no other cause than slavery. Were the slaves free, they would receive wages, which they would expend partly for northern cloth, hats and shoes; their masters would be obliged to practice economy; and both classes would afford us steady and prompt paying customers. . . . Slavery has been the prime cause of all the financial tornadoes which have swept over our country, and what it has done it will continue to do. It is a bottomless gulf of extravagance and thriftlessness.

¹⁹ *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841, p. 2, quoting the *Philanthropist* of May 26, 1841.

²⁰ *Philanthropist*, Sept. 8, 1840. Instances could be multiplied of the acceptance of these views by abolitionist leaders.

²¹ Northern Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention, Akron, Dec. 23, 24, 1840; State Anti-Slavery Convention, Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 20, 1841; State Liberty Party Convention of Massachusetts, Feb. 24, 1841; and many other anti-slavery and Liberty party conventions in East and West.

²² *Free American*, Aug. 19, 1841.

Abolitionists were not satisfied with showing that the North suffered from the inability of slavery to pay for itself and from the consequent drain upon Northern capital. Useful as this contention may have been in winning support for an abolition party, it did not cover the entire ground. They next undertook to show that the political power of slavery was employed to the advantage of Southern economic interests and to the disadvantage of manufacture and agriculture in the Northern states. This latter undertaking was a part of the work of the Liberty party.

The state Liberty party convention of Massachusetts, which met in February, 1841, formulated what might be regarded as the economic programme of the party. In a set of resolutions concerning the "Power of Slavery", the convention dealt with "the frequent derangement of the business of the country", and the "immense annual loss to the pecuniary interests of the free States", through the exercise by the slave power of an "undivided sway over the finances, legislation, judiciary, diplomacy, and general executive administration of our government". Other resolutions were debated, and were referred, without an expression of opinion, to the national convention to meet in New York City the following May. These resolutions had to do with the corn laws, with emigration from foreign countries, with home manufactures and tariff, with the banking system, with cotton manufactures, with reciprocity in trade, and with economy in expenditures.²³

The national Liberty convention, May 12-13, 1841, took full account of these resolutions, and its "Address to the Citizens of the United States" bears their impress.²⁴ The address, signed by Alvan Stewart, but written by William Goodell, is a model of political appeal. What should be the attitude of a party founded primarily to abolish slavery toward those "other great interests" which are commonly supposed to have no connection with the principles of human rights? The answer was that the Liberty party had as its paramount object human freedom, and that in respect to those other interests it was impossible to say what might be done, but it could be said that there were certain things a thoroughly abolitionized national administration would not do.

It would not busy itself perpetually with expedients to enhance the price of the products of slave labor, and to open markets for them in all parts of the known world, while it studiously avoided doing any thing to procure a market for the free products of the grain growing Northwest. It would not long remain silent or inactive, in its diplomatic relations, in respect to the iniquitous corn laws of Great Britain, by which the poor

²³ *Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1841.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1841.

in one nation are made victims of the lordly rapacity of those who should protect them, and by which the free agriculturalists of another and a kindred nation are debarred from using the natural market for their products.

In adjusting the details of a tariff of duties on imports, it would not carefully tax the free laborer and exempt the planter who lives upon the labor of others. It would not shut out foreign grown cotton from the manufacturers of the free North, while it exempted foreign manufactured goods from taxation, for the benefit of the slaveholding consumer.

It would not solicitously seek, as an object of great public concernment and utility, either by the aid of a sub-treasury, a national bank, or any other instrumentality or institution devised for that purpose, an artificial and forced "*equalisation of exchanges*" between the free laboring North and the spendthrift, dependent, and poverty-stricken South, whereby the latter may be relieved from the disadvantages of their condition by the manifest and gross robbery of the former.

It is evident from these declarations—they can hardly be called planks of a party platform—that the Liberty party did not promise a protective policy. Hard times might have suggested the simple expedient of higher duties, but political prudence forbade a positive declaration concerning so divisive an issue. Liberty men seemed, moreover, to understand that the appearance in the Northwest of a huge agricultural surplus foreshadowed the end of the American system, and that any policy was shortsighted which did not aim at securing for agriculture the markets of the world.²⁵ It was in harmony, also, with the purpose of the party to emphasize what was conceived to be the underlying cause of the distress. "These classes of measures", protection or free trade, banks or sub-treasuries, said the address, "lie manifestly only on the surface; they are the mere forms of public wealth; and although there may be room for an intelligent choice between them, yet no impartial and reflecting economist or statesman can claim for either of them any thing more than comparative utility and minor importance. But the question of free or slave labor is a question vital to the prosperity of any people, lying at the very basis of individual and national wealth."²⁶ While the Liberty

²⁵ Demands of Liberty men for a protective tariff appear to have been confined, at this time, to a small area in southeastern Indiana, where Arnold Buffum was influential. There was an occasional resolution by a convention asking for a duty on beet sugar and even on silk. Charles T. Torrey, writing on the policy of the Liberty party, and with the approval of the editor of the *Free American*, urged that the Liberty party "cast away all tariffs". *Free American*, Oct. 7, 1841. See also F. W. Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States*, fifth ed., p. 113; Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 12, 1843.

²⁶ In the same vein, and with evident misconception of the way things go in politics, Judge Nye said to the Free Soil Convention of 1848: "If we are wrong on the Tariff, it can be righted in twelve hours. If we are wrong on Banks, it can be righted by legislation. But if we are wrong on the subject of Slavery, it never

men had nothing constructive to offer, they dealt savagely with what they conceived to be the misuse of the tariff by the slave power. They asserted, among other things, that pro-slavery interests created the tariff of 1816 for their own purposes, and at a later time destroyed the protective system, "at the hazard, if not with the intention" of breaking up the manufacturing interest of the free states. This lively version of tariff history leaves a good deal to be desired, but it was highly acceptable to abolitionists.²⁷

Of interest for the student of economic influences upon politics is that part of the address which discusses the partiality shown for the great Southern staples to the detriment of the agricultural products of the free states. The best summary of the matter is found in an exchange of letters between Joshua Leavitt and Stafford Allen.²⁸ Allen was a member of a committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to examine the bearing of the corn laws on the question of American slavery. The particular form of the inquiry was whether benefit might not accrue to the cause of abolition "from England taking the free produce of the Northern States, instead of confining her imports to the slave-grown products of the South". Abolitionists sometimes appeared to overlook the fact that trade was more likely to arrange itself than to be arranged by an abolition society, but the correspondence, supplemented by other literature of the time, discloses the essentials of a problem that was to remain vexatious for some years to come. The Northwestern states were, by 1839, suffering from the production of a surplus of wheat which could not be marketed abroad because of the corn laws. Nothing was done, nothing could be done to solve this most difficult of agricultural problems, the problem of an unmarketable surplus. Retaliatory tariffs were demanded in some quarters as a method of forcing Great Britain to abate the restrictions of the corn laws. The wisdom of retaliatory measures was doubted, and furthermore it was hardly probable that such measures would be supported by the South when East Indian cotton was threatening to compete in English markets with the American slave-grown staple. The Liberty party was not slow to capitalize the distress of the great agricultural Northwest. The Eastern

can be righted." Oliver Dyer's *Phonographic Report of the Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., August 9th and 10th, 1848*, p. 4.

²⁷ For exactly the opposite view, see T. P. Kettell, *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* (New York, 1860), pp. 161-163.

²⁸ Correspondence between Joshua Leavitt and Stafford Allen, printed in the *Philanthropist*, Nov. 24, 1841. See also memorial of Joshua Leavitt praying the adoption of measures to secure an equitable and adequate market for American wheat. 26 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Doc.* 222.

abolitionist press kept pace with the newspapers of the wheat-growing states in denouncing the neglect of free state agricultural interests by the slave power. It was charged that the national government, controlled by slaveholders, not only did nothing to improve the situation but that it did all it could to perpetuate it, and thus compel the free states to sell in Southern markets, and on credit.²⁹ If the argument appears in this day to be inconclusive, it must be remembered that it enjoyed the unique advantage of being addressed to persons who intended to believe it.

The subsequent history of the effort of the Liberty party to popularize the economic features of its programme is best told in connection with Salmon P. Chase and his authorship of many of the formal resolutions and published addresses of the party. In the Hamilton County, Ohio, Anti-Slavery Convention of May 12, 1841, Chase discussed for the first time, publicly, the bearings of slavery upon the economic welfare of the North. "He adverted", says the report of his speech before the convention, "to the pecuniary losses sustained by the State of Ohio and especially by the county of Hamilton in consequence of the existence of slavery in those states which are the natural markets of our produce and manufactures." From another source we learn of careful calculations made by Chase to ascertain the amount lost annually by the counties of Hamilton, Clermont, and Brown, three river counties adjacent to Cincinnati, through the inability of Southern planters and merchants to pay for produce and merchandise sold to them on credit.³⁰

The Liberty convention of the state of Ohio which met in Columbus, December 29, 1841, was the next scene of Chase's activity, and it was there that he became the real spokesman for the party in the West. The convention was heralded as a highly important one. "From it will date the commencement of the attempt at a general political anti-slavery organization for the state. How vital, that a right character be impressed upon it in its inception."³¹ The resolutions adopted by the convention and the address to the people of Ohio, the work of Chase, were marked by emphasis upon the necessity for a thorough denationalization of slavery, by an explicit disavowal of intention to interfere with slavery in the states, and by an elaborate statement of the economic grievances under which the North labored.

²⁹ Charles T. Torrey, in *Free American*, Sept. 30, 1841; Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Oct. 7, 1843. The non-abolitionist press gave much attention to the corn laws. It did not connect slavery with the distress in the agricultural Northwest.

³⁰ *Philanthropist*, May 19, 1841; *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July, 1841, p. 6.

³¹ *Philanthropist*, Dec. 1, 1841.

Emphasis was laid upon the partiality in diplomatic negotiations which resulted, according to the address, in the admission of the products of slave labor, cotton, tobacco, and rice, and the exclusion of the products of free labor in nearly all foreign markets.³² Other economic matters dealt with were the fickleness of the slave power in tariff-making, the gross discrimination in favor of the Southern states in the distribution of the surplus, and the demand of the South for agricultural and manufactured products, and for money and merchandise, beyond its means to repay. Birney observed that in no anti-slavery convention in his memory had the opposition to slavery been "considered so much as a matter of money-policy—so little as a matter of religious duty, as it was in this". He added: "Whilst the money-policy may be made to follow as close as is possible on religious duty, the latter in my opinion ought always to be allowed the precedence."³³ Birney held to the faith of earlier days, and he doubtless felt that abolitionists had complied too fully with the requirement of John Quincy Adams that they "come down from the empyrean of their fancy to the vapory atmosphere of this nether world".³⁴

At the national Liberty convention, held in Buffalo, August 30, 1843, Chase reported, from the business committee, a series of resolutions which, with additions by other delegates, became the best-known platform of the Liberty party. The "withering and impoverishing" effect of slavery on the free states was not forgotten, and the federal government was pictured as plying every art and straining "every effort of negotiation" in favor of the products of slave labor while the products of free labor were confined to a great extent "to the non-paying markets of the slave States".³⁵ The charges were repeated in the "Address of the Southern and Western Liberty Con-

³² "By persevering and well directed efforts England, France, Austria and Russia have been induced to remove all onerous duties on cotton, and, in and through those countries this product finds an open access to all the markets of Europe. France reduced her duties in 1831, and since that period the export of cotton to and through that country has increased from two and a half to thirteen and a half millions of dollars. Similar efforts have been made in behalf of tobacco and rice, also, for the most part, products of slave states." *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1842.

³³ J. G. Birney to Salmon P. Chase, Feb. 2, 1842. Chase Papers, no. 1158. Library of Congress.

³⁴ John Quincy Adams to a gentleman in Brooklyn, quoted in the *Philanthropist*, Apr. 21, 1840.

³⁵ Printed in full in the *Cincinnati Morning Herald*, Sept. 25, 1843. E. Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections* (Boston, 1884), pp. 151-154, prints twenty-one of the resolutions, selected according to some method that is not apparent. He omits all that deal with economic matters.

vention", in Cincinnati, in June, 1845,³⁶ but by this time the economic conditions which had brought them into use were rapidly disappearing. The newspapers of both major parties agreed that business was steadily reviving, and that the entire country was recovering from its reverses. There was an influx of buyers from the South, and Northern merchants were already showing signs of returning to the loose practices which had brought disaster five years before.³⁷ The Northwest, to which leadership of the Liberty party had noticeably drifted, shared in the return of prosperity. The story of the coming of better times was admirably and briefly told by an Ohio legislator. "I see that all things go on pretty well if the Banks have some of them breathed their last pork is raising steadily in price I observe."³⁸ The farmers were said to be the gainers by the modification of the corn laws already conceded by the British government, and provisions were moving eastward by lake and canal in greatly increased quantity.³⁹ Webster informed an audience at Rochester that within a few months a new and great change had been produced in our intercourse with England. Cargoes of lard, butter, cheese, beef, pork, and other articles were being shipped to England every day. "This is quite a new trade as everybody knows. Who ever thought, eighteen months ago, that a large cargo, entirely of provisions, would go to a London market!" Webster showed that he was well aware of the belief in the North that Southern export staples enjoyed the special care of the federal government, and was obviously relieved to be able to point to returning prosperity in the Northern states.⁴⁰ It is hardly necessary to suggest that the revival of business lessened the political usefulness of arguments addressed to the hard times of 1837-1842. Such arguments might be carried along for a time as reasons for the existence of the Liberty party, but, by 1845, their value was practically

³⁶ The address was printed with extensive notes by C. D. Cleveland, and in this form was widely circulated. Cleveland's notes are an excellent summary of the economic grievances emphasized by the Liberty party from the beginning. The Address of the Liberty Party of Pennsylvania to the People of the State, 1844, by C. D. Cleveland, has much to say about "The Slave Power the Chief Cause of Our Financial Embarrassments; or, in Plainer Words, of 'Hard Times'". Both addresses appear in *Anti-Slavery Addresses of 1844 and 1845*, by Salmon Portland Chase and Charles Dexter Cleveland (London, 1867).

³⁷ Albany *Evening Journal*, Sept. 13, 1843; New York *Evening Post* (for the country), Sept. 13, 1843; Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 16, 1843.

³⁸ Gid M. Ayres to Salmon P. Chase, Jan. 21, 1843. Chase Papers, no. 1339.

³⁹ Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Sept. 1, 15, 1843. A comparison of the tariff of 1833, 3 and 4 William IV. c. 56, with the tariff of 1842, 5 and 6 Vic. c. 47, shows substantial reductions in duties on provisions. *Customs Tariffs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897* (London, 1897), pp. 569-716.

⁴⁰ New York *American*, Sept. 28, 1843; New York *Sun*, quoted in Cincinnati *Morning Herald*, Nov. 24, 1843.

extinguished. The Mexican War presently directed attention to a startling political aggression of the slave power, as the abolitionists interpreted it, and less spectacular influences of slavery upon the economic life of the North were for the time forgotten.

This brief account of a phase of abolitionist propaganda is designed merely to supplement what has been written about the Liberty party, and to suggest some of the things that a complete history of the party may well include.⁴¹ It does not assume to answer the questions that arise concerning the merits of the charges made by the political abolitionists. The exact measure of truth in the assertion that the national government, controlled by slaveholders and their allies, displayed a partiality for Southern economic interests is a matter for separate inquiry. Least of all does it attempt to indicate the precise results of the propaganda. That it aided in the formation of the Liberty party can not be doubted. That it tended to secularize the abolition movement is likewise beyond question. Abolitionists continued to refer to their cause as a religious enterprise, but the establishment of a party and the emphasis upon material interests could not fail to effect a change in the character of the abolition movement. This change is well summarized by an abolitionist of the old school.⁴²

The basis of Abolition is the wrongs of the negro through slavery. Abolition incidentally considered the encroachments of slavery on the rights of the white man, but his wrongs are not the real cause of action. Abolition is charitable—is philanthropic. . . . The Liberty Party proceeds on another, a more selfish principle. It views slavery chiefly as it affects the white man. The power which puts it in motion is self-interest. It may prefer that the condition of the slave should be bettered but it stirs not for him. . . .

The baneful influence of slavery upon the currency, upon our commercial interests, upon manufactures, upon the power of the country to defend itself against foreign aggression—its war upon free labor and the respectability of industry—its seizing on the offices and the government of the country—its unequal distribution of the public funds—its gags, mobs, and murders—its robbery of the North by bankruptcy. . . . These and a thousand other like topics are the proper subjects for the consideration of the Liberty party, but they all centre in the welfare of the white man.

With secularization went, almost as a matter of course, the development of more moderate anti-slavery doctrines. As early as 1842, complaint was made that, "the old school books, full of scorching denunciations of slavery, have been banished from our schools . . .".⁴³

⁴¹ The useful monograph by Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, is by its title restricted in scope. It is exclusively political. A dissertation on the Liberty party in New York and Massachusetts is in progress in Cornell University.

⁴² *Philanthropist*, May 11, 1842.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1842.

This softening of public opinion may be traced to many causes, but some of it was unquestionably due to the compromises that a party must make with principle. The Liberty party might continue to insist that its paramount object was human freedom, but the fact remained that its activities were chiefly directed against the slave power as a political and economic force, and not against the existence of slavery in the states. The separation of the national government from slavery was, politically, an attainable end, while emancipation was not. The Liberty men thus steadily departed from the radical abolitionist views of earlier years and as steadily approached the Free Soil position of 1848. When they eventually saw themselves supplanted by the Free Soilers with a defensive programme of denationalization of slavery and the prevention of its further extension, with no word of encouragement for the slave,⁴⁴ they may well have accepted some responsibility for the change that had come over the abolition movement. They had elected to rest their case upon material considerations, and they must have observed, as politicians, if not as humanitarians, that with the "raising" of the price of pork "liberty" had appreciably declined.

JULIAN P. BRETZ.

⁴⁴ "No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections." Gerrit Smith to Chairman of the Jerry Rescue Committee, Aug. 27, 1859, O. B. Frothingham's *Gerrit Smith, a Biography* (New York, 1879), p. 244.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL CONGRESS AT OSLO

For full appreciation of the success and value of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at the old capital of Norway on August 14-18, 1928, some brief outline of the previous development of these congresses is almost requisite. An international gathering of students of diplomatic history at the Hague in 1898 led to the convening of the first international historical congress at Paris in 1900. The second was held at Rome in 1903, the third at Berlin in 1908, the fourth at London in 1913.¹ The five-year period seemed then to be established, and, on invitation from the Russian emperor, it was voted at the conclusion of the London congress that the next such gathering should be held at St. Petersburg in the spring of 1918. Before that date, the world had become enveloped in the flames of war, international congresses had become impossible, the chairman of the Russian organizing committee had died of starvation, and all machinery for renewing such meetings had gone out of existence. When ten years had nearly passed, instead of five, the Belgian historical scholars, at the suggestion of those of Great Britain where the last congress had been held, revived the series by organizing the Brussels congress of 1923.²

Completely international the Brussels congress could not well be. It was too soon after the war to expect that the Belgian committee should invite the Germans and Austrians to participate. But what could be done was done; namely, such action was taken—and it is a pleasure to remember how effectively the American representatives fortified those liberal spirits that were resolved to take it—as would ensure that the next ensuing congress should be in the fullest sense international. It was agreed that it should be held in one of the European countries that had been neutral during the World War, and before long the invitation received from Norway and the University of Oslo was accepted, and the undertaking was placed in hands in whose fairness, sincerity, and internationalmindedness all parties alike had full confidence.

The Brussels congress was marked off from its London predecessor not only by the exceptional interval of ten years, but by the in-

¹ The third congress was described by Professor Haskins in this journal, XIV. 1-8, the fourth by the present writer, *ibid.*, XVIII. 679-691.

² Described by Mr. Leland, *ibid.*, XXIX. 639-655.

auguration of a new and improved system, in the promotion of which it is again pleasant to remember that the Americans had their part. All previous congresses had expired with the reading of the last paper. If it was desired that they should effect something more than paper-reading, and if proposals were made looking toward the undertaking of some of those tasks that can not be achieved but by international coöperation, there was neither time nor machinery for their due consideration. At Brussels it was resolved that a continuing committee should be constituted, that could act between congresses, in preparation for ensuing congresses, and in pursuance of the action of congresses preceding. Before long the International Committee of Historical Sciences was constituted, on a permanent basis, with members from almost all the important countries, Germany and Austria included, and it forthwith began to function in a variety of fruitful ways, and in a spirit of loyal and harmonious coöperation.

Several branches of the International Committee's action may ultimately call for notice in such a record as that which is now attempted, but for the present it may suffice to mention those concerned with the organization of the congress of 1928. Of these perhaps the chief was the choice of Professor Halydan Koht, of the University of Oslo, already chairman of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, as president of the congress and chairman of its organizing committee. To his energy, sound judgment, linguistic and other resourcefulness, and just and friendly spirit the congress was in large measure indebted for its success. Equally fortunate was the choice of Dr. Haakon Vigander, efficient, tireless, amiable, and accomplished, as secretary of the committee of arrangements. No one could fail to admire the excellence of the material arrangements—the early diffusion of abundant information, the clear local directions, the provision of adequate spaces for sessions and conferences, for writing and conversation, likewise the efficiency, intelligence, and skill in languages of the students, young men and young women, who met the needs of the visitors in the rooms of registration and elsewhere, and the smooth running both of the scientific sessions and of the hospitable entertainments and varied excursions.

A word of praise should also be given to the International Committee for its even-handed apportionment of those favors of position, precedence, and prominence whose proper distribution among national groups is in European circles so attentively regarded, and for its efforts, through the national committees, to exercise a restraining or supervisory influence upon the composition of the programme.

There could be no doubt that the present assemblage was truly ecumenical. In the printed list of more than a thousand members

forty nations were represented. Naturally the Norwegians were the most numerous; more than two hundred citizens of Oslo had enrolled themselves as members in support of the undertaking. Even if from the lists of foreigners one should omit the names of those who did not actually attend, and of historians' wives and sons and daughters not themselves occupied with history, still there were apparently five or six hundred professional votaries of history present from other lands than Norway. The largest number came from France—a hundred in all. From Germany came an almost equal number, from Germany plus Austria a number quite equal. Three-score more came from Denmark and Sweden and the minor Baltic countries, forty or so from Great Britain and Ireland, a similar number from Poland, thirty from Italy, thirty from the southeastern countries of Europe, twenty-four from the United States, and lesser numbers, a dozen or so each, from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland. There were representatives, even, from countries as remote as Iceland and Chili, South Africa and Japan.

It was somewhat an evil, detracting a little from the disinterested pursuit of purely scientific ends, that the scholars of some countries thought it necessary to organize rather closely as national delegations. Surely it is more appropriate, on such an occasion, to regard the interests of history rather than those of any nation. The cause of the tendency alluded to lies partly in the practice of inviting governments to send official representatives. To the American mind it is not apparent that governments, as such, should be represented in an historical congress. At all events the Americans, and apparently also the British and the Scandinavians, saw no useful ends to be gained by organizing in a national phalanx.

Three hundred and fifty-odd papers were listed in the programme—far too many, by the way, for many were on subjects in which few but their authors could be expected to be interested, or which would have been more appropriate to a national meeting of historical scholars, in the writer's own country, than to an international assemblage. No small part of the excess seemed to an American eye to be due to those unchastened political ambitions of European national groups which, however natural, ought to be reduced to a minimum when the purpose of the occasion is to make successful to the utmost a joint endeavor, in one important field, toward international unity. Eighty papers from France, for example, forty-two from Poland, eleven from Rumania, seemed a disproportionate number. The modesty of our Norwegian hosts, who, regardless of their advantages of position,

confined themselves to little more than a score of contributions, was, like all other items of their management, much to be admired.

The regulations of international historical congresses provide that papers may be read in either one of five languages—French, German, English, Italian, and Spanish. On the present occasion, somewhat more than half the papers (according to the programme 183) were written in French. Nearly half of these, however, were presented by members coming from other lands than France and Belgium—forty-two of them by Poles, ten by Rumanians, nine by Norwegians, and so on. Somewhat more than a fourth of the papers (93 according to the programme) were written in German, either by Germans or Austrians or by members whose national speech was one of the less familiar languages. Fifty-four were presented in English, by Britons or Americans or Scandinavians; the Egyptian and the Iclander also read in English. Eighteen Italian papers and one Rumanian were read in Italian, and two papers were presented in Spanish, one by a Spaniard, one from a scholar from Uruguay.

Although it was plain that the Norwegian portion of the various audiences followed addresses equally well in English or French or German, it seemed that, among European scholars in general, facility in the use or understanding of these three languages ran in about the proportions indicated by the figures given above. But the American observer could not fail to be struck by the number of scholars who could follow all three languages alike, and in general to be impressed by the superior results which, not unnaturally to be sure, have been secured by the teaching of modern languages on the continent of Europe, as compared with the teaching of them in the United States.³

Obviously it would be vain to attempt to give any full notion of the mass of learning poured forth in these numerous papers. No one could or did hear more than a small fraction of the total, for the congress was, like its predecessors, organized in sections, by subject, and the reading of contributions went on simultaneously in many different halls of the University of Oslo. There were fourteen of these sections, devoted respectively to the auxiliary sciences and archival or bibliographical matters; to the prehistoric and archaeological field; to ancient history; to that of the Middle Ages; to that of modern

³ Yet it must be confessed that not a few gentlemen of great learning and intelligence seemed unaware that, if they wished to be understood in what to most of their audience was a foreign tongue, it was expedient to speak slowly and clearly; and, to hide in a foot-note one bit more of faultfinding, there were those who ignored the limitation of papers to thirty minutes quite as completely as, at our own meetings, the limit of twenty minutes is ignored by the less considerate (or more earnest and determined) members of the American Historical Association.

Europe; to that of America, the Far East, and European colonial expansion; to that of religion; to that of law and institutions; to economic and social history; to that of science and literature; to that of art; to historical methodology; to the teaching of history; and to the special history of the Scandinavian nations. There were only two general meetings: one held in the chief hall of the university, on the first forenoon, when, in the presence of the King of Norway and all the delegates, Professor Halvdan Koht of Oslo, the accomplished president of the congress, after an address of welcome by the rector of the university, inaugurated the sessions; the other, held on the last forenoon.

In these general sessions, there was a discourse by Monseigneur Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, on the religious psychology of Louis XIV.; an admirable one by Professor Karl Brandi of Göttingen, on Charles V. and the governing of a world empire; a brilliant informal address by Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, in defense of his published views on the relation between the early expansion of Islam and the beginning of the Middle Ages; and an important paper by Professor Alfons Dopsch of Vienna, on "Naturalwirtschaft und Geldwirtschaft in der Weltgeschichte".

Perhaps some notion of the character and variety of the contributions may be given by the mere mention of some that stood out as especially important or interesting, such as those of De Sanctis of Turin on the historical importance of the inscriptions recently discovered in Cyrene or of Rostovtzeff of Yale on the last year's excavations at Dura-Europos; that of Kornemann of Breslau on Rome and Italy in the first century of the republic; that of Fliche of Montpellier on the international rôle of the Papacy in the Middle Ages; that of Sudhoff of Leipzig on early Medieval instruction in medicine; that of Grabmann of Munich on the Emperor Frederick II. and his relation to Aristotelian Arabian philosophy; that of Prentout of Caen on the French provincial estates; that of Nörlund of Copenhagen on the Medieval Norsemen in Greenland in the light of the recent remarkable Danish excavations; that of Westergaard of California on the relations between Scandinavia and Russia in the fifteenth century; that of Bauer of Münster on the genesis of the Wittenberg Reformation; that of Hauser of Paris on the modern history of banking and exchange; that of Lhéritier of Paris on the enlightened despotisms of the eighteenth century; that of Faÿ of Clermont-Ferrand on the learned societies of that century in Europe and America; that of Marion of Paris on rates of exchange during the French Revolution; that of the Ritter von Srbik of Vienna on the question of German unity, 1815-1866, considered as a European problem; and that

of Learned of Washington on the attitude of the United States Senate toward the Permanent Court of International Justice.⁴

The programme gave almost no sign that any of the members but the Americans took any interest in the history of the United States. Indeed, the American observer may easily go from end to end of Europe without ever encountering a sign of interest in that subject. Meantime he is reading in the newspapers of every country that the United States of America is the most formidable political, economic, and social power in the modern world. As his eye falls on some of the minor topics in the long programme of an historical congress, he will be apt to murmur

"In Athen, Rom, und bei den Lappen,
Da spähn wir jeden Winkel aus," etc.,

and to wonder whether historians in their study of processes of development are as regardful as they might be of the relative importance of the things that have developed.

It was of some significance that a number of the papers were of the nature of surveys of the progress made, in all countries, in this or that field of historical research—the history of population, cuneiform legal inscriptions, the English Medieval exchequer, Gustavus Adolphus, the Italian Risorgimento. Still more significant—significant of the change of attitude by which an international historical congress is coming to be regarded not solely as an occasion for the reading of communications, but also as an opportunity for producing results by joint endeavor—was the number of papers making formal proposals for international coöperation in the advancement of some branch of historical science. And whereas in the early congresses any resolutions of sections in commendation of such proposals were likely to remain sterile for lack of machinery for their examination, they are now regularly referred to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, in which they are sure of sympathetic consideration.

A typical instance of such proposals was the plan for advancing the history of science put forward by Signor Aldo Mieli, professor of that subject in the University of Rome, with the support of a group embracing savants of seven nations who in their respective countries edit journals of the history of science.

In several fields, preparatory work done with a view to the congress, by individuals or committees, resulted in reports printed and laid before the members in advance of the sessions. The most inter-

⁴ The stout volume of *Résumés* summarizes the communications at the rate of somewhat more than an octavo page each; the writer's copy is at the service of inquirers.

esting of these was a stout pamphlet of 238 + 77 pages, *Report on Nationalism in History Text-books*, distributed to members of the congress at its opening, but specially intended for those attending the sessions of the section on the teaching of history. This report, prepared at the instance of two general ecclesiastical organizations, the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches, founded at Constance in 1914, and a committee instituted at Stockholm in 1925 of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, bears a general resemblance to the *Enquête sur les Livres Scolaires d'après Guerre* published not long ago by the Paris office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Edited by Dr. Wilhelm Carlgren of Stockholm, and embracing intelligent surveys, disinterested rather than propagandist, from professional observers in most of the European countries, it contains much to interest the American teacher.⁵

Other reports having the nature of proposals for future work, such as the papers of Messrs. Fliche, Prentout, Hauser, and Lhéritier already mentioned, had been printed in advance in the fifth *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, and thus were available for oral discussion, of which, by the way, there was in some of the sections a good deal.⁶

If space were to be proportioned to importance, it is not certain that the hospitalities, social meetings, and excursions which accompanied the congress should not be treated with as much fullness as the mass of formal communications, for not only is much that is most fruitful in such gatherings achieved by conversation, but their highest purpose, the bringing of historians' minds into harmony despite national boundaries, is more effectively promoted by the social intercourse that goes on outside lecture-halls than by what goes on within them. Acquaintance among men of good-will breeds liking, and nearly all historians and historical scholars are men (or women) of good-will. It is difficult to dine at some hospitable Norwegian board with one who technically was your enemy ten years ago, or to sit beside him during some wonderful drive amid the grand Norwegian scenery, without becoming in some degree his friend, and having ever

⁵ Much of it is written in English, the rest in French and German.

⁶ It may also be mentioned that several of the French papers read in the section for Scandinavian history were available in an advanced offprint from the Norwegian *Historisk Tidsskrift* (fifth series, vol. VII.): that of Professor P. Boissonade of Poitiers and P. J. Charliat of Paris on "Colbert et la Norvège, 1661-1683"; that of the same authors on "Les Relations Économiques entre la France et les Pays du Nord du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle"; and that of Professor P. Verrier of Paris on "Les Rapports Intellectuels et Artistiques entre la France et les Pays Scandinaves".

after in some degree a more intelligent appreciation of his point of view respecting all the past.

Norwegian hospitality was certainly unstinted. King Haakon and Queen Maud received a large number of the members at the palace. The Prime Minister gave a brilliant dinner to the officers of the congress and presidents of the national delegations. The American and other ministers entertained their compatriots. The municipality of Oslo gave an elaborate supper in the imposing halls of the old castle of Akershus, thrown open to social uses for the first time since their restoration. Museums made special occasions for exhibition and explanation of such treasures as those of the viking ships of Oseberg and Gokstad. At the remarkable outdoor Folkemuseum of Bygdø there was supper and folkdancing and singing. On the final evening there was a gala performance, in the National Theatre, of Ibsen's *De Unges Forbund*, admirably acted. And luncheons or teas offered by some of the national delegations increased still further the opportunities for mutual acquaintance.

Special provision was made by ladies of Oslo for the entertainment of the foreign ladies attending the congress—a visit to the State College of Domestic Economy at Stabekk, a dinner for members of the International Association of University Women, a luncheon at Frognersteren, with its splendid view over Oslo and its bay and surroundings, and a tea in the rooms of the Academy of Sciences.

The chief social event, however, was the formal banquet at the Hotel Bristol, where brief speeches of gratulation, and of compliment to Professor Koht and his committee and associates, were made by representatives of more than a score of the nationalities engaged in the congress.

Still more useful, toward mutual acquaintance and the high ends which it serves, were the excursions which ensued upon the congress. No other European country, unless it were Switzerland, could approach Norway in those resources of scenic beauty which were thus drawn upon for the delectation of the visitors. On the Sunday which followed the days of the congress, there was a delightful steamboat excursion among the islands of the Oslo Fjord. In the ensuing week there was a choice of alternative excursions, one to Trondhjem and four by various routes to Bergen, all carefully planned and most successfully managed, each including travel on the remarkable mountain railway which runs from Oslo to Bergen, automobile journeys on wonderful mountain roads, and voyages on picturesque fjords. At Bergen the museums were explained by Dr. Haakon Shetelig and his associates, and there was a delightful banquet in a restaurant on a mountain-top overlooking that hospitable city. To those "congres-

sistes" who went home by way of Copenhagen a Danish committee headed by the genial and untiring Professor Aage Friis offered still further entertainment, and still further opportunities for sociability and mutual acquaintance, in the museums of their handsome city and in notable excursions to Elsinore and Fredensborg and Frederiksborg and Roskilde.

It remains only to speak of some of the forward steps taken in international historical work by action of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which held fruitful sessions at Oslo concurrently with those of the Congress. Reports of progress were received from several committees previously organized for the prosecution, by international endeavor, of specific tasks, such as the preparation of the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*, of which the volume for the product of 1926 is well advanced in manuscript, and the list of ambassadors, envoys, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires* since 1648, to be made, by combined effort, in the various diplomatic archives. The committee on the teaching of history also calls for special mention. A committee to prepare a bibliographical list of constitutions was also appointed, and one to consider a bibliography of newspapers. Several papers advocating the combination of scholars of different nations for the study of specific problems led to the appointment of committees—for the study of the international rôle of the papacy in the Middle Ages, of the causes and origins of the great geographical discoveries, of banking and exchange from the sixteenth century down, and of the "enlightened despotisms" of the eighteenth century. It is too much to expect that all these committees shall pursue these studies to complete success, but whatever is done in them, by international coöperation, will be all to the good, to both work and workers.

It will be of interest to record the composition of the *bureau* of the International Committee, as arranged at the Oslo meeting: president, Koht of Oslo, vice-presidents, Dembinski of Poznan and Dopsch of Vienna, secretary, Lhéritier of Paris, treasurer, Leland of Washington, other members, Brandt of Göttingen, De Sanctis of Turin, Šusta of Prague, Temperley of Cambridge. The committee, in which some thirty countries are now represented, will hold its next meeting at Venice in May, 1929.

The next International Congress of Historical Sciences is to be held at Warsaw in 1933. May it equal that of Oslo in interest and success, in fruitful work toward the advancement of learning, and above all in that spirit of harmony and that united devotion to the truth which give to international historical congresses their real justification!

J. F. JAMESON.

AIDS TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

IN the *Review* for October, 1927, Professor Jernegan gave the results of a questionnaire sent out in 1926, through which it was sought to determine the reasons why more teachers of history did not engage in active research. Among the facts which emerged from this inquiry was the obstacle to productive scholarship presented by the small income of the average college professor, particularly in the years immediately following the attainment of the doctor's degree, the very period during which the impulse to independent scholarship ought most certainly to be kept alive. There can be no doubt, I think, that this constitutes an important and a serious part of the general problem.

In recent years, however, the opportunities for young and ambitious scholars to secure some kind of financial aid in the pursuance of their scholarly interests have very considerably multiplied. Various agencies offer fellowships, grants-in-aid, or prizes, which provide the means or the incentive to research. To many members of the historical gild, in particular those who have come in contact with the administrative machinery of the American Historical Association, the work of these agencies is well known. But there can be little doubt that acquaintance with this work is not as widely diffused throughout the profession as it ought to be. In the following pages, therefore, an attempt is made to set forth in brief form the opportunities of aid open to those engaged in historical scholarship. It should be said at the beginning that this article deals only with aid in the post-doctoral stage, and that it does not treat at all of the possibilities of financial assistance to those who have not completed their work for the Ph.D.

There are certain major agencies whose work in encouraging historical research ought to be particularly emphasized.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

This agency renders three kinds of aid, which should be carefully differentiated—(1) fellowships, (2) grants-in-aid, and (3) funds for coöperative research. These three kinds of aid are administered through three separate committees of the Council. The committee on fellowships is headed by Professor A. M. Schlesinger of Harvard University, and the Secretary is Mr. John V. Van Sickle, 50 East 42d Street, New York City. Applicants are ordinarily expected to have received the doctor's degree, and are required to be not over thirty-five years of age. They must present evidence of their ability to carry on research, and a detailed outline of the project which they have in mind. Application must be made by December 1 of each

year. In allotting the fellowships, however, writes Mr. Van Sickle, "the Committee is more concerned with the potentialities of the fellows than it is with the intrinsic importance of the project submitted". The amount of the stipend is not fixed, but will normally be the equivalent of the academic salary of the appointee, with an allowance for travel. The tenure is indefinite, ranging from a few months to two years, in accordance with the character of the problem. It may be interesting to note that twenty-one of these fellowships were granted for the year 1928-1929.

The Social Science Research Council dispenses grants-in-aid through a committee of which Professor John Archibald Fairlie of the University of Illinois is chairman. For the grants-in-aid no age limit is set. The emphasis is placed upon the character of the project involved, though its proponent must naturally show evidence of ability to pursue it, and the project itself must in general be well under way. The sums allotted tend to be smaller than those for the fellowships, and preference is given, other things being equal, to applicants from the smaller educational institutions. Thirteen of these grants were made in 1928.

Finally the Social Science Research Council encourages large projects of coöperative research, as a rule involving more than one branch of the social sciences. When funds have been allotted for such a purpose, some special agency is usually charged with their administration. It would no doubt be open to a group of scholars to apply for aid for a significant project of this kind.

GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

This agency is one for the awarding of fellowships for advanced study abroad. Application for such fellowships is to be made in writing by November 15 of each year to Henry Allen Moe, Secretary of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 2300 Pershing Square Building, New York City. In general, applicants must be between 25 and 35 years of age, though awards have been made in exceptional cases to persons of forty or even beyond. They must furnish evidence of capacity for productive scholarship, and submit a plan of study. If awarded a fellowship, they must submit a report at the expiration of their term. The stipend for these fellowships is usually \$2500. Reappointment is possible. It should also be noted that by its terms the foundation is to make awards for research in any field of knowledge. Guggenheim Fellowships; therefore, are not awarded in the field of the social sciences alone.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The American Council of Learned Societies makes small grants of from \$50 to \$300 to mature scholars, citizens of or permanently domiciled in the United States, to aid them in projects of research already begun. These grants have been awarded in the field of all the humanities, broadly defined (*i.e.*, philosophy, philology and literature, linguistics, art and archaeology, and history), but a considerable proportion of them have been in the historical field. Anyone interested should address the Permanent Secretary of the Council, Mr. W. G. Leland, at 907 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Applications must be made before January 31, and the awards are granted by April first of the same year.

The American Council of Learned Societies also interests itself in securing support for larger and more ambitious projects. It has recently secured a grant to enable Professor William A. Heidel of Wesleyan to complete his history of Greek philosophical and scientific thought prior to the fourth century B.C., and another smaller grant to enable N. E. Griffin, lately of Bryn Mawr, to prepare an edition of the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne. "We are always ready", writes the permanent secretary, "to undertake the financing of approved projects of historical research, that do not come clearly within the province of the Social Science Research Council."

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is hardly necessary to point out to readers of the *American Historical Review* that the American Historical Association itself has been most vitally interested in the problem of aids to research and publication. Its great endowment campaign should appeal to every member of the Association as an opportunity to aid in making its hopes in this regard effective, and it ought, I think, to be stated frankly, that, at the present moment, we are a long way from the goal of anything like adequate assistance to historical scholarship. There are, however, two funds which are soon to be available, the Beveridge Fund of over \$50,000 and the Griswold Fund of \$25,000. The income from these funds may be used for the encouragement of research, and has, indeed, in the case of the first of them, already been allotted for the present year.

Perhaps even more important today, because of the paucity of other resources of the same type, is the revolving fund for publication administered by the American Historical Association, and made available through the Carnegie Corporation. The amount of this fund is \$25,000 and the income from it may be used for the publi-

cation of historical works of general interest embodying the results of research and not likely to appeal to a commercial publisher. Applications for the use of any portion of it should be addressed to Professor E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON

The Carnegie Institution is a fifth agency which ought to be mentioned amongst those which afford aid to historical research. It is now affording financial support to Dr. Sarton's notable work on the history of science, and to the philosophical and historical studies of Dr. Heidel. There are no special funds set aside for grants in history, but the Institution, writes President John C. Merriam, "is much interested in historical investigations in the wider sense, and is always glad to discuss such projects and to give careful consideration to possible sources of support for fundamental constructive work, either from its own funds or through other agencies".

FELLOWSHIPS AND PRIZES

The agencies which have just been mentioned do not, however, exhaust the possibilities. There are a number of fellowships administered through other agencies which ought to be included in any complete list of sources of aid for historical scholarship. There are also a number of prizes for meritorious historical work, which afford a source of aid to publication if not to research. I append a list of both. The fellowship list includes only those fellowships which are clearly post-doctoral in character, and which do not imply a period of residence at any specific institution at home or abroad. For further information on this subject the reader may be referred to Professor Ogg's *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences*, pages 390-406 and 412-413, and to the pamphlet issued by the Institute of International Education, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, entitled "Fellowships and Scholarships open to American Students for Study in Foreign Countries".

American Association of University Women. This association awards the following fellowships:

Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women who not only hold the degree of Ph.D. or Sc.D., but can present evidence of distinctive subsequent accomplishment in research, stipend, \$1200.

Boston Alumnae Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women for graduate or research work of a constructive character in Europe or America. The applicant must normally be a graduate of an approved college; although the award may be made, at the committee's

discretion, to any woman who submits a report of a limited amount of investigation, provided exceptional promise is shown, stipend, \$800.

European Fellowship, unrestricted, open to women who have met the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. with the possible exception of completion of the dissertation, for research in Europe, stipend, \$1200.

Julia C. G. Pratt Memorial Fellowship, unrestricted, awarded every third year, stipend, \$1000.

Applications for the above fellowships should be addressed to Professor Agnes L. Rogers, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., not later than January 15.

Archaeological Institute of America. This body maintains research fellowships, paying \$1000 a year, in the fields of early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance studies. Application should be made to Rollin H. Tanner, general secretary, New York University, University Heights, New York City.

American Jewish Historical Society: this society disposes of a research fund of about \$4000, the proceeds of which is to be devoted to defraying the cost of specific pieces of research, with regard to the history of the Jews in America or to the interests of Jewish history at large. Its secretary is Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York City.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This society is more properly concerned with the field of international law, in which it grants a number of fellowships. Because of the close connection between international law and diplomatic history it is herein included. Fellowship applications should be addressed not later than March 16 to Dr. James Brown Scott, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation. This commission offers fellowships of a minimum stipend of \$150 monthly, together with allowances for travelling expenses, first-class, from the residence or university of the fellow in the United States to or from Belgium. A candidate for one of these fellowships must be an American citizen; have a thorough speaking and reading knowledge of French; be a member of the faculty of an American college, university, or research institute, and have the intention of continuing in academic teaching or research; have definite plans for his proposed work in Belgium; be capable of independent study or research; and be in good health. American fellows will be required to reside and pursue their work in Belgium for at least seven months in any one fellowship year. Applications must be sent to the Fellowship Committee, 42 Broadway, New York City, before December 15, for appointments for the following academic year.

American Field Service Fellowships in French universities. These fellowships are in many fields of study, including history. Their stipend is \$1200 a year, with the possibility of renewal. A candidate must be a citizen of the United States or of one of its possessions; *at the time of making the application* a graduate of a college of recognized standing or of a professional school requiring three years of study for a degree; or if not qualified in either of these ways, twenty-four years of age and have spent five years in work requiring high technical skill; be of good moral character and intellectual ability, and of suitable personal qualities; and have a practical ability to use French books, both in general subjects and in his own special field, and be able to speak French and understand lectures delivered in French. The fellowships are open only to men. Applications should be addressed before December 15 to Archie M. Palmer, Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City.

With regard to prizes, there are two classes which might be considered. There are, first, those which may be awarded *prior to* publication, and which therefore offer the possibility of aid in a definite and concrete sense. There are also those prizes awarded for a work already published, which offer a reward for research and publication, but do not directly subsidize it. I include here only the first class.

In this class, the most significant, indeed almost the only ones, are those offered by the American Historical Association itself. Essays in competition for these prizes should be submitted by July first of the year in which the prize is given. The award of one of them, the Justin Winsor Prize, carries with it the possibility of publication in the *Annual Report*. The prizes are: the Justin Winsor Prize of \$200, offered in even-numbered years for the encouragement of writers on history who have not previously published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Monographs submitted must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, using the word American in its broader sense; the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200, offered in odd-numbered years, the terms of which are the same as Justin Winsor Prize, except that the monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in the history of the Eastern Hemisphere; the George Louis Beer Prize, for the best work on "any phase of European international history since 1895", limited to 50,000 words. The prize must be awarded to an American citizen; the John M. Dunning Prize, the income from a \$2000 fund, for the best essay, by a member of the American Historical Association, covering "historical matter

connected with the Southern states during the Reconstruction period."

Attention should also be called to the Simon Baruch University Prize of \$1000, awarded biennially for the best unpublished monograph or essay submitted in the field of Southern history, preferably in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing on the causes that led to the Civil War. This prize is open to graduates and undergraduates, but also to those who have been students in universities and standard colleges in the United States within the preceding three years. Essays are to be sent to Mrs. Arthur H. Jennings, 2200 Rivermont Avenue, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Such are the sources of aid for historical research and publication so far as I have been able to ascertain them at the present time. Others may, and doubtless will, in the future be made available; and in particular the decisions taken as to the administration of the Henry E. Huntington bequest will be of great interest to historical scholars. But there is already a very fair opportunity of assistance for competent workers, especially for those who, fresh from the doctor's degree, feel the urge to keep alive the enthusiasm for research which enriches their teaching and deepens their view of their subjects. It is in the hope that this opportunity will be more fully appreciated than it is today that this article has been written.

In addition the Harrison Research Fellowships at the University of Pennsylvania should be included. Three fellowships are granted each year, stipend \$1500; these are open to holders of the Ph.D. degree from any institution. There are also the Sterling fellowships at Yale University, stipend \$1000 to \$2500 or more, depending on the previous experience of the candidate, open primarily to holders of the Ph.D. degree from any institution, although a limited number may be granted to students who have not yet obtained that degree.

DEXTER PERKINS.

DOCUMENTS

*Diary of José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, 1811-1812, II.*¹

Year of 1812. First of January.

1. I did not leave the house.

2. At the instance of a friend they took me to the house of an excellent painter to have him paint my portrait, and keep my likeness, now that they have been unable to keep the original, although they have put into execution some plans to this effect. One of them was to have a grand fandango in this very house, so that I might see a very beautiful girl and have a dance with her. I was assured, too, that she has a capital of 10,000 pesos. I had the good sense (*bondad*) to leave the house and go to the house of a friend, where I stayed until late at night, because these people joke very little, and he who lets himself be drawn into a proposal as a joke will get himself into a very embarrassing predicament.

3. I went to the city of Georgetown (*Jorgia*) to change some bills at the Bank of the Treasury of Columbia.²

4. Setting out for Baltimore, I entered the province of Maryland and passed a village. At sunset I came to the beautiful city of Baltimore. There are iron mines here and a seaport. In the coach in which I came was also a naval officer of Napoleon; he speaks Spanish well.

5. I set out with Mr. Power to walk about the city, [to see] its buildings [and] its stone bridges over the river which flows through the city. From there we went to see the basin (*escañal*) through which the merchant vessels enter the interior of the city. On the shore of the basin are the warehouses where the boats load and unload. From here we went nearer the harbor, where there were many great sloops (*balandras*). We boarded one of them, and looked at eighteen rooms with their beds for the passengers, and the dining table with all the necessary equipment. There were more than a hundred vessels of various sizes, some lashed with iron cables to the shore, others anchored. In the afternoon we went to the mouth of the harbor to see the large ships, of which there were many—more than two hundred, small and great, they told us. It gave me great pleasure to see so many high masts with their yard-arms and their sails furled—so many that they seemed like a huge forest. We boarded one of the large ships which lay with its side against the wharf. The harbor is so good that the ships can come right up to the wharf, and one has only to step off the ground onto the ships' ladders (*escalones*). From here we went through the streets of the city admiring the clean, elegant (*garboso*) fashion of dress of the Englishmen, as also of the English women, and admiring the great beauty of their faces and their well-formed bodies.

¹ It had not been observed when the first instalment of this diary was published, that the letter of Gutiérrez and Sosa (or Sora) mentioned in note 7 on p. 58, above, had been printed in W. R. Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, III. 1593.

² The Bank of Columbia, Georgetown, 1793-1827.

In this city there is a great trade in everything one could desire. At the mouth of the harbor is the fort;³ I did not go to see it, because it was on the opposite side.

6. I went to the harbor, to see if there were a boat going to Philadelphia, in order to take passage thither by water. There was none, because they say it is impossible to enter through the channel on account of the water's being frozen by the intense cold. I went, however, and paid for a seat in one of the coaches which go to Philadelphia. I shall set out tomorrow at nine. This house where I am is kept by French people; they have very good food, and one pays a little less than in other American houses.

7. I set out for Philadelphia. We passed four towns in the course of the day, and in the afternoon crossed an arm of the sea about three quarters of a league wide, in a little boat with two sails. All the water was frozen; it was necessary to break the ice with a great iron pole as we went. We spent the night at a town (*poblason*).

8. We set out at 3 o'clock a.m. We passed five towns and a great many stone bridges, some with iron pillars and huge chains the least of whose links weighed more than twenty-five pounds (*arroba*). We have kept in sight of the coast and of the great mountains of ice made by the waves as they beat upon the shore. About 11 o'clock we came to the great and populous city of Philadelphia, and at our arrival crossed a great bridge⁴ admirable for its fine (*grande*) architecture. It is roofed over with wood, and below the roof are a great many glass street lamps to light it at night. I stopped in (*la calle 51*) at the house of a general, a man who stands high because he is of those who fought for the independence of this happy country (*reyno*).

9. I had the tailor called in to make me a suit. At night I went to see the portraits⁵ of Bonaparte, the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, George III., Ferdinand VII., King Sebastian of Portugal, the Prince Regent, and various other personages; as also some scenes from the Scriptures, *e.g.*, the death of Rachel, and the violence which Potiphar's wife tried to do to Joseph; I saw (*comosi*) the French guillotine guillotining a woman—all with such perfection that they seemed living men. All the emperors and kings wore rich clothing and royal insignia. All this was something worth seeing; some foreigners had brought it from the kingdoms of Europe.

10. I went to the Museum,⁶ where I saw all the species of animals that are known in the world up to [*break; part of the diary lost.*]⁷

By false testimony they put him here⁸ for ten years; and the unfortunate consoles himself with that; but I believe that only if he dies will he get out under ten years—and that in order not to be a nuisance to the

³ Fort McHenry.

⁴ The High Street (now Market Street) bridge over the Schuylkill.

⁵ Probably wax works.

⁶ No doubt Peale's Museum according to information received from Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, librarian of the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

⁷ The account covering about three weeks is lost here, the narrative being abruptly resumed on Jan. 31 or Feb. 1, when the diarist is recording his impression of a Philadelphia prison.

⁸ The prison here referred to may have been "the first Philadelphia prison . . . built on High Street in 1695 . . . transferred to the corner of Third and High Streets and . . . finished in 1723". Montgomery.

living. Another Majorcan who is in for ten years—and they say he is a good philosopher—says he is there also because of [false] testimony. But in him I observed sound judgment, in that as a good philosopher he has made a rigorous examination as to whether this American government is just and wise in its procedure; and, satisfied that he has solved this problem, he expresses himself in these words: "Friend", he said to me, "in the world over which I have travelled I have not seen a government which is wiser than this and which contributes more to the general happiness. The most of the prisoners who live here are guilty of crimes which in Spain would be capital offences; but this government in its mercy sentences no man to death; what it does is to sentence criminals to remain in this prison more or less time in proportion to their crimes. Here they put us to work at tasks which we know and are able to do; they pay us a wage of 30 pence (*penés*) a month, 15 for food and 15 for washing and other little things we need; they give us ready-made clothing, good clean beds, and very good food; so that when any one of us has completed his term a debit and credit account is rendered us. There is a man who drew as much as a hundred pesos clear for his maintenance [after leaving prison]. Each individual is credited according to whether he has worked more or less during his term of imprisonment. The result is that men are highly benefitted by the fact of being punished, because they go out with money, with a trade, and, what is more, reformed and grateful." From here we passed into the women's prison. It gave me great pleasure to see them working at spinning and other tasks appropriate to women. Blessed and happy is the country that has a wise government!

In the afternoon I walked to the dock (*Marina*) and boarded a frigate. From there I went to the Café, which is a great gathering place for society (*gran casa de sociedad*).⁹ There I learned that in the *Aurora*¹⁰ had come out a notice that the insurgents had entered Vera Cruz; and I am delighted (*admirado*) at the great rejoicing of the people of this city on this account; especially the foreigners who are here from all the kingdoms of Europe. A participant in this rejoicing was the ambassador from Denmark,¹¹ as he has manifested many expressions of joy; even though there is only a rumor, in which I see nothing certain. Therefore I am delighted with the desire of everyone to see the insurgents win. They say that these are defending the most righteous (*justa*) cause that has ever been defended in all the ages. I have noted also the great desire which many of them have, to go to Mexico, and many of them have put themselves to school to a teacher whom they have paid to teach them the Spanish language. I am of the opinion that if a free passage were given to these people, there would be more than a million inhabitants who would go in a short time.

Sunday, [February] 2. I went to mass and to hear the bishop¹² preach.

⁹ "Probably the London Coffee House." Montgomery.

¹⁰ Duane's *Aurora* of Feb. 1, p. 2, "Extract of a letter from Havanna—January 13th, 1812".

¹¹ Peder Pedersen, consul; chargé d'affaires for Denmark 1803-1815, minister resident 1815-1830.

¹² Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, bishop of Philadelphia, 1810-1814, preaching probably at St. Mary's Church.

3. I went to the dock, and took a walk through the city. At night I went to pay a visit to a handsome young woman, one of the principal women of the city, who did me the distinguished honor to admit me to her boudoir. This is a mark of distinction which is shown to very few persons—this is the custom of the country—be their rank what it may.

4. I went out to see the dock. As it had rained the night before, the ice had melted; the boats had already cast loose, and many of them had spread their sails and were moving in the middle of the channel. From here I went to a great college¹³ where they study all the sciences, especially medicine—in this subject alone there are more than three hundred students—, mathematics, and geography. After I had gone through the college, which is an admirable building, one of the officers took me to a room in which there are wonderful things; I saw the electric machine; I saw the firmament with the stars, comets and signs [of the Zodiac]; I saw the terrestrial globe with all the countries of the world, and the seas, islands, and isthmuses, all colored; I saw an infinitude of barometers and thermometers of all shapes and sizes; I saw a world of apparatus, great and small, for all manner of experiments; I saw also the cities of London, Rome, Paris, and other great cities of Europe, with as great accuracy and naturalness as they are in reality, their temples, streets, and buildings of the same form as they are, with their great and admirable architecture, the carriages, the men and women going about the streets as if in reality they were alive.

5. I went out to see the hospital¹⁴ for the poor and for strangers; I was gratified to see the great cleanliness of everything. It has a very good dispensary (*botica*) and a great library; but nothing gave me so much pleasure as the excellent order of the kitchen. All its fireplaces (*chimeneas*) are of iron and the fire covered so that there is neither smoke nor ashes. Everything that is cooked or roasted is covered within those fireplaces; the water which it is necessary to heat is covered within other fireplaces. The receptacles (*vasijos*) in which the water is placed are hidden, and the water rises in steam through several sheet-iron (*oja de lata*) pipes and enters one large pipe, from which it falls into a reservoir. Thus everything is in remarkable order. The kitchen is covered with carpets and so clean that it looks like a dressing-room (*recamara*). From here I went to the poor-house,¹⁵ where there are a great many men

¹³ "The University of Pennsylvania, where the collections of electrical machines and orreries of David Rittenhouse, Benjamin Franklin, and Kinnersley excited much interest." Montgomery.

¹⁴ "The Pennsylvania Hospital was the first general hospital in the United States and is still standing between Eighth and Ninth Streets and Spruce and Pine. It owes its origin to the Doctors Bond. Benjamin Franklin claimed to have been one of its founders. It is still a model of neatness and it is considered a great honor to be chosen one of its resident physicians." Montgomery. If Dr. Montgomery's identification is correct, as it doubtless is, Gutiérrez de Lara here seems to make another error of detail, in giving the impression that this hospital was "for the poor and for strangers" alone; an error due no doubt to his limited knowledge of English and the probably almost total ignorance of Spanish on the part of the people he met.

¹⁵ "The Philadelphia Almshouse was established by the Quakers and consisted of a number of small houses on Walnut Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets. This served the city for 112 years. It was torn down in 1841." Montgomery.

and women. For all who are able to work there are many tasks at which they labor. In a woollen mill I saw an invention which is operated by a boy turning a wheel; this turns some cylinders which are covered with teeth as of cards; and there the wool is carded (*allí meten la lana*) so fine that it rises like a foam with the bats (*tasajos*) made so that all one has to do is to put them on the spindle and spin them. It excites wonder to see how these very clever men have advanced all the industries (*Artes*). From here I went to the madhouse. I was very much interested in seeing some of them bound with chains, and, what is more, their amusing extravagances; one of these was the perversity of a woman who was trying to convince them that she is a queen.

6. Today they have brought me the news that the ambassador¹⁶ of the Emperor of Russia is anxious to speak with me in order to tender me the good will of his emperor with reference to the independence of Mexico, as he has been charged—in letters which he has received—to protect and to show this order to the nationals (*sugetos*) of Mexico who may appear here on missions to expedite ways and means in favor of independence.

7. Today there came to this city a Portuguese passenger who came from Lisbon on a vessel reaching New York after thirty-three days voyage. He has brought us the news that Bonaparte has proposed to the King of Portugal to make peace with him and to return him the provinces which he has taken from him, on condition of the king's declaring war upon England. There is good assurance that he will do so, because when Bonaparte sent his ambassador to Rio de Janeiro—to the court of Brazil—the King of Portugal gave so grand a reception to the said French ambassador as to make the British ambassador so jealous that he had to leave the kingdom immediately.¹⁷

As for this and other well-founded reasons I say to the Americas, "Beware! Beware!"

8. I did not leave the house.

9. Sunday. I went to the dock to see the vessel in which I am to sail. It appears that tomorrow she will go out to the mouth of the harbor; within two or three days the captain and I shall go out in a little boat far enough to board the said vessel for New Orleans. The channel of the harbor is almost entirely thawed out; now one sees no more than some banks of ice about five or six *varas* thick.

10. I went to the dock to see twenty boats come in from various points of Europe; they say that one comes from France; I hope to learn some news which they may bring. From here I went to the house of the secretary of the Senate,¹⁸ in pursuance of an invitation that he had given me to eat with him at his table, which was very splendid.

11. Today I learned that Spain is almost all in the possession of Napoleon; that no more remains to the government of Spain than Cádiz and a small part of Galicia. Some Frenchmen have made themselves very friendly to me, and I have returned the compliment, so that they believed

¹⁶ André de Daschkoff, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, Nov., 1811–March, 1819. It is not likely that he had received such instructions as are here described. See Dexter Perkins, in this journal, XXVIII, 657–658.

¹⁷ Here also the diarist's information was erroneous. Lord Strangford continued as British envoy to the Portuguese court in Brazil from 1808 to 1815.

¹⁸ Neither the secretary of the United States Senate, Samuel Alleyne Otis, nor the clerk of the Pennsylvania senate, James A. McJimsey, lived in Philadelphia.

me, though they are the very devil. I think by this bit of deception to get some papers from them, and thereby I shall be able to discover a formidable plot which is being laid against Mexico. They have believed me so implicitly that they have already offered me one of the four aides-de-camp of Napoleon that are here; to accompany me. I have accepted, but as soon as I return from Mexico.

12. Today at 10 o'clock I went on board a sloop (*balandra*) and we set sail. In six hours we reached Newcastle, which is a town on the shore of the channel. As soon as we arrived we went on board our vessel, and they gave me at once a good stateroom in the best part of the ship. We had a delightful voyage today, because the channel is so pretty with its trees and the towns on its shore. There is a fort¹⁹ with its artillery, and some windmills. Another thing which interested (*divertia*) me was the great number of vessels that came in and out through the channel.

13. At dawn today the channel was frozen because of the intense cold last night, and therefore it has been impossible to navigate, notwithstanding the fact that the tide rose with such force as to break the ice-floe, which was not more than five or six fingers thick. Mountains of ice were heaped up, so that it is impossible for any vessel to travel. The channel is more than a league wide, and the currents are so strong that they lifted the ice and broke it with such force as to make a frightful noise. The vessels which set out—more than thirty—had to hug the shore to escape the terrific pounding of these mountains of ice. Today I went to shore in a boat and had a meal at an inn; afterward I walked through all the streets of the town and came on board to sleep at night.

14. Today it was not possible to set out because the ice had thickened in the course of the night; but it began to rain at dawn, whereupon the channel began to open; and this gives hopes for tomorrow.

15. Today the vessel set sail, and at a few leagues distance cast anchor because of a fresh wind and of many ice-floes which at night would have been very dangerous. Among the vessels which anchored here was one coming from Portugal.

Sunday, 16. Today at dawn a fresh gale blew up, which would have exposed us to great danger had not the mariners foreseen it and made fast. This morning the snow began to fall so heavily that in a little while it almost hid the vessels, and it was necessary for all the crew to busy themselves in shoveling the snow into the water. It fell so heavily and in such large flakes that they appeared like tufts of cotton (*Capullos de algodón*).²⁰ A good many frigates have arrived today, and some have not been able to enter; they have anchored in the open sea, where they are being terribly beaten by the ice-floes which are coming down.

17. The storm lasted all night, and at dawn navigation was impossible because the whole channel was frozen.

18. Today it was still impossible to navigate because of the great calm and the abundant ice. I entertained myself by boarding the war frigates and other vessels. I went on board the Portuguese war frigate last; the captain received me with great courtesy; and as the Portuguese language is almost like the Spanish, we talked at length on European affairs. On

¹⁹ Fort Penn, opposite Reedy Island.

²⁰ *Capullo* is the Spanish term for cotton bursting from the ripened open boll, ready for picking.

this frigate two Portuguese clergymen are passengers; one of them is the man who married and left his wife in Philadelphia.

19. The day dawned clear with a favorable wind. Very early in the morning we set sail, and about sunset we were on the high sea. I immediately became seasick and began to vomit.

20.

21.

22. Today we sighted a sail, a few hours to leeward—about a quarter of a league. They made an observation with a telescope and announced that she was a French pirate corvette. She began to follow us, but as soon as she saw that our vessel was very swift and that a formidable gale was coming down upon us, she desisted from her pursuit and struck sail.

Sunday, 23.

24.

25. The storm lasted until today, and we have escaped miraculously from being submerged in the waves. What inner conflict and terror (*conflictos y congojas*) we suffered when we saw the ship rise so high that she seemed to reach the clouds, and from there drop down with such swiftness and bury herself in the depths of the sea, and the proud waves meet above us mountain-high; and all this with a deafening noise!

26. Today dawned with the sea somewhat calmed and a favoring wind. About two leagues distant we sighted a ship, but she did not come near us.

27. Today we have had a good wind, and the sea quiet. I have been much interested in seeing very large fishes appear; among them many porpoises (*taurones*).²¹

28. Today at dawn we were near an island²² about fifteen leagues in length on the side where we passed; it has hills or ridges on the same side, which are very rocky; and the sea beats terribly there. Three vessels have come behind us, but the sails indicate that they are Americans. About four o'clock p.m. we sighted many little islands in the form of hills. About 12 midnight we came to the Bank, which is a large part of the sea not more than 18 feet deep; here we anchored and at dawn found ourselves fast.

29. Very early in the morning we weighed anchor and set sail, but after a little the wind fell, and the vessel was becalmed all day and all night.

March

Sunday, 1. At dawn it was still impossible to navigate because of the calm, but at two o'clock a good wind sprang up, and we set sail.

2. Today we have sailed with a good wind.

3. Today likewise.

4. Today we sighted the island of Cuba, and after a little we heard in one of its harbors thirty-odd cannon-shot. God knows what they wanted!

5. Today about noon we sighted the city of Havana, and I was greatly interested in looking with the telescope at Morro and its great fortifications.

6. Today we entered the Gulf of Mexico, and took a northwest course for New Orleans.

²¹ This definition was furnished me by Carlos Castañeda, a native of Brownsville, Texas, now of the Genaro Garcia Library, University of Texas.

²² The islands noted in this paragraph are probably of the Bahama group; "the Banks" either the Little or the Great Bahama Bank.

7. Today we have sailed with a favoring wind, and I have been interested in seeing many large fishes show themselves; the sailors caught one of the small ones, but it got away.

Sunday, 8. Today a good wind.

9. Today likewise.

10. Today we had a gale day and night.

11. Today little wind. We have sighted two frigates and two brigantines. At night we came near the mouth of the Mississippi. The sea had been darkened by a thick fog ever since the afternoon. In the darkness it was seen that a vessel was approaching; and the men on both ships began shouting at one another, asking who they were and whence they came. The other frigate said that she came from Jamaica, and we went about anchoring (*dimos forma de anclar*). After a little others began to shout in the dark; and these we believed were of some pirate ship, because they immediately fired two cannon shots, and subjected us to a very close scrutiny (*nos tomaban una residencia muy apretado*) so that we thought they were enemies. But as soon as they were sure that we were not hostile, they told us that their vessel was the boat on which were the pilots that guide all vessels to the harbor.

12. Today we rode at anchor because of a dead calm. Hereupon the captain went on board the frigate which came from Jamaica, who brought the news that the English and the Junta at Cádiz are having a terrible quarrel over some millions of pesos; and they say that from one hour to another the Englishman turns his artillery against Spain. As for the English minister,²³ he has gone from Cádiz to London.

13. Today we had some wind, and we began to sail; but upon our arrival at the mouth of the river a squall from the land met us and carried us out to the open sea; soon it died down, and we spent the night at the same place whence we started in the morning, waiting for the right wind. After a little we saw coming a schooner of French pirates which carried thirty armed men; but in order to obviate disputes with them the sailors ran up the American flag; whereupon they did not approach.

14. Today we sailed half the day, and anchored, because at night they could not come up to the mouth of the river on account of the many reefs (*escollos*) on the coast.

Sunday, 15. Today dawned calm, and therefore we did not weigh anchor; but about noon a wind storm blew up, so violent that it snapped the thick cables of some vessels near us, and tossed them over the waves; and we lost sight of them completely. Our ship had a heavy cable, which the wind could not break; but it began to drag anchor so that we were about to be dashed upon some mighty rocks. Here began our struggles; for as soon as the ship saw herself overcome and beaten by the haughty tempest she began to sink, and in order to obviate this the sailors took an ax and cut the stout cable. Then the ship began to ride the waves, and after a little she was driven near the coast, where there were many large rocks showing their points. Oh what a terrible experience for all! Death seemed to us inevitable; especially when the ship began to plunge in the direction of the rocks (*en el plan qe alcansaba*) and when we saw them afterward no more than thirty *varas* away. But the sailors, manoeuvring with great energy and skill, swung the prow clear of the reef, and she passed, to everybody's astonishment, without touching the rocks. De-

²³ Henry Wellesley, afterward Lord Cowley; brother of Wellington. It does not appear that he went to London at this time.

livered from so great a danger we praised the All-Powerful. Soon the storm began to calm down, and we cast the other anchor near the mouth of the river.

16. Today about 9 o'clock a.m. they weighed anchor and we soon afterward entered the mouth of the Mississippi River; and notwithstanding its rapid currents we arrived about 4 o'clock p.m. at Fort Plaquemines (*castillo de Placamines*).²⁴ It is a very good fort; it has in its batteries cannon of large caliber. We sailed two leagues farther and anchored, because it was impossible to navigate, owing to the darkness of the night.

17. Very early in the morning we set sail; about ten o'clock a.m. the wind changed and it was necessary to anchor. At four o'clock p.m. a boat seeking passengers came out, and for a doubloon (*onza*)²⁵ took us by twos to the town which is [near by—a total distance of] 24 leagues away. We navigated until midnight.

18. We set out very early in the morning, and began to come to the settlements. It pleased me to see so many orange trees, the most of them from China.

19. We rowed until 12 o'clock at night.

20. We spent the night at the Turn (*torno*),²⁶ so called because of the windings of the river.

21. Today the wind was very contrary; we rowed.

Sunday, 22. Today we spent the night in sight of New Orleans.

23. Today we arrived, at 8 o'clock a.m. I engaged board in the house of an Italian. I went to the house of the governor and gave him a letter of recommendation²⁷ which I bore from the federal government (*Corte*); he received me with great kindness, and we made an appointment for four o'clock p.m. I went, and he said my travel henceforth would be at his cost.²⁸ Here, too, I met an American gentleman who is

²⁴ Or Ft. St. Philip.

²⁵ 15 or 16 pesos. Compare with the entry for November 27, 1811.

²⁶ Probably English Turn. Claiborne, *Mississippi*, p. 22, gives a different traditional explanation of the name: "About this time [1698] Bienville, on a reconnaissance in one of the bends of the Mississippi, fell in with an English ship, Captain Barr, who had been sent to explore the river and make a settlement. The Frenchman very coolly informed the Englishman that the Mississippi lay much further to the west, that this stream was a dependence of Canada, and that it had been for some time occupied by the forces of the King of France. Capt. Barr thanked him for the information so politely given, and sailed westward in search of the great river! To this day the bend is known as 'the English Turn'."

²⁷ This was merely a personal letter from John Graham, chief clerk of the Department of State, formerly secretary of the Territory of Orleans. The governor, William C. C. Claiborne, acknowledges receipt of this letter on Mar. 31, 1812, stating that in the absence of any letter from the Secretary of State regarding "the person, to whose care . . . was committed" Graham's letter, he is at a loss "as to the degree of countenance proper to show him". *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 68-69.

²⁸ In the letter to John Graham cited above, it is stated that in view of Graham's suggestion "that the Government wished his return to Mexico to be expedited", Governor Claiborne has recommended Gutiérrez de Lara "to the friendly attention of Captain William Shaler", who is going up to Natchitoches by the next boat. "This Stranger" having represented himself as "wholly destitute of funds", the governor is asking Captain Shaler to advance the amount necessary

consul of the government (*Gobierno*);²⁹ who made me move to his lodging; and we agreed to set out for Natchitoches together.

24. We went to the house of the governor, where there was a gathering of all the military officers, who had come to pay their respects to the governor.

25. Today the governor came to visit me and to invite me to come to his house to take a meal with him; for which I thanked him.

26. Today I went walking over the city; and I saw the beautiful gardens and the very straight streets (*lo mui recto de los calles*). In the afternoon I went down to the wharf to see an admirable and never-before-seen device which some men have invented. It is a great ship which they call a steamboat,³⁰ which moves very swiftly against the winds and the currents by means of fire; which is a thing worth seeing. The said ship is so large that she seems like a little village (*poblacion*); inside, she has three saloons, three galleries, and various rooms. Her cargo could not be carried by fifty mule-trains; she earns for her owner 3000 pesos every month in freights.

27. Today I went to dine with the governor. The table was very abundantly supplied with food, wines, oranges, and apples. A gentleman who was present invited the governor and me to his house tomorrow. This gentleman is a very powerful merchant; his name is Benjamin Morgan (*Moguen*).³¹ The governor gave us many toasts in fine (*jenerosos*) wines to the health of Generalissimo Rayón,³² to the union of the Two Americas, and to the health of my family.

28. Today we went on the invitation tendered us by Don Benjamin—the governor, the consul of the government, and I. The meal was served to us in the house of a very wealthy man (*poderoso*).

Sunday, 29. Today the governor, the consul, and I have been impelled to wonder at the extravagant love for my Generalissimo Rayón which a very beautiful young woman of an illustrious family of Baltimore has manifested. Only from hearing me refer to the great virtues with which he is endowed, and being enamored of his virtues she has shown an

for a comfortable voyage to Natchitoches for "the stranger" [Gutiérrez de Lara]. *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 45, 75, 79.

²⁹ Captain William Shaler, referred to in the letter of Claiborne, cited in note 28. Dr. Garza speaks of Shaler as a spy, whose main purpose ever since the time of his appointment as consul to Havana in 1810 had been to get such connection with the Mexican Revolution as would enable him to manipulate it in the interest of the United States; as a shrewd politician, widely travelled, an excellent linguist, an unscrupulously devoted patriot, attractive, diplomatic, about forty-eight years old at this time, and "finally, marked by the hand of God: a cripple!" *Dos Hermanos Héroes*, pp. 61-63 *et seq.* He had been appointed commercial agent to Mexico.

³⁰ The *New Orleans*, Captain Nicholas J. Roosevelt, the first Mississippi River steamboat, the property of Robert Fulton and Robert R. Livingston, arrived at New Orleans on Jan. 10, 1812, almost five years after the successful voyage of Fulton's *Clermont* up the Hudson. See *Claiborne Letter Books*, V. 185-186, 220, VI. 1-2, 41.

³¹ See *Claiborne Letter Books*, *passim*, for some of Morgan's various activities.

³² Ignacio López Rayón, one of the most prominent of the Mexican revolutionary leaders. See Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, IV., *passim*, for a history of his revolutionary career.

extravagant love for him; she has had many toasts drunk in fine wines to his health. She has asked me if I could safely take her with me; I replied that it was not possible. She said that if woman's dress made it difficult she would take with her men's clothing to use when it was advisable; I told her that it was impossible even so. She then told me that she would give me her portrait to take to him. Oh how estimable is virtue in a man of reputation! She is a woman of great beauty and good breeding; she belongs to a family of high reputation, rich in the good things of a fortune gained by work; her age is nineteen years; and the best personages have offered her their hands in marriage. She knows two languages and is going to study Spanish; she plays the dulcimer admirably.

30. Today I did not leave the house.

31. Today likewise I did not leave.

April.

1. I went shopping to buy various little things for personal use. The governor came to see me today.

2. Today I went to see the governor, and we took a walk over the city.

3. I walked over to the arsenal and the bay. There are a hundred large and many more small boats.

4. Today the governor came to see me.

Sunday, 5. Today I did not leave the house.

6. Today I went for a drive in a carriage with Madame Rayón. Today there came to the consul the news of a conspiracy against the United States which the British were framing in Canada.

7. I had an invitation to breakfast at the house of Mr. Morgan with the governor and the consul, and my trip was put off until tomorrow.³³

8. We went early in the morning to breakfast at Mr. Morgan's, the consul and I; and he lent us his carriage to drive to the boat which was awaiting us at a distance of half a league. We sailed all day.³⁴

9. We set out very early in the morning, the consul and I; and we landed and began to walk along the fertile bank, looking at the many beautiful gardens, the many fruit trees, especially oranges; myrtles covered with flowers and fruits; and what I admired more was the admirable and exquisite order in which all the trees are planted.

10. We sailed even into the night.

11. I travelled on land a little while, because the very fertile banks of this grand, indescribably great Mississippi are very delightful to me. Men who have travelled all over Europe and even other countries have told me that no river among the many in those parts of the world equals this in its size and depth, or in the fertility and pleasing appearance of its banks. It is an admirable thing to see that many of the numerous herbs which grow there (*que producen*) are good to eat, and their flowers in odor, form and color might grace cultivated gardens.

Sunday, 12. We set out, and I went by land looking at the great sugar mills and rice mills, and shooting birds with the rifle (*fusil*). Of these we made some good dishes.

³³ In commenting upon Gutiérrez de Lara's stay in New Orleans, Claiborne writes to Graham under date April 13, 1812: "No sooner was the arrival of this Man known in New Orleans, than several intriguers (believed to be acting under foreign influence) made attempts upon him;—But he prudently evaded all their efforts, and kept himself whilst here quite retired." *Claiborne Letter Books*, VI. 79–80.

³⁴ Up the Mississippi.

13. We sailed with contrary wind.

14. Today we have met—as every day—many flatboats (*chalanés*) which are coming down from the Province of Kentucky (*Quintoque*), and others, laden with ham, cotton, flour, and other provisions. The trade with New Orleans in these commodities is very great. All the multitude of vessels which come from all the world stock up with provisions and cargo solely from what comes down the Mississippi. It must be noted that they are many, for the foreign boats alone bring the state a revenue of a million dollars a year; and they do not pay duties for the products of the country, only for foreign, and for these only at the entrance into the harbor; afterward they pass through all the country without paying anything.

15. Today we came to the fort (*castillo*) of Baton Rouge (*Batón Rús*), and we spent the night at Point Coupée (*Puente cupé*) 10 leagues farther up.

16. Today we sailed with a good wind.

17. Today I landed to shoot; and I went very far up because of a lake, or arm of the river, which prevented my coming to the river bank; and I had to strip and swim across to wait for the boat. In crossing the said arm I escaped being caught by the alligators, for I did not see them until I realized that I was in the midst of them; but fortunately I crossed without mishap. I waited for the boat the whole afternoon; unfortunately it did not come to where I was; and I had to make a fire and settle down to sleep, tormented by the numerous mosquitos. In addition to this a furious panther (*tigre*) jumped out of the dense woods at midnight and attacked me; I could not shoot him because of the thick darkness of the night. On account of the danger to which I was exposed and on account of the numerous mosquitos I could not sleep.

18. Very early in the morning the boat came, and we sailed with a good wind, and arrived at the mouth of the Red River (*Río Rojo*); we entered it, leaving the Mississippi.

Sunday, 19. After sailing a short while we came upon an arm of the said river which forms an island 13 leagues long; we entered it and sailed for ten leagues. All day I amused myself by shooting at the alligators, of which there are a great many.

20. Very early in the morning we entered the river, and at night we supped on alligator meat.

21. Today we rowed.

22. Today the same.

23. We rowed.

24. Today we arrived at the settlement of Rapides (*Del Rapi*), and the consul and I left the boat to travel by land; soon after Mr. Claiborne (*Clébon*),³⁵ who is the judge here, invited us to take a meal with him.

25. Today Mr. Miller (*Mélor*) invited us to eat and to sleep at his ranch, which is on the road which we took; he gave us horses; and four of the leading men accompanied us.

Sunday, 26. Today we spent the night at the house of a very famous Frenchman whose name is Mr. Auguste (*Augusto*) Baylio.

27. We spent the night near Natchitoches.

28. We arrived at 10 and lodged at an inn; and all the leading men began to visit us with the greatest deference, as is the custom in the

³⁵ Richard Claiborne, a distant relative of Governor Claiborne. See *Claiborne Letter Books, passim*, for correspondence, etc.

colonies of Spain in the case of those who come from the court (*Corte*).

29. Today I went to visit the commandant of the fort,⁸⁶ who received me in the manner I have already described; and he invited me to supper.

30. Today all the officers of the garrison (*tropa*) have visited us.

May

1. Today we accepted an invitation to take a meal.

2.

Sunday, 3. Every day we have invitations, and assuredly we shall have them until it is forgotten that I come from the government.

4.

5.

6. Today I received an invitation—to a banquet—from the captain of the fort.

7. Today I went in accordance with the invitation; they served a magnificent banquet (*gran comilión*).

8.

9., Sunday, 10., 11. Knowing that the Indian nations are doing damage to the soldiers and citizens of San Antonio, I summoned the chief of the Caddo, as the supreme chief of the Indian nations, and I rebuked him for this; I ordered him to go immediately to tell the said nations in my name (*de mi parte*) to stop hostilities against the Spanish, and to await my orders as to what they should do in future. The said chief has recognized me as supreme chief, and has set out to comply with my orders.

12.

13. All the time passes in compliments.

14.

15. Today a French gentleman came to negotiate the matter, of which I shall speak presently in a note.

16.

Sunday, 17.

18. Today came the news from the [*Aurora*] that [Congress] has just conferred the command of the Army upon General Moró or Moreau,⁸⁷ a famous French general whom Bonaparte once took prisoner. Also the said *Aurora* published the spirited letter which the Secretary of War wrote in reply to the Minister of the King of England. In view of this the declaration of war is expected soon. Then, it is said, General Moró will march with a powerful army against the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Britain, which are toward the north, and belong to the King of England.

25. I went to the printing office to see printed a thousand copies of the proclamation⁸⁸ which goes to the Realm of Mexico; I was much inter-

⁸⁶ Perhaps Lieut. Augustus W. Magee, who soon after joined with Gutiérrez in the invasion of Texas.

⁸⁷ Jean Victor Moreau, who had been living in the United States since 1805. President Madison did offer him the command of the United States army; but he returned to Europe to fight Napoleon, and died on Sept. 2, 1813, of a wound received in the battle of Dresden.

⁸⁸ Possibly a broadside published under date June 1, 1812. Mrs. Hatcher, University of Texas archivist, has translated a document of this date, derived from the Archivo General y Público in Mexico City, from the transcript of "Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Años de 1810 y 1812, Salcedo, Manuel, Gob'or de Bejar",

ested in seeing the dexterity of the printers. I saw also a trowel-bayonet (*?trogel*)³⁹ which a very skilful Hungarian had made (*habrió*) of fine steel; he asked 30 pesos for his work. I went to mass at the Catholic Church of Saint Mary; I was gratified to see the immense number of Catholics who attend the Catholic temples. The bishop⁴⁰ preached in English; they say that he is a very wise man and a great orator. On the day when he preaches many Protestants come to hear him preach and to admire his great eloquence. At night I went to a Methodist church, and was impelled to marvel at the great number of them who were praying to the All-Powerful, in a manner at which I wondered. The priests (*sacerdotes*) preach with shouts, making gestures with their hands, and clapping their hands as if in applause (*como llenos de admiracion*); all to the end that the people be moved to pray to God for forgiveness of their sins. This they do so entirely from the heart that casting all their eyes to the ground they utter loud cries, shed tears; and the women faint. I, though evil, prayed to God our Lord, of His mercy to be pleased to shed upon these people a ray of His Divine Light.

tomio I, primera parte. "This letter", she adds, "with other documents in French and Spanish, was sent to the governor of Texas by Bernardo Montero, commandant at Nacogdoches. One of these, beginning with the words 'Jesus Maria y José' and signed 'J. A. T.' [*José Alvares Toledo*], Philadelphia, very carefully and logically develops the idea that the source of all power lay in the people. These documents were brought into Texas by a deserter from the detachment at Natchitoches. They were seized by Montero and forwarded to Bexar." The last-named document, an original broadside, is in the collection of Henry R. Wagner, of San Francisco, Cal. A photoduplicate of Mr. Wagner's copy is in the University of Texas Library.

³⁹ This word has not been found in any dictionary to which I have had access, and may be supposed to be an imitation of an American word.

⁴⁰ There was at this time no bishop of the diocese of Louisiana; Bishop Pefialver had died in 1810; Bishop Du Bourg did not become apostolic administrator of the diocese till Aug. 18 of this year; nor bishop till 1815. Possibly the preacher was the vicar general of Louisiana, Rev. Louis Sibourd.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Les Civilisations Anciennes de l'Asie Mineure. Par FELIX SARTIAUX.
(Paris: Rieder. 1928. Pp. 80 and 60 plates. 16 fr. 50.)

A VERY compact volume of first initiation to the study of the ancient civilizations of Asia Minor. Without a word of preface or introduction the author proceeds, under four captions (to which for convenience's sake we shall refer as chapters I. to IV.), to outline in chronological sequence the various civilizations which in turn flourished in Asia Minor, each succeeding culture falling heir to the preceding one, adapting it to its own needs, enriching it with *apports* of its own, putting on it the imprint of its own genius.

After a first chapter (pp. 5-14) on the names of Asia Minor in antiquity, its general physical structure, and a short survey of the history of its exploration, the author, in chapter II. (pp. 15-36), passes in brief review: (1) the old Asianic civilization with marked Semitic influences (known to us indirectly and, if we may say, retrospectively from the Tell el-Amarna tablets, directly from the contemporary tablets of Kultépé) third millenary B.C.; (2) the Hittite civilization (wide-spread rock-carvings; excavations and tablets of Boghaz-Keui) second millenary B.C.; (3) the Achaean civilization (the Homeric Troja, the sixth out of the nine towns which in succession occupied the same famous site; introduction of the alphabetic writing in the Greco-Latin world) not clearly dated by the author; (4) the Phrygian civilization (capital, Gordiaeon, on the Sangarius; kings alternately called Gordias and Midas; rock-carvings of Ayaz-In and Arslan-Kaya) thirteenth to eighth century; (5) the Lydian civilization under the dynasties of the Atyads, the Heraclids and the Mermnads (Gyges, Cresus; American excavations, 1913-1914, on the Pactolus at Sardes) twelfth century to 546, date of the destruction of Sardes by the Persians.

Chapter III. (pp. 37-56) treats of the emigration of the Achaean-Eolians, Ionians, and Dorians from Greece into the islands adjacent to the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor and the corresponding portions of the littoral, and the first efflorescence of the Greek genius on the Asiatic soil in the realms of art, letters, and science; chapter IV. (pp. 57-77), of the expansion of Hellenism throughout Asia as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, the book coming to an end with an outline of the Hellenistic civilization during the three centuries after Alexander's death.

The book is profusely illustrated. The first two plates are maps of Asia Minor (the second a repetition of the western part of the first on a

larger scale, neither satisfactory); the others show sites of towns, plans of cities, reconstructions, statues, bas-reliefs, sarcophagi, cuneiform tablets, coins, etc. Each plate as a rule contains several subjects, with the result that some of the illustrations are entirely too small to be of real use. A good many are so distantly related to the point they are supposed to illustrate that they very well could be dispensed with. Of the plates as a whole, however, it may be said that they are creditably executed and well arranged for easy consultation.

We said this was a book of first initiation to the history of ancient civilizations in Asia Minor. We may further define our position by adding that it is neither a hand-book nor an introduction. Such as it is, however, it is not devoid of usefulness and interest, for those in particular in quest of general culture, and from this point of view it is to be regretted that it should be entirely isolated in the collection in which it is issued.

We wonder whether it is worth while to warn even the unsophisticated reader against some passages where the author evidently oversteps the limits of his subject and apparently those of his competence as well. I am sure he will find but few to share his regret (p. 61) that Hellenism, though it came within an inch of annexing Judaism, failed to do so and, thereby, "save Europe from the religious fanaticism which so terribly bore down on her history".

H. H.

La Cité Grecque. Par G. Glotz, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (L'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.) (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1928. Pp. xxii, 476. 30 fr.)

IN this little book the author tries to present to his readers the spirit of the Greek people as it found expression in their political institutions. Though the result is not primarily a handbook of Greek constitutional history, students who desire to know how the political machinery of the Greek *πόλις* worked will find the details they seek. Furthermore, the style of the author is so vivid that readers can easily imagine themselves participating in the various activities of the city state.

Professor Glotz begins by explaining that his interpretation of the origin and development of the *πόλις* is radically different from that given by Fustel de Coulanges in the *Cité Antique*. In Glotz's opinion there were three forces constantly at work in the *πόλις*, the family, the city, and the individual, and for each one of these forces there was a corresponding stage of development. In the first period, the city was composed of families who jealously guarded their inherited privileges and subjected their members to the collective interest. In the second period, the city, with the aid of the individual now emancipated, subordinated to itself the families of which it was composed. The third period was characterized by that excess of individualism which brought ruin to the city and made necessary territorial states larger than the *πόλις*.

The three major divisions of the book correspond with these three stages of development. In the first, entitled *La Cité Aristocratique*, we find chapters on the Homeric city, the origin and forms of oligarchy, its institutions, and the birth of democracy and tyranny. The heart of the book describes fifth-century Athens, for Athens is *La Cité Démocratique par excellence*. Finally *La Cité au Declin* describes changes which took place in the political and social life of the city state and the corruption of the democratic constitution which resulted from them. A chapter on the unification of Greece carries the reader through the fourth century leagues and confederations to the League of Corinth. The three stages are now nearly complete, for the author concludes with a chapter on the end of the Greek city.

Despite the emphasis which Athens receives, the book contains a wealth of material on the institutions of other Hellenic cities, culled from ancient authors and inscriptions. For its size, it includes a surprising amount of detail. Consequently, as there is abundant opportunity for error and divergence of opinion, I shall limit my criticism to two points illustrative of the author's methods. After describing (p. 225) the practice by which each of the ten Athenian tribes in their official order furnished a secretary during cycles of ten years, Glotz appends this note, *c'est ce que les épigraphistes appellent la loi de Ferguson*, with a reference to Brillant alone. Ferguson's monograph is nowhere mentioned.

About two years ago, an English reviewer of Glotz's *Histoire Grecque* criticized him for accepting Keil's views about the senatorial calendar. In the present treatise these theories are again presented without modification, not as theories, but as accepted facts. Such is the persistence of error. Furthermore, Keil is not credited with the authorship of these erroneous views. The reader is referred merely to Glotz's earlier work. The falsity of the theories, it may be noted, has since been amply demonstrated by Meritt's *Athenian Calendar* (cf. *A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 99 f.), published almost simultaneously with *La Cité Grecque*.

But the book will not be read because of its bibliography, extensive though it is. It will be studied rather because it offers an interpretation of the Greek *πόλις* written by a scholar who not only has given much thought to the problems of ancient democracy but also has the ability to present the evidence for his generalizations in a form which gives new life to the dry bones of ancient political institutions.

Historical Trials. By the late Sir JOHN MACDONELL, K.C.B., edited by R. W. LEE, D.C.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. xviii, 234. 10 s.)

THE preface to this volume amply attests the author's exceptional competence to write it. Nine lectures discuss the trials of Socrates, the Templars, Jeanne d'Arc, Bruno, Servetus, Galileo, Mary Stuart, Katharine of Aragon, and Raleigh. Another pictures the feudal anarchy in Auvergne which was repressed in the assizes of 1665-1666. Another

illustrates with trials from Scotland and Germany, including that of Kepler's mother, the witchcraft chapter in human thought and culture.

The professed intent was to contrast "systems of legal procedure". But a trial, in nature unique "and which even the lapse of more than two thousand years has not made less memorable", could not be typical of the Greek; and the trials of Mary and Raleigh present only in a sorrily exceptional way the English. The illustrations of inquisitional procedure, however, are ample basis for the author's useful characterizations of its general features (pp. 40-41, 48, 50-51, 74-77, 80). References to procedure are minimal, being confined to fundamentals: the composition of the court, the charge, the general nature of evidence admitted, and general conduct of the trial. Sir John's concern is with the problem of justice, and as presentations of that all the trials are excellent.

Of most of these (Joan's being a remarkable exception) the records are extremely unsatisfactory. The speech of Socrates, for example, could not possibly have been delivered as it appears in Plato. Even the charge is not always clear. Of Bruno's trial practically nothing is known; the verbose indictment of Servetus scarcely reveals the one essential—a crime against Geneva; as regards Socrates there are persistent doubts (*Wetzel, Haben die Ankläger des Sokrates Wirklich Behauptet dass er Neue Gottheiten Einführe?*)

There are greater difficulties. The word "trial" imports an unprejudiced hearing, rendering anachronistic its application to most of the *causes célèbres* here discussed, since they were political. The trials of Socrates, the Templars, Mary, Katharine, and Raleigh were plainly so; and those of Bruno and Galileo essentially, for the union of church and state, establishing opinions by law, turned into crimes the heresies of intellectual inquiry. The advancement of Calvin's political ends by the sacrifice of Servetus, if it did not enflame his malevolence, throws over the trial a cloud of political suggestion, as does the intervention of the English army commanders in the case of Joan.

Judged even by the law of their time and place the trials of Mary, Servetus, and Raleigh were grossly irregular. The rehabilitation proceedings, and the suppression of the Dömrémy depositions (Sir John insufficiently emphasizes this: cf., Sepet, "Observations Critiques", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XCVI. 420) justify a like judgment of the trial of Joan.

Sir John's repudiation of the decision in other cases must proceed from modern concepts of justice. Apparently, Henry C. Lea would have pronounced improper their injection into such judgments of the past. But, does not that view lead us to the ineluctable conclusion that whatever was, was right? Socrates, for example, since contemporary opinion derived law from the gods, accepted as "just" whatever conformed thereto: but, for us, would law and justice therefore necessarily concur in his condemnation? Judgment on the charges against the Templars depends upon the value of evidence secured by torture, the use of which was then wholly "legal"; and Dr. Lea inconsistently rejected the evidence. It

was a doctrine fairly general in Elizabeth's time that a prince might for reasons of state take the life of a dangerous subject: yet, for us, her attempts to have Mary poisoned do not therefore throw less light upon the partiality of Mary's trial. On the other hand, Sir John totally excludes Mary's relation to Darnley's murder; which unduly honors the peculiarly strict rules of English law forbidding evidence of crimes "unconnected" with the one in trial. Space is lacking for the discussion of these fundamental questions.

Historians will find little new in the volume. Nevertheless, its judgments are exceptionally important, and its lessons in legal rationalism are invaluable. The author pronounces the condemnation of Socrates "an error" (p. 147); repudiates Prutz and exonerates the Templars; echoes, with Lord Shaw, Hosack's judgment that Mary's trial was "the most disgraceful of all the judicial iniquities which disgrace the history of England"; finds Raleigh's trials "marked from first to last by injustice and crime". The chapter on Servetus is particularly good. That on Katharine is unsatisfying; the legal issues are better discussed by Mr. Thurston in the *English Historical Review*, XIX. 632.

Many important secondary authorities are not cited, but their omission, with rare exceptions, is unimportant, for the book is written from the sources. Its superiority to the usual productions of lawyers can be appreciated by comparing the uncritical treatment of Mary's trial in Lord Birkenhead's *Famous Trials of History*.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Professor of Medieval History, University of Chicago. (New York and London: Century Company. 1928. Pp. ix, 900. \$5.00.)

THERE has long been a desire on the part of instructors and students of Medieval history for the kind of book which Professor Thompson has given us. For those who have awaited it with considerable interest this excellent volume offers few disappointments, if any indeed. There is no work in English approaching it in scope, scholarship, or general usefulness for Continental history, and in no language is there a similar work so broadly conceived and so soundly executed within convenient compass. From the decay of Roman prosperity to the close of the thirteenth century, where the work fittingly ends, there are almost no topics of interest to the student of social and economic history not touched upon, and everywhere the results of the most recent researches are made available. Conflicting theories and points of view are presented frequently; judgments of earlier writers are often corrected in the light of new study; the work of many writers on special fields is summarized and succinctly presented; the scholarly research of the author is evident as the foundation of much

of the volume, and especially of some of the best chapters. In accordance with the policy of the editors of the series of which it is a part, there are no foot-notes except to identify important quotations included in the text. These frequent quotations both from sources and important secondary works, be it said by the way, are well chosen, pertinent, and illuminating. The author's style is clear, smooth, and flowing, often enforced by trenchant touches. It is a book one can enjoy reading.

Among its many virtues that which stands out above the others, aside from the general excellences mentioned, is the emphasis placed upon the Church as a factor in the economic history of the Middle Ages. In addition to the chapters one would naturally expect on early monasticism, the new monastic orders of the later period, the Church and feudal society, all excellently done, the influences, good and bad, exerted by the Church on economic developments, are woven into other parts of the book in admirable fashion. One recalls reading works on the economic history of the Middle Ages in which the Church is all but ignored as a factor of importance. In this connection it will be surprising if the author is not thought by some readers to have leaned backward in the second chapter in his successful and justifiable attempt to disclose the evil effects on the early Church of its newly acquired wealth. He has not failed to convey his "sense of futility and disillusionment" in considering the Church in its first centuries of triumph when its spirit and temper were altered by the change from poverty to affluence, when it first became an exploiter of vast properties to remain such to the end of the Middle Ages. The most original chapter deals with the disruption of the Frankish Empire, where the author sketches convincingly his own theory that the partitions of the empire were "primarily distributions of the crown lands, from which everything else followed". The limits of the book forbade great elaboration of this interesting thesis, but the promise of a further development of it in a future work by the same author is given. The chapter on German eastward expansion and colonization is not only brilliantly written but in all probability could have only been so interestingly done by one conversant with the history of the American frontier. The reviewer knows no book in which the origins, development, and rôle of feudalism are exposed with such masterly clarity as "phenomena of social progress, not of social decline". The importance of the manor and peasant conditions receives recognition in proper proportion, but on the perplexing question of the origin of the manor it is doubtful if the readers of the book will be able to reconcile two passages. We read (p. 92): "But it would seem that the theory that social organization of the ancient Germans rested upon the association of free men with equal social status and equal values in land ownership is exploded." In the discussion of the origin of the manor (pp. 731-732) the author, despite cautionary words and phrases, leaves the reader with the impression that the theory is far from being exploded. Towns and guilds are adequately treated, but the chapter on this subject, after an excellent discussion of the various theories of town origins followed by a careful analysis of the complex social

and economic forces which produced the towns and guilds, does not fulfill in interest of treatment the promise contained in the finer pages on the growth of Lombard towns in the chapter on Italy during the Crusades. One had looked forward to this later chapter as containing, so to speak, the climax of the book in interest, but the author seems here to have failed to rise to his opportunity.

No doubt workers in special fields will be able to point out minor errors in the wealth of factual statement. One might question the value of the frequent statement of the equivalent of Medieval sums in American dollars without explanation of the method used. The statement (p. 579) that bargains and contracts made on shipboard could not be enforced on land is untrue, as is also the implication that the loss of a merchant's goods by jettison was borne entirely by the ship instead of being charged against the ship and the other merchants on board (p. 580). The thirteenth-century Genoese gold coin was a florin, not a ducat (pp. 405, 415). Tana is at the mouth of the Don (p. 419), not of the Dniester (p. 423). The reviewer would be glad to be as certain as the author that the square rig was in general use on Mediterranean vessels before the fourteenth century (p. 577). Surely the best opinion is that the periodic cry at the fairs, certainly in Champagne, was "hare" not "haro" (p. 593). But the reviewer grows pedantic.

The charts and maps are good even if the latter are not always conveniently placed. The only significant error in proof-reading in the book destroys the present value of the map facing p. 182. The economic map of Europe at the end should have been as complete as possible, instead of omitting so many important places mentioned in the text.

The book will not only be widely used at once in colleges and universities, but it will be enjoyed. Not often does a book of this character have such literary style as to prove attractive to those who are not students of the period. Professor Thompson's book has that quality, as the reviewer can already testify.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.

Von Dr. JOSEPH KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Erster band, *Das Mittelalter*. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, ed. G. von Below and F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. x, 351. Unbound, 14 M.; bound, 16 M.)

THIS notable contribution to economic history is a revised translation of a work that has already gone through seven editions in Russian. It is thus not an entirely new work, but the results of recent research have been carefully utilized. The bibliographies contain references to works issued in 1927 and the text includes large masses of material dating from 1923-1924 with some references to later works. In content as in method it is a notable achievement, representing German historical scholarship

at its best; the points of view of constitutional and economic historians are happily combined. The present work is commanding evidence of the fruitfulness of the influence of Roscher, Schmoller, and Bücher. Latterly much severe criticism has justly been made of this school of writers, but the present work shows clearly that this school has made a large and permanent contribution to economic history which extends far beyond the limitations of the schematic generalizations and doctrines that have dominated many controversies over the interpretation of economic organization and development.

The primary generalizations upon which the text is professedly based are those of Bücher: notably, the concept of the self-contained household and the concept of a town economy based upon unenlightened municipal selfishness. To these must be added the common Germanic assumption of the essentially Teutonic character of the cultural history of North-western Europe. These basic ideas, however, have been subjected to extensive critical revision. The notion of the self-contained household is qualified in such a way as to reconcile the concept with the existence of a certain amount of trade throughout the early Middle Ages. Similarly, the preponderance of Teutonic elements in the development of feudal institutions does not preclude the recognition of various Roman elements as subsidiary factors. The town economy which becomes dominant by the twelfth century is described with more critical regard for known facts than was shown by Bücher. It is no longer identified with custom production for a local market. Kulischer also rejects Bücher's notion of a development of a system of craft work out of wage work, and the importance of the character of the raw materials of the different occupations is frankly recognized. A considerable number of towns are shown to have been dependent upon long-distance trade, which involved not only raw materials but also highly manufactured products. In many places these export commodities were produced under essentially capitalistic conditions under the putting-out system. All idealization of these Medieval towns is abandoned: wealth is shown to have been highly concentrated in the hands of a small patrician group and the condition of the general mass of the people was genuinely unfavorable. The evils of economic exploitation were aggravated by general social neglect.

Although the author treats these modifications of Bücher's views as qualifications which do not affect their substance, in reality the analysis of industrial forms and the history of trade and commercial organization amount to a complete abandonment of the old position. The author has made careful use of Heyd, Schaube, Schulte, Stieda, and recent monographic studies on the technical development of navigation and ship-building. In the past, this material has been very inadequately utilized in general texts so that it has not been fully assimilated, and even in the present work the primary conclusions have been utilized without realization of all the implications. Keen regard for critically established facts, however, has carried the author far beyond the limitations of the interpretative

doctrines of the nationalists, and the value of the work, therefore, can not be adequately indicated by any description of the seemingly underlying doctrines.

The work gains in strength, too, by the felicity with which the critical method is followed. Without falling into the temptation of writing a mere history of what others have thought, Professor Kulischer summarizes with notable compression the divergent views on all primary issues, with brief but cogent indications of the grounds for accepting the position adopted. One has, therefore, the sense of the need of developing a body of knowledge by a process of rational criticism, all too frequently lost in much French and English writing in which the criticism of the materials is sacrificed to direct exposition and narrative. The text is thoroughly equipped with notes, and the primary divisions of the work are furnished with brief bibliographies which are extremely well selected.

Although the views of the German nationalists have not precluded full critical appreciation of outstanding literature, the older views have in some respects restricted the interests of the author, so that some important problems of economic history have been ignored. The analysis of agrarian problems is dominated by the older concepts. We find no inkling of the broader formulation of these questions that were at last adequately developed by Weber. The recent work of Weber could scarcely have been available in time to permit the author to make extensive use of it, but it is fairly evident that the author was not working along similar lines and that he was willing to confine his efforts to the discussion of the problem as it was defined at the close of the last century.

Important limitations of interest appear also in regard to the geographical concepts that dominate the text. It is tacitly assumed that the theatre of Medieval history is Northwest Europe. There are allusions to Italy and to Spain, but for the most part there is nothing to suggest that they played a larger part in the affairs of the Medieval "world" than they do in the "world" of today. The discussion of commerce necessarily requires some reference to the Levant, but it is treated as a region external to the real Medieval "world". We thus find here the implications that have long been so serious a handicap to an adequate economic history: Northwest Europe is made the focus of attention throughout the period; the Christian world is set over against the Moslem world; there is no recognition of the climatic and physiographic differences between the Mediterranean countries and Northwest Europe; no recognition of the preponderant importance of the Mediterranean countries down to the close of the thirteenth century. The analysis of geographic factors in history, which has been so happily developed by Vidal de la Blache and his school, has exerted little influence upon the present text. Full recognition of the economic and cultural significance of interregional contacts throughout the historical period would, of course, require a complete and conscious abandonment of all the premises of the nationalists.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Disertaciones y Opúsculos de Julián Ribera y Tarragó, de las Reales Academias Española y de la Historia. Edición colectiva que en su jubilación del profesorado le ofrecen sus discípulos y amigos [1887-1927]. Con una introducción de Miguel Asín Palacios, de las Reales Academias Española, de la Historia y de Ciencias Morales y Políticas. Tomo I., *Literatura, Historia y Cultura Árabe, lo Científico en la Historia*; tomo II., *Historia de la Música, Historia Árabe Valenciana, el Problema de Marruecos, Enseñanza y Miscelánea.* (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre. 1928. Pp. cxvi; 638; viii, 796.)

ATTENTION has already been drawn in this *Review* (XXXIII. 78 f.) to the remarkable contribution which the Spanish school of Arabists and historians is making to our knowledge of the civilization not only of the Spanish people but of Medieval Europe. It has been the distinguishing mark of that school of Arabists since its beginning that it did not stop short at philology and literature, or even at Mohammedan history and Arabic thought, but that it gave its greatest effort to understanding and elucidating (1) the very mingled civilization which arose in Spain as a consequence of the Moslem conquest and (2) the influences which went out from Spain and affected all southern Europe. On the one hand, this school has recognized how mixed was the Spanish Medieval civilization and how Spain itself was a bridge for all manner of Oriental influences to enter Europe and, on another, and in consequence of this, it has laid its greatest stress on sociology and history, tracing, in a multitude of ways, developments by influence and imitation in legal and constitutional institutions, in philosophical and theological thought, in popular poetry, lyric and epic, in literature broadly, and in music in detail, rather than confining itself, as so many Arabic schools have done, to Arabic philology and the old Arabian and the later Moslem literature. The members of that school have been fully conscious that their inheritance as Spaniards contained certain fructifying Oriental elements and they have felt fully assured that the history of the Medieval European civilization must be restudied and rewritten in the light of the assured facts which they have now brought forward. How, in that final rewriting, the whole matter will be stated no one can yet be certain; but it is quite certain that the Medievalist must now definitely take Spain and Spanish into his circle and must even learn to be a bit of an Arabist and Orientalist as well. For it has been demonstrated that, in the Medieval world, the civilization on all the shores of the Mediterranean in many respects was essentially one, and that to a degree which has never held true since. National and racial prejudices and *amour propre* may continue for a time to hold theories of spontaneous, parallel development, but these will become gradually less and less tenable as the evidence is known, studied, and accepted and as case after case of logically impossible coincidence is cumulatively proved. The proof must be a highly cumulative one to overcome the

immense inertia of ignorance against which it is brought. It is not polite, of course, amongst scholars, to speak of "ignorance" but in this case it can hardly be avoided. The three sacred "languages of learning", English, German, and French, have, it is true, been expanded by the addition of Italian and Dutch, but Spanish is still without the pale. Students of the Medieval world must frankly and fully take it in and acquaint themselves with the facts which are to be found only in Spanish, and must realize further that their science can not be on a sound basis until some at least of their number have added Arabic studies. It is no impossible task for a scholar whose memory is still linguistically plastic to learn in a few months to read ordinary Arabic prose. To become an Arabist in the technical sense means, of course, years; but that is another matter. To put the point shortly, Spanish and Arabic are now for the European Medievalist two necessary "tool" languages.

As an introduction, whether linguistically or historically, to these studies nothing could be better than the present two volumes of the collected, miscellaneous writings of Professor Ribera. Following in the footsteps of his master Codera, whose collection of Spanish Moslem coins is now in the Library of the Hispanic Society in New York, he has been the second founder of this Spanish school and by far the weightiest influence in giving to it its specific character. A disciple of his, again, Professor Asín Palacios, now, perhaps, more widely known than even his master Ribera for his elaborate study of the *Divina Comedia*—quite fairly demonstrating its dependence on Moslem sources and setting all the Dantists by the ears—has prefixed, in a hundred-page introduction, a life and character of Ribera and an analysis of his methods, ideas, and achievements as teacher, student, and expositor of a wide variety of themes. For Ribera has been no cloistered scholar, but, from natural disposition and from the necessity of vindicating the claims of Spanish Arabists to be of use to their country, he has had to engage in diverse struggles with his government. When we wonder at the indifference of this country towards the services which may be rendered by specialists in the historical sciences, it is well to read here how all through its Moroccan troubles the Spanish government felt no need of a knowledge of Arabic and Islam in its officials stationed in Africa. And, in truth, the experiences of this one school, face to face with political officialism, throw a flood of light on the present situation in Spain. On another side, also, Ribera was led by his Arabic studies to conflict with accepted modern situations. He had observed the malign influence upon education of control and direction by the state. Certificates were required for a state career; certificates meant examinations; examinations meant cast-iron courses of study and mechanical methods of teaching. In consequence the whole, in his eyes, pseudo-science of pedagogy has become a *bête noire* for him and he constantly calls us back to his ideal of the master practising his science or his art as he teaches it to a small circle of disciples and teaching it to them by practising it before their eyes. So the Greeks and the early founders of the sciences of Islam had practised and taught and

we have all probably sighed for those truly good old days. Finally, the last 150 pages of these volumes reprint Professor Ribera's contributions in periodicals, during the dark days of Spain in the first five years of this century, to the essential rebuilding of the national character in heart and mind.

But, to return to the history of the remoter past, there are reprinted here, among other shorter papers, (1) his epoch-making study of the Cancionero of Abencuzman showing the part played by the mixed lyric of Andalusia in the general development of the Medieval lyric, especially in Provence; (2) his similar study of the contribution of epic narrative poems in Andalusia to the French historical romances; (3) the origins of the philosophy of Raimund Lull; (4) an elaborate study of libraries and bibliography generally in Moslem Spain, with a shorter paper on a separate collection of Arabic and aljamia manuscripts; (5) a still more extended study of education in Moslem Spain; (6) reprints of his introductions to certain important Arabic texts dealing with Spanish history; (7) his elaborate answer to the question, What is History? In the second volume the first 174 pages are given to a reprint of his studies of the music of the Cantigas of Alfonso the Wise, supplemental to his basal work on the subject, a large folio of five hundred pages, forming one volume of the great edition of the Cantigas, *La Musica de las Cantigas*. This last has not been reprinted, as a popular edition of it appeared last year and English and German translations will shortly appear. The thesis of all these is that the popular music of Southern Europe, the *musica ficta*, like the lyric and the historical romances of Southern Europe, are to be traced back to Andalusia and thence through the Arabic and Persian music to Byzantium and Greece. It is a gigantic and far-reaching thesis full of implications for the history of institutions, ideas, and usages and based ultimately on Ribera's great principle of imitation, as opposed to spontaneous parallel origin, in human progress. This principle of imitation and tradition is here worked out with the greatest fullness of knowledge, learning, and sympathy; his treatment is one of the classical vindications of the position of this school of folklore. Similar to it in method and detail are his studies of the legal institutions of Aragon and of the history of education. Next in the second volume comes a reprint of a long series of studies in the Arab history of Valencia. Here, in the very territory of *Mio Cid*, the Garden (*Inuerta*) of Valencia, Ribera is on his own soil, a land-owner and a farmer, and these shorter studies are filled with the flavor of the soil and the glamor of historic names and memories. He goes up and down here in Valencia, much as Scott in his day went up and down in his own Border side. His articles on the problem of Morocco bring us back to the modern situation and to Ribera's vain fight to persuade the politicians that knowledge of Arabic and Islam was essential to the solution of that problem. The next 200 pages are reprints of articles on education which range from the ancient history of state-directed education, as Ribera has traced it, to the present Spanish situation. The materials for his great history of edu-

cation, literally from China to Peru, have been collected, but the history itself is still to be written. Yet here there is much of suggestion and warning to us in our own tyranny of examinations and closed systems.

It will now be plain that in these two volumes we have the picture and the record of a personality; a scholar and a man of books; a leader and a man of affairs; a farmer in contact with the soil and a teacher in contact with the hearts and minds of a devoted school of disciples; a man of infinite powers of labor with hand and brain, in skilled relation to many arts and crafts from music to lithography and photography; and, above all, a man of vitality, able to turn all these to account in the service of his country and the vindication of her history, and in the clarification of the history of civilization. If any historian or Medievalist is in doubt let him turn to and read these pages for himself.

D. B. MACDONALD.

History of the Byzantine Empire. By A. A. VASILIEV. In two volumes. Volume I., *From Constantine the Great to the Epoch of the Crusades, A.D. 1081.* Translated by Mrs. S. RAGOZIN. [University of Wisconsin Studies, Social Sciences and History, no. 13.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin. 1928. Pp. 457. \$3.00.)

OF the increasing number of text-books which have flooded the market in recent years, quite a few have devoted some place to Near Eastern conditions and some have made the history of the eastern end of the Mediterranean the main theme of their narrative. Several brief sketches of Byzantine history in particular are available, the best of which is undoubtedly that by Charles Diehl. Intermediate between these and the larger general histories, a gap has intervened which has only been partially closed by the *Cambridge Medieval History*. In spite of the undoubted merits of this work (in particular vol. IV.) it is none the less the product of many hands and lacks the coherent presentation which proceeds from a single mind.

Professor Vasiliev's book fills this gap extremely well. It is what the others are not—a course of lectures on the subject, individual, careful, and coherent. Professor Vasiliev's competence in this particular field is known to all Medievalists and questioned by none. His works on Byzantine-Arab relations in the ninth and tenth centuries are indispensable to all scholars in this field, and he enjoys that distinction, so rare among Medievalists, of being a competent Arabist as well. The translation is all the more desirable, as the Russian original, which was issued just before the outbreak of the Revolution, is extremely difficult to obtain. One or two features of the book deserve a more detailed notice. Chapter I. gives an extremely useful survey of the historiography of the subject which, to the reviewer's knowledge, is not to be found anywhere else. A large number of historians are treated in considerable detail. Some use-

ful information, previously quite difficult to obtain, is given about the Russian historians of Byzantium. The second chapter of the book, covering from Constantine to Justinian, is distinctly slighter, and chapter III., Justinian to Heraclius, while fuller, can be subjected to some criticism. I miss in particular an evaluation of E. Stein's hypothesis about the militarization of Asia Minor during the period from 590 to 628. The most valuable part of the book is chapters IV. and V., in which a detailed account is given of the development of the empire from 610 to 867. This is a period which is covered connectedly only in the second volume of the first edition of Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, which he never lived to revise. The final chapter, which deals with the Macedonian dynasty and the troubled period of the eleventh century, is again more cursory.

Some criticism might be made of the arrangement of the materials. The compressed reviews of the dynasties, I should think, ought either to be fuller or merely take the form of lists. The brief sketches of art and literature likewise fall between two stools. The general effect is rather too obviously schematic.

The book is one which will be distinctly useful to those who are either teaching or studying Byzantine history, for it forms much the best foundation for a course of lectures that has yet been available. Secondly, it will be most useful for those who are endeavoring to obtain a coherent picture of the Byzantine Empire as an entity in itself and not as an unwilling annex to other civilizations. The language and style, apart from an occasional reminiscence of the Slavic original, are clear and sober. The typography is impeccable. We hope that the new volume will tend to increase the numbers of the growing group who are interested in the checkered history of the Romanic empire.

ROBERT F. BLAKE.

Det Danske Folks Historie. Redigeret af AAGE FRIIS, AXEL LINVALD, M. MACKEPFRANG. Bind I., *Det Danske Folk i Oldtiden*, af J. BRØNDSTED, VILH. LA COUR, og JOHANNES STEENSTRUP; bind II., *Det Danske Folk i den Ældre Middelalder*, af JOHANNES STEENSTRUP og JØRGEN OLRIK; bind III., *Det Danske Folk i den Yngre Middelalder*, af JØRGEN OLRIK og C. P. O. CHRISTENSEN. (Copenhagen: Chr. Erichsen. 1927-1928. Pp. xiv, 438; xiv, 349; xiv, 419. 14.50 kr. a volume, bound.)

THE appearance of this eight-volume history of the Danish people is a notable event in Northern European historiography. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, perhaps the most sumptuous work of its kind in the past generation, was completed nearly twenty-two years ago. That work is still useful to the scholar, though it lacks that prime requisite of a scientific work, a critical bibliography. Nor was it written in a style that would hold the attention of the general reader. The present work is a popular history in the best sense; it is a conscious attempt to portray the history

of the Danish *people*; and it has conceded to the scholar a certain apparatus of bibliography that will guide him readily to some of the important printed sources used by the authors. The output of Danish and Northern European scholars, especially in the fields of philology, archaeology, and folklore, and in monographic material such as appears regularly, for example, in *Historisk Tidsskrift* and in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, is impressive for the period since 1906, and its quality suggests that a new synthesis of Danish history would be a timely enterprise. The present work will be perhaps three-fourths the length of its predecessor, and it should be complete by the close of 1929. There is much fresh illustrative material in the volumes that have thus far appeared. Besides photographic reproductions of Medieval buildings, frescoes from parish churches, coins, seals, old wood cuts, and early paintings, there are many items from the great collection of antiquities in the National Museum, of which one of the editors, Dr. Mackeprang, is the present head. Fresh cartographic material would have been most welcome; but no single work can atone for the lack of a scientific historical atlas of the North. The map of Denmark's earliest administrative divisions is taken from *Danmarks Riges Historie*, volume I., and was in turn largely based on a map prepared about a century ago.

Volume I. opens with a chapter by Knud Jessen on the physical and natural history of Denmark. The author discusses (p. 29) the geological time-charts worked out by De Geer, which present definite proof on the basis of a study of clay deposits that an interval of 14,000 years has elapsed since the inland ice cap lay over southern Scania, and make possible the correlation of geological data with early human history. Svend Aakjaer gives an interesting account of the relation of the Danish language to other Indo-European languages, and on the basis of philological studies now available on Hittite, Sumerian, and other Asiatic dialects, concludes that the Aryans came from the northeast of the Mesopotamian states, south of Turkestan, probably from the regions lying between the Caspian Sea and Hindukusch-Pamir. He summarizes the discoveries of Vilhelm Thomsen, who, in his studies of Finnish and Lappish, found numerous loan words that give clues to the Gothic of the time before the Ulfilas Bible (ca. 325 A.D.). The archaeologist, J. Brøndsted, gives a fascinating account (I. 103-260) of what his science is able to show of the life of primitive man in Denmark. This section has perhaps more new material than any other, and the author has appended a valuable bibliographical essay. The theories of Rostovtzeff pointing to the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes of southern Russia and southwest Asia as the disseminators of animal ornamental designs common to the Celts, Scandinavians, and other widely scattered peoples, have perhaps come out too recently to be discussed here. The origin of the Danish people and their oldest history as revealed in literary sources is set forth by Vilhelm La Cour (I. 261-354) on the basis of the most recent investigations.

The early Middle Age, including the Viking period, is presented by the veteran of many historical conflicts, Professor Steenstrup (I. 357-439; II. 1-222). Here, as in his volume in *Danmarks Riges Historie*, he lays much stress on tradition, and some on debatable runic inscriptions, to supplement the paucity of documents. Many of his conclusions are ingenious and suggestive, but his method has drawn the fire of Professor Erslev (*cf. Historisk Tidsskrift*, VI. 1-53) and other representatives of the newer critical school of historical writing. The period from 1340 to 1439 on the revival of the kingdom and the history of the Calmar Union is treated with clarity and sound understanding by Jørgen Olrik (II. 223-349; III. 1-138) who had the difficult task of gleaning where Erslev had garnered. Some question might be raised as to whether King Hans's brief tenure of the Swedish throne (1497-1501) and the rising tide of opinion in Sweden that prevented its being regained must not in part be explained as the repercussion of the Finnish—and Swedish—border question. The presence of Russian envoys in King Hans's train and their perhaps inadvertent revelation of the Russo-Danish treaty of 1493 (III. 178-179) was certainly used by Sten Sture and the independence party with considerable effect. The Church in the "late Catholic" period receives a sympathetic and judicious exposition at the hands of C. P. O. Christensen. The rich and varied spiritual life of the time, as mirrored in interior wall-paintings, in towers and arches, in prayers and postils, even in great scholarly projects appropriate to the dawn of humanism, shows a religious community that has little to suggest the proximity of the schism in the Latin Christian world that was so soon to follow. The sixty-five years that have elapsed between the appearance of C. F. Allen's work on the break-up of the Union, and the penetrating, unbiassed account of Christensen, mark a long step forward in scientific historical scholarship in the Scandinavian North. The volumes that have appeared are worthy examples of successful combination of popular presentation with scientific detachment.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

History of England. By W. E. LUNT, Professor of History in Haverford College. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xviii, 900. \$4.25.)

England: a History of British Progress from the Early Ages to the Present Day. By CYRIL E. ROBINSON, Winchester College. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 892. \$5.00.)

THESE books supply much material for a study in contrasts as regards emphasis and methods of presentation. Widely different in most respects they supplement each other in many ways.

Professor Lunt has produced an important addition to the rapidly growing list of college text-books in English history. Eminently qualified for the task by many years of teaching and extensive research in the

field, he has written a scholarly and well-balanced history of England. The Middle Ages get a generous share of the 818 pages of text, and with the close of the Tudor period we are about halfway through the book. Each of the succeeding three centuries receives approximately an equal amount of space. The story is carried through the recent war and it ends with the election of 1924. The years of the twentieth century are, of course, treated more fully than any earlier epoch of similar length.

By giving a considerable amount of attention to the Medieval times Professor Lunt differs from several of the recent writers of English history texts. In the opinion of the reviewer this reversal to earlier practices is wholesome. But he feels also that in any treatment of the modern period the greater complexity of England's social, economic, and imperial relations in the nineteenth century, when compared with its immediate predecessors, demands that it shall be favored in the allotment of space.

The book has several maps and genealogical tables, a good index, and an excellent critical and up-to-date bibliography; but no illustrations.

Professor Lunt writes for American students who can not be expected to possess any previous knowledge of English history. The story is carefully organized and clearly told. However, in places it may prove rather heavy for the average college freshman.

Mr. Robinson has been and is a teacher at Winchester. His students know something beforehand about their country and its past. Nearly every page of his book bears witness to the fact that it has been written by an Englishman who is also a teacher of young Englishmen. He intends to relate the story of England's progress. This goal is a bit nebulous, but he has certainly succeeded in telling the saga of England's achievements in peace and war—especially the latter. Professor Lunt's interests are centred mainly on the constitutional aspects of English history, Mr. Robinson's on the political. Art, literature, constitutional development, and social and economic conditions receive attention, but none of these holds the centre of the stage—it is given to wars, battles, campaigns, heroic exploits on land and sea. For instance, more space is devoted to Richard I. and the Third Crusade than to his father's work in reorganizing the English government. Mr. Robinson writes with zest and his book is full of color. Both persons and events are at times vividly portrayed—the type of pictures boys especially enjoy. When he condemns it is without hesitation, when he praises he does not stint. In many places where Professor Lunt is cautious and reserved Mr. Robinson sees his way clear. As an illustration, the former describes Robert Curthose as weak, speaks of James II.'s gravity and industry, and passes no stricture on Marlborough's character; but Mr. Robinson calls both the Conqueror's eldest son and the last Stuart King fools and declares (p. 355) "that in Marlborough's character honour had no place". The American historian says (p. 102) that William II. "met his death from an arrow shot by an unknown hand", while the English asserts (p. 56) that the fatal missile was shot by Tyrell, a member of the king's suite.

Professor Lunt's book is remarkably free from errors and misprints—"ceorls", top of p. 69, and "Sweden" for Sweden and Norway, map facing p. 652, are among the few noted. But Mr. Robinson's does not stand the test so well. It is rather surprising to find him speaking of a Canadian constitution of 1842 (p. 677) and a "British General Election of 1905" (p. 689). His discussion of the causes of the last war and of "Allied and Enemy Ideals" shows that the "revisionists" have made no impression upon him.

Mr. Robinson begins his book with the Roman occupation without any preliminary discussion of English geography and in parts he takes for granted an elementary acquaintance with English history. The book contains many and very good illustrations, numerous maps and plans, convenient summaries and chronological tables, a bibliography briefer than Professor Lunt's but having more references to novels of interest to the student of history. The index is excellent.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

Éléments d'Introduction Générale à l'Étude des Sciences Juridiques.

II^e partie, *Le Système Juridique de l'Angleterre*, tome I., *Le Système Traditionnel*. Par HENRI LÉVY-ULLMANN, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit à l'Université de Paris, Vice-Président de l'Académie Internationale de Droit Comparé. (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1928. Pp. 574. 50 fr.)

THE title hardly suggests a book dealing principally with the sources of English law. The ground-plan involves three divisions, dealing respectively with common law, statute law, and equity. Among the various topics discussed at length are the Anglo-Norman laws and customs, organization of courts, the bar, precedent, the declaratory theory, judicial records, reports and abridgments, treatises of authority, the receptions of Roman law, law merchant, Parliament, types of legislation, doctrine of the supremacy of law, periods of legislative activity, literary sources of statute law, origin and development of equity law.

The present volume is the successor in point of time, but not in logical connection, to one published in 1917 (pp. 176) dealing with the definition of law. In the list of publications of the author appearing in the earlier volume there is a notice of an "encyclopédie du droit" stated to be in preparation and designed as the second issue of this series. We have found no explanation of the change in the author's plan of publication. This digging up of old bones is not without point. We shall state it shortly. In 1917 there were available Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law*, Jenks's *Short History*, *The Anglo-American Select Essays*, and three volumes of Holdsworth's *History*, to name the principal items of a class. There did not appear to be any specific work at that time dealing in detail with the sources, unless we except Gray's *Nature and Sources of Law* (1909). Of course the story was even then available, but in unsystematic form. There was actual need of such a treatise and

it was no doubt the very laudable purpose of the author to supply it, putting aside the project of the "encyclopédie" (juristic survey). When, after laboring for several years on the present volume, the task was near completion, there appeared in quick succession the treatises on the sources by Holdsworth (1925) and by Winfield (1925), six new volumes of Holdsworth's *History* (1923-1926), and, still more recently, Allen's book on the sources, under the title *Law in the Making* (1927). The author himself discloses in his preface this unexpected development, and he is generous enough to express his satisfaction. It is easy to believe, however, that the situation presented difficulties, but we believe the author has solved them in the right way by making such use of the new material as was necessary and by issuing his book. From a purely selfish and provincial standpoint, one might have wished, however, that the author had adhered to his original plan of an "encyclopédie". That would have been something of a novelty for French juristic literature and a thing to be desired by American and English students of law, even though it must be admitted that the fashion for juristic encyclopaedias seems to have passed. In any event, the proposed encyclopaedia may come later, and in the meantime, the present work (to be completed by another volume) will be of great value to French students, although it can hardly displace, for English readers, even with differences in treatment, the books now available in English.

The author has long been interested in English law and, as might be expected of one of his learning and talents, the volume now under review exhibits satisfying competence and industry. A system of law, decentralized in its operations and pontifical in its difficulties, as was until very recent times, and still continues to be in spirit, the English law, presents magnificent obstacles of approach to those trained in continental Europe. The author has spared no pains to penetrate the difficulties. His documentation leaves nothing to be suggested that the author himself has not considered, and here there is room for differences of opinion. It would, for example, have appeared to the reviewer that Gray's book on the sources would have been found valuable on certain points touching precedent and statute. The discussion, though brief in compass, of the three receptions of Roman law seems to us to be a clear and sound statement of the matter. When comparisons are made in detail on a large scale of English and Roman law, one can not resist the belief that the extent of the reception is greater than is commonly believed. In the treatment of the doctrine of supremacy of law, the author, we believe, has fallen short of the statement of one of the most significant of the practical issues for purposes of comparison; namely, the absence of administrative courts in our law. The scope of the book did not perhaps make possible, in the same connection, consideration of the principle of constitutionality of legislation. The jury system receives but scant treatment and a foreign lawyer would hardly be able to measure its social significance and its causation in the development of our procedure.

Of the numerous books published in France in recent years dealing with English law, the present volume is one of the best informed.

ALBERT KOCOUREK.

Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals. By T. F. Tout, Litt.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of the University of Manchester. Volumes III. and IV. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, nos. XLVIII. and XLIX.] (Manchester: University Press; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xviii, 495; xvi, 484. 30 s. each.)

AFTER an interval of several years since the earlier parts were written, it is not surprising to find that the author's plan has grown considerably, so that it is yet to be concluded by a fifth volume containing certain supplementary chapters together with a general index. With the main body of the work thus before us, there need be no hesitation in recognizing it as a signal contribution, original and stimulating, thoroughly representative of a school of history that has but lately come to its own in England. Far from being entirely new, much of the material indeed has been anticipated in the manifold studies of pupils and colleagues whom it is a delight to honor. Among these special mention is made of Dr. Dorothy Broome, who has been the constant collaborator of her teacher in all his recent labors.

In the period now held in view, the king's chamber and wardrobe no longer stand forth as the organs of a private administration in distinction from the public departments of the chancery and the exchequer. Abandoning the aims that had proved fatal to his father, the policy of Edward III. was to bring all the organs of government into an essential unity, with an accepted division of labor between them. Not that the perennial rivalry of barons and courtiers ceased, for there recurred sharp crises to recall that the spirit of the lords ordainers was by no means dead, though it might be temporarily placated by a liberal distribution of patronage. Naturally the strain of war was the greatest influence of centralization. The Scottish wars drew a range of offices to the north, and again the war with France required a southern capital, at the same time causing one subdivision after another to be made between the organizations remaining at home and those taken abroad. Even the king's council at times shows a group following the king apart from the body stationed at Westminster. Of the two household offices the chamber, attended by the king's special confidants, although it was deprived of all financial independence, continued with irrepressible vitality to wield the greater influence. The wardrobe on the other hand, operative in several branches, while dealing with a vast amount of business both at home and abroad, was reduced to routine functions. How far a domestic establishment might be converted

to new and strange uses is shown in its activities as a military commissariat. By a similar turn the so-called privy wardrobe becomes a factory for munitions.

In cutting a swath so wide, one inevitably touches upon many debatable points. The whole tendency of the work indeed may be regarded as a reaction against the juridical school that has long held the field unchallenged. In a sequence of argumentative foot-notes, with many a sharp thrust, Professor Tout contends that the juristic historians have at times overdrawn their bow. Thus there is called in question the "doctrine" of Professor McIlwain that the High Court of Parliament connoted a judicial rather than a legislative supremacy. It is true as our author observes that "*curia*" did not in medieval phrase mean necessarily a law-court; nor was the name in this connection frequently invoked. More positively the lords claimed for themselves the status of judges, and as regards their actions which speak louder than words, there is nothing herein to disprove that the stress was preëminently judicial. Again, considering the chancery in its equitable jurisdiction, no jurist will agree to its classification as a "law-court". Still further, among numerous allusions to the king's council, an effort backed by an impressive array of citations is made to assign the great council a distinctive place apart from the council in its usual form. Allowing for conflicting evidence the net result is nothing more definite than what has been known before. Unfortunately in drawing distinctions too sharply the old discredited name of "ordinary council" is revived. The term is objectionable not merely because of the utter lack of contemporary sanction, but more strongly because it later applies to a very different body, namely the councillors of judicial capacity. Exception may also be taken to the rendering of the formula *per petitionem de consilio* as "on petition of the council". Such a petition in fact was one passed upon, rather than framed by, the council; the ambiguity of course is due to the want of an adjective in Latin for "conciliar petition". One may mislike such expressions as "to take council", "divided in council", etc., without danger of misunderstanding. Not to mention slips of the pen, a correction that may help to straighten a later chapter is that of the two chanceries belonging to the dukes of Lancaster the first to be established was the chancery of the palatinate, before the positive appointment of a ducal chancellor, who, when he was not elsewhere attending the duke, resided in London. The promise of a treatment of the small seals, one of the most original features of the book, will be fulfilled in the final volume.

J. F. BALDWIN.

Stephen Langton. By F. M. POWICKE, Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. [Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1927.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. x, 227. 15 s.)

CLIO is a fickle muse. To some men of the Middle Ages, like St. Francis and Dante, she has allotted literally hundreds of biographies, whereas this is the first modern biography of Stephen Langton, the heroprelate of Magna Carta fame.

The public life of the great archbishop of Canterbury has been told in all histories of England and has even found a place in the general textbooks of Medieval history. For that reason, Professor Powicke decided not to dwell upon the dramatic events of Langton's career. That is unfortunate, for many a reader, especially in America where English history is losing ground, will feel obliged to consult other books before he can follow Professor Powicke with ease. In this first life of Langton the striking, although familiar, facts, might have been restated with perfect propriety and with telling effect.

But no Medievalist will linger more than a moment on omissions, in this excellent book which rejoices the heart because it is built up largely on hitherto unused manuscript material. More work on manuscripts must be our slogan for many a day in Medieval studies. By the assiduous use of Langton's unpublished lectures and sermons Professor Powicke has opened up an entirely new field for himself and a group of his students. They will be working on subjects closely akin to those studied by Pierre Mandonnet and his followers, published in the *Bibliothèque Thomiste*. Care should be taken not to duplicate work. Thus, Professor Powicke tells us that one of his students is interested in Robert Curzon, on whom a volume will appear shortly in the *Bibliothèque Thomiste*.

From local records it is now clear that Stephen was the son of Henry of Langdon-by-Wragby, a small landholder near Lincoln. Born about 1165, Stephen went to Paris early in the reign of Philip Augustus. His long residence in Paris as student and professor induced Professor Powicke to write two extremely interesting chapters on the University of Paris in its formative period, based on Langton's inedited *Quaestiones*, and all the scattered printed material which is extant. He is extremely cautious in the use of his sources, never going a millimetre beyond them. One fears that he may even have developed a touch of hypercriticism when he says that it would be surprising to find that the number of students in Paris about 1200 A.D. reached more than a couple of hundred. Although few will give credence to the statement of Bar Sauma, the lieutenant of the Oriental patriarch Yaballaha III., that he saw 30,000 students in the University of Paris in 1287 A.D., scarcely any scholars will share Professor Powicke's low estimate for 1200 A.D.

His masterly analysis of public opinion and the academic mind which produced the Great Charter and aided the reconstruction after the death

of John will command universal attention. He clearly demonstrates how the dominant studies at the University of Paris—theology, philosophy, and canon law—molded the minds of great statesmen like Innocent III. and Stephen Langton to such a degree that they shaped the destinies of nations and of the Church. The position of the great archbishop in resisting King John was much harder than that of Pope Innocent III. or the English barons. As a loyal Englishman, Stephen Langton was obliged to square his conscience with English custom and law, as well as with universal law: natural, canon, and divine. We shall welcome additions to this fascinating theme.

L. J. PÆTOW.

The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon. A Translation by ROBERT BELLE BURKE, Professor of Latin and Dean of the College, University of Pennsylvania. In two volumes. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xiii, 418; v, 419-840. \$10.00.)

The Cipher of Roger Bacon. By WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, edited with foreword and notes by ROLAND GRUBB KENT, Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 224. \$4.00.)

'Tis no pleasant task to look a gift horse in the mouth, to criticize a labor of love or a posthumous publication by ill-advised friends. But considerations of historical truth and method outweigh personal proprieties.

These are two works of a different stripe. One really has something to do with Roger Bacon; the other only pretends to. One will save some students time by placing the *Opus Majus*, important in the history of science and the culture of the thirteenth century, before them in English translation. The other may mislead the curious into wasting time in idle effort to decipher an anonymous manuscript of dubious value. Our chief criticism of the one will be that it should have been more fully developed before publication. The other should never have been published at all, and Professor Newbold would never have published it in its present imperfect state. One by a sober method gives the reader a fairly good chance to form his own estimate of Roger Bacon from that famous friar's own words. The other concocts a Roger Bacon after its own fancy and purpose, bases its procedure on gratuitous assumptions, defends it by the usual logic of miracle-mongers, and ignores facts or considerations which might arouse doubt in the reader's mind. Neither book appears to be *au courant* with the more recent findings of Baconian or Medieval scholarship.

Professor Burke's rendition of the *Opus Majus* is in general faithful, patient, and accurate, without being too literal. Unfortunately a mere

translation of the text is scarcely sufficient for the reader's adequate understanding of the work. It should be accompanied by a scholarly introduction and copious explanatory notes. These Professor Burke has not attempted and in this abstention has apparently exercised discretion, for there are many indications in the translation that he is not well acquainted with the period in which Bacon lived, or with Medieval science, superstition, and bibliography. Roger's citations of other writings, ancient, Christian, or Arabic, are not always correctly rendered.¹ Professor Burke should have submitted his rendition before publication to those who could have helped him make his version more exact and luminous in such matters. A counsel of perfection would be that a truly satisfactory translation should be based not merely on the rather unsatisfactory printed text but on some study of the manuscripts. Even as it is, although the translation is based upon Bridges' edition of the *Opus Majus*, no cross-reference is made to the pagination of the Latin text, so that it is difficult to find the equivalent of a particular passage in the one in the other.

That the translation is provided with an index is praiseworthy, but I can not agree with all the good things said of the index by another reviewer (see *Isis*, XI. 140). It contains no reference to such important conceptions in Roger Bacon's thinking as the multiplication of species, generation, putrefaction, or incantations. Its citation of his bibliographical references is very faulty and incomplete.² But it is of course preferable to no index. Similarly most persons will agree that this translation of the *Opus Majus*, which on the whole gives us a reasonably good conception of Roger's science and thought, and does not gloss over any of his imperfections or those of his age, is preferable to our previous state with no English translation.

Even the publication of *The Cipher of Roger Bacon*, regrettable as it is from the standpoint of Professor Newbold's memory and reputation, may do some good as well as harm. It reveals that from the time of his public lecture on the subject in April, 1921, until his sudden death in September, 1926, Newbold made no further appreciable progress in reading the Voynich manuscript. Indeed, one is amazed to find that apparently he did not even claim to have deciphered as much as a single complete page of it. Instead he turned away to try his extremely complicated cipher upon passages in Latin from printed works ascribed to Bacon but of doubtful authenticity. These experimental efforts, added to his already published lecture, Mr. Voynich's pedigree for his pet manuscript, certain rough notes Newbold left, and many pages consisting entirely of rows on rows of letters, figures, and characters, intended to illustrate the very complex and optional system of enciphering and deciphering, constitute the extraordinary volume before us. I should like to be able to force every one who asks me my opinion of the Voynich

¹ For detailed examples of these and other slips in the translation see my review in *Speculum*, October, 1928.

² *Ibid.*

manuscript to read this book from cover to cover. I think it will either kill or cure. There are a number of plates, chiefly of interest as reproducing some of the illustrations which fill so large a part of the manuscript, but by no means proving the book's fundamental assumption that "the apparent characters, viewed under the microscope, are seen to be composed of tiny separate strokes, too carefully made to be mere accidents". The editor of the volume, Professor Kent, admits that he could see only eight of these where Newbold could find twenty-five. They are taken to be Greek shorthand which must be resolved into Latin, but still no sense is made. We must arrange the Latin letters by couples, with some interlocking, obtaining a biliteral cipher where A has some 47 phonetically possible symbols to represent it; R, 89; and so on. But still no sense is made. We have further reversion alphabets and phonetic values to deal with. And still no sense is made! I would offer the ironic suggestion that the illegible writing is only a blind, and that the pictures should be interpreted symbolically, were I not afraid that some self-constituted successor to Newbold would take the suggestion seriously.

The absence of a spirit of historical criticism may be inferred from such remarks as (p. xxxi), "may we not indulge in speculation when no facts exist to hold us in restraint?" or (p. 21), that the sixteenth-century testimony of Leonard and Thomas Digges, "until discredited by more trustworthy evidence to the contrary, is entitled to full credence". Father Mandonnet's attribution of the *Speculum Astronomiae* to Bacon in 1910-1911 is approved without mention of my chapter to the contrary in 1923 or the fact that the manuscripts uniformly ascribe the work to Albertus Magnus. Colonel Hime's chapter, "Roger Bacon and Gunpowder", is favorably mentioned without reference to my refutation of it in *Science* in 1915, and in book form in 1923.

There is hardly one chance in fifty that Roger Bacon had any connection with the production of the Voynich manuscript. Bacon's being sentenced to imprisonment in 1277—to say nothing of his serving this sentence—rests solely on the very contestable authority of the "Chronicle of the XXIV. Generals", written about 1370. There is no evidence that during this imprisonment, if it occurred, he was forbidden the study of science. Yet the jacket of the volume before us has the effrontery to assert: "During his imprisonment, when forbidden by his superiors to make further investigations into the mysteries of science, Roger Bacon wrote what is known as the Voynich manuscript." And this from the University of Pennsylvania Press! Shades of the *Translations and Reprints from Original Sources in European History*!

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Bread of Our Forefathers: an Inquiry in Economic History.

By Sir WILLIAM ASHLEY. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928.
Pp. xii, 206. 12 s. 6 d.)

THIS posthumous volume by the well-known economic historian of England is a thoroughly scientific investigation of the cereals used for the making of bread by the British people. It is of great value to the student of agricultural history, partly because of the information it gives, but even more because of the critical analyses of sources and the suggestions for further research in the field.

In the sixth chapter Sir William gives a summary of his conclusions. He shows that as far back as the late eighteenth century wheat was almost the only cereal used for the making of bread in England, but that in earlier periods other cereals were used to a considerable extent. He believes that before the Roman occupation oats were the principal cereal crop in Britain. The Romans introduced wheat, the grain generally used in the Mediterranean region, but succeeded only in Kent in making it the most important cereal grown. The various Teutonic invaders who followed brought with them rye, the grain most used on the plains of Northern Europe; and it is the author's belief that rye, whether pure or mixed with other cereals, remained for centuries the chief ingredient of bread for the masses in England. While the use of wheat became fashionable in the Middle Ages, probably as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the soil of many parts of England was not naturally favorable to its growth. The change from rye to wheat as the principal ingredient of bread came, therefore, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when capital was first applied on a large scale to the improvement of the soil. The sources used by Sir William Ashley are many and varied and show the breadth and depth of his reading and the patience of his search for evidence. For the eighteenth century, in addition to well-known writers such as Arthur Young and Gregory King we find use made of Charles Smith, the anonymous author of the *Tracts on Corn* of 1764 and an important miller whose personal knowledge and business connections enabled him to speak with authority; and, finally, of the records of the estate of Holkham in Norfolk, made notable somewhat later by the work of the agricultural reformer Coke. For the Tudor period the chief sources used are the statutes, such as that of 5 Eliz. IV. ordering the justices of the peace to assess the wages of agricultural laborers; the corn certificates, through which the national government sought to watch over local supplies of cereals; the records of the monasteries at the time of their dissolution 1536-1539; and writers such as William Harrison in Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, 1577, and Thomas Tusser, the author of *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. For earlier periods back to the early twelfth century Ashley uses chiefly monastic records and, with considerable criticism, Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices*. In every case Sir William gives a critical estimate of the value of the source he uses, or tells us that a definite conclusion is impossible because

certain important kinds of evidence are lacking. He takes the reader into his confidence with a frankness that disarms criticism.

Finally, we should consider the errors of commission or omission and the lack of certain records which did much to create the tradition that the use of wheat for bread was almost universal even in the Middle Ages. Thus the Latin word "siligo" (pp. 67-69), which meant fine wheat, came to be used in the Middle Ages for rye, with the result that modern writers, returning to the classical usage, interpreted Medieval records as mentioning wheat when they really referred to rye. Another serious error was the translation by the Elizabethan judge, Rastall, of the word "blado" (p. 150) found in the Assize of Bread of 1267 as bread of common wheat whereas it really referred to undifferentiated corn. This was responsible for the erroneous belief that the Assize of Bread regulated only the price of bread made of wheat. In the third place, Ashley points out that the belief that wheat was used almost universally for bread even in the Middle Ages rests partly on the fact that manorial records give information chiefly regarding the demesne lands of the larger manors where wheat was grown to a considerable extent, and tell us little of the crops on the small manors, or of those grown by tenants who probably subsisted chiefly on rye or on a mixture of cereals. Ashley shows that wheat and rye, or other cereals, were frequently mixed either at the mill, or when sown in the fields, and that the usual terms for such mixtures, like "maslin" or "mancorn", or "drage", were not always used, so that these products have often been wrongly called wheat.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

The History of Witchcraft and Demonology. By MONTAGUE SUMMERS. [The History of Civilization, edited by C. K. Ogden.] (London: Kegan Paul; New York: A. A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xv, 353. 12 s. 6 d.)

The Geography of Witchcraft. By MONTAGUE SUMMERS. [The History of Civilization, edited by C. K. Ogden.] (London: Kegan Paul; New York: A. A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. ix, 623. 12 s. 6 d.)

Malleus Maleficarum. Translated with an introduction, bibliography, and notes by MONTAGUE SUMMERS. (London: John Rodker. 1928. Pp. xlv, 278. 35 s.)

Demoniality. By LUDOVICO MARIA SINISTRARI, Friar Minor. Translated by MONTAGUE SUMMERS. (London: Fortune Press. 1928. Pp. xliii, 127. 21 s.)

MR. SUMMERS is still in the Middle Ages. An Anglo-Catholic cleric, his express purpose in writing is to bring back the days of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Though the first of his volumes calls itself a history, it is only the exposition of a dogma: the dogma of human relations with a personal Devil, as set forth in the later fifteenth century by the book

which did most to bring in the great witch-persecution. Assuring us of his own complete faith in witchcraft thus defined, and dismissing as "narrowly prejudiced and inefficient" the writers who have found it a delusion, he tells us that "only the trained theologian can adequately treat the subject" and devotes his own chapters to the Witch: Heretic and Antichrist, the Worship of the Witch, Demons and Familiars, the Sabbat, all these to him unchanging fact. If then he gives us a chapter on the Witch in Holy Writ, it is to find in Scripture for his dogma not source but illustrations; and his long chapter on Diabolic Possession and Modern Spiritism is again but dogma taught by examples—the Spiritists the Devil's dupes or his allies and modern Spiritism "merely Witchcraft revived". Only his closing chapter, the Witch in Dramatic Literature, breathes a slightly less theologic air, suggesting the route by which its author, known as a student of the old English drama, arrived at his interest in witchcraft. But the copious bibliography that ends the volume gives promise of a wider view, and his second volume, *The Geography of Witchcraft*, much more than the first deserves the name of history. Only in the sense of taking up one country at a time is it geography; the territorial limits or the spread of witchcraft it discusses nowhere. Glancing at the beliefs and practices bequeathed to Christendom by Greece and Rome, it deals, at very unequal length, with England, Scotland, New England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain. Its author's reading clearly broadens as he goes on. The omissions and blunders by which his bibliography shows compilation at second hand—witness that rich list of English chap-books lifted almost bodily from Dr. Notestein—find here and there correction. Yet nowhere is his reading adequate or thorough. Not even the works singled out for praise in his introduction can really have been studied; and much of highest importance he does not know at all. Take his chapter on Germany, the classic land of witch-hunting. Who could dream of a sketch of witchcraft in Germany—or in Europe—without the aid of Joseph Hansen, whose monograph on "witch-delusion, Inquisition, and witch-trial in the Middle Ages" has now for a quarter-century supplanted, for the period it covers, the older classic of Soldan-Heppe? Mr. Summers does not know the book. Once (p. 520) he almost seems to quote it; but what he means is the source-book (*Quellen und Untersuchungen*) added by Hansen in the following year (1901). That, too, is a masterpiece, a basis for all later study. Mr. Summers names it with praise, both in his introduction and his bibliography; but that he can have used it is incredible—it would have saved him error after error, and on almost every page it refers to the companion work. Soldan-Heppe he knows, but not in the revision of Bauer (1912). Of the most careful study from the Catholic side, the chapters of Janssen-Pastor, he is equally ignorant; and the able answer of Paulus to Protestant overstatements he names but does not use. Real study he has given only to the demonologists, and his narrative is a tissue of their old-wives' tales.

His pious credulity knows, indeed, no bounds. The pact of the witch with the Devil in person, their obscene relations, the witch-sabbath and

the flight to it, broomstick and all, ghosts and imps, incubi and succubi, he believes in them all. Not even at were-wolves does he stick. Compared with him the Mathers were liberal and progressive scholars. But so, too, were the Catholic leaders of their day. That skepticism as to witches goes back but a century or two, as Mr. Summers would have his readers think, is far from true. Even the authors of the *Malleus* were hard put to it to convince their public; and well before the end of the sixteenth century the influence of the *Malleus* itself was on the wane. Both the Spanish and the Roman Inquisition had grown hesitant, and testimony as to those seen at the witch-sabbath was no longer fatal. Soon the protests of Tanner, of Laymann, and of Spee were growing potent with the Holy Office; and presently, in a volume long used by it as a manual, Cardinal Albizzi was scoring the cruel transalpine procedure with the horror of a modern. Nor were they "crass rationalists", "muddy materialists", "pseudo-scientific modernists", those early doubters. They were pastors, physicians, judges, in closest touch with culprit and with court and risking life itself to end a wrong their insight could no longer bear. So cogent to a slowly listening world proved what they tell that now for many years at old-world seats of learning it has been counted needless to waste further study on this nightmare of the past. Even a reviewer may be allowed an illustration. In 1652 the clerk of the commission sent into Scotland to attend to justice writes thus to the Speaker of the English House of Commons: "Some were brought before them for Witches, two whereof had been brought before the Kirk . . ., and having confessed it, were turned over to the civill Magistrate. The Court demanding how they came to bee proved Witches, they declared, that they were forced to it by the exceeding torture they were put to, which was, by tying their thumbs behind them, and then hanging them up by them; two Highlanders whipped them, after which they set lighted candles to the soles of their feet, and between their toes, then they burnt them by putting lighted candles into their mouthes, and then burning them in the head. There were six of them accused in all, 4 whereof died of the torture." And this was only the rude pre-torture of the parish authorities. For any who proved stubborn there remained the regular torture of the Scottish courts—the pilliewinkies, the rack, the boots. Sir George Mackenzie, a Scottish judge and long the kingdom's public prosecutor, describing in his great treatise on Scottish criminal law (1678) these tortures and the mental ones that reinforced them, avers that to his certain knowledge "most of all that ever were taken were tormented after this manner, and this usage was the ground of all their confession". Though too pious or too cautious to doubt the existence of witches, he thinks them few and blames severely "those cruel and too forward Judges who burn persons by thousands as guilty of this Crime".

Of all this Mr. Summers is not wholly ignorant. That malice, greed, and torture played large part in the convictions he admits, and violently arraigns for this all whom he theologically abhors: Elizabeth and her

prelates, Calvinist Scotland, the New England Puritans. But this in no wise hinders him from using as valid evidence any confession that suits his need; and regardless of torture, of retractation, of acquittal. Sir George Mackenzie he mentions only among the learned men who believed in witchcraft and could hardly have been mistaken; while Bishop Jewel, named also among these learned men as "one of the ablest and most authoritative expounders of the true genius and teaching of the reformed Church of England", becomes when later we meet him as an Elizabethan prelate "a rancorous polemic" whose "impudence, profanity, unblushing mendacity, and downright forgery are beyond belief" and whose ardor against witches is only political pretense. But the zeal of Mr. Summers has eaten him up. For him not only do the Freemasons practice Devil-worship, but "Satanists yet celebrate the black mass in many a town, both great and small". "Both South America and Canada are thus polluted" and in New York "the foul superstition of human sacrifice is sometimes attempted". To him the Witch-Hammer is still "a work of enormous erudition" and the books of Remy, Boguet, Guazzo, Delancré, long only less notorious, are "erudite" and "authoritative" in direct proportion to their credulity and cruelty. He will renew and broaden their influence by translation into English.

But the most startling thing is not Mr. Summers or his book. It is that such a book could find a place in a great educational series on the history of civilization—a series announced as offering the ripest fruit of historical science—a series initiated by the rational *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, edited by a Cambridge scholar, and boasting as its "consulting American editor" the champion of "the new history".

The first of Mr. Summers's translations follow closely on his book, and this review has tarried to include them. First announced, if not quite first in print, is fittingly the *Malleus* itself—that inquisitorial handbook which in Germany made every court an expert at witch-hunting, and by transferring that task to secular hands ensured its triumph and its spread. It has the fame of causing more suffering than aught else born of human pen. Even the great Catholic historian of the German people calls it "the source of unspeakable mischief", and many have noted with satisfaction that it found translation into no modern tongue. Twenty years ago appeared at last a German version; but only to exploit the notoriety of what it calls "an incredible monstrosity, filled with spiritual miasma". Much, however, the research of these last years has added to our knowledge of the book and of its authors. An earlier draft has been unearthed which establishes the date of its writing (1485-1486) and proves that not Sprenger, but his colleague Institoris, was the leading compiler. Recovered records of witch-chases conducted personally by him in Tyrol and in Swabia have thrown fresh light on his personality and his methods. The German Dominicans, busy with the archives of their order, and the official historians of the old University of Cologne have illumined the careers of both authors. Above all, the labors of Joseph Hansen, the learned archivist of Cologne, have revolutionized our knowledge of them

and of their book. Alas, of all this Mr. Summers knows naught. His translation is readable, but as an editor he is hopelessly out of date. In his introduction, indeed, Hansen finds mention; but it is only for a remark quoted in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

Not quite so ill-starred is the second translation. This treatise on "demoniality"—i.e., on the sex-relations between demons and humans—though penned by the Franciscan Sinistrari (1622–1701) before 1700, was in 1872 picked up in a London book-shop by a French bibliophile, Isidore Liseux. Finding it the author's autograph and unpublished, he gave to the press, with a mocking preface, not only the Latin original, but a French and an English translation—pointing out that it is clearly but a completer form of the chapter on this crime in Sinistrari's work on the criminal law and procedure of the Franciscans. Much its larger part—sections 28–III of its 115—is lacking to that work; and few are likely to read these lacking sections without suspecting that a censor's hand excised them. Mr. Summers, however, repels the suspicion with much vehemence, and finds in Liseux's ignorance of theology a warrant for a fresh translation. He does, indeed, correct some errors; but there are limits to the theological learning which can ascribe to Francesco Silvester the *Summa Sylvestrina* of Prierias, to the commentator Lorinus the *Epitome Canonum* of Brancati, to Pico of Mirandola the *Summa Conciliorum* of Carranza; and what shall be thought of the historian of witchcraft who can attach to the familiar name of the "Cap. Episcopi"—the canon-law chapter about which for centuries revolved all controversy as to witchcraft—a note on Episcopal Capitularies?

GEORGE L. BURR.

Caricatures of the "Winter King" of Bohemia from the Sutherland Collection in the Bodleian Library, and from the British Museum.

With an Introduction, notes, and translations by E. A. Beller, Ph.D. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. 64. 42 s.)

DR. BELLER has brought together in this thin, sumptuously printed folio volume 24 caricatures of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, the so-called "Winter King" of Bohemia. The caricatures are excellently reproduced by a photographic process, and each is printed on a page by itself. As one opens the book a caricature sheet, consisting of drawing and explanatory verse, appears on the right hand, and, on the left, a few words describing the sheet, and a translation of its verse. The set of caricatures is given place in the controversy of the time by a short introduction, which describes the main events of Frederick's Bohemian adventure.

Students of seventeenth-century history will thank Dr. Beller no less for his courage in setting out on this rarely trodden path of research, than for the new material with which he provides them. There are few such books in the whole range of historical literature. It does not fill a

gap; rather, it accurately charts a small island in a corner of the historical globe that is little known. The historian regards as within the power of his analysis all kinds of information conveyed by the written word, yet he treats with suspicion and rarely uses the pictorial record of an event, or the delineation of character in a portrait. To most historians a picture is either too simple an illustration to be used—the servant of the high school text-book—or too difficult, an alien record, to be dismissed with the phrase, “I know little of art”. Dr. Beller proves that there is no cause for the historian to be afraid of a picture; that if the ordinary precepts of historical caution are observed it will yield trustworthy information. If Grimmelshausen’s “Simplicissimus”, or the controversial ballads of Royalist and Parliamentary have any value for the historian, so have these caricatures.

They do not, as do the etchings of Callot and Goya, portray, and by the horror of their lines condemn, the disasters of war. Their message was more simple, more direct. They were vehicles of propaganda put out by one party, probably Frederick’s enemies in Bavaria, with a view to showing the actions of the other as ridiculous and unlikely to succeed. This kind of caricature found excellent material in the misfortunes of the “Winter King”. Sometimes he was depicted as the Bohemian lion waging an unequal struggle with the imperial eagle and the spider (Spinola), or as a feeble old lion plagued with Spanish gnats and rendered sick by the devil pride which had got into him. In these caricatures the artists used allegory in the conventional manner. Elsewhere the king was shown in his own person rising and falling on the wheel of fortune, wandering back disconsolate from Bohemia, or doing villain service for the states. All the caricatures are simple, clear, and, with one or two minor exceptions, in good taste, according to the most precise modern standards. Sheets nos. V. and XXI. are fair examples of contemporary etching and engraving.

The doggerel verse has the same qualities as the drawings. In comment it is simple and direct, in humor heavy handed. Its jog-trot lines are of the kind that could easily be committed to memory. Dr. Beller’s literal translation of the verse does not look well strung out line by line across the page. One does not care to meet such lines as:

There important politicians stand,
Also royalty and clerics,

For form’s sake it would have been better to print the translation as prose, or if the exercise did not prove too onerous, to give a doggerel rendering of it.

Dr. Beller does not say why he reproduced these 24 caricatures alone, whether they were all, or the best, or the most typical of those he found; nor does he say why he confined his search for these Dutch and German prints to two great English collections. It would have been well to do this. It would also have been well to add to the note which mentions Wolkan’s “Deutsche Lieder auf den Winterkönig” a list of books which

contain caricatures of the "Winter King"; J. Scheible, for example, in his *Die Fliegenden Blätter des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* reproduces many which are not to be found in Dr. Beller's collection.

FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM.

Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter. Door P. J. BLOK. (Hague: Nijhoff. 1928. Pp. 454. 28 gulden.)

As long ago as 1906 plans were laid for a new and authoritative biography of the best known and best loved of Dutch admirals, as part of the tercentenary commemoration of his birth. After delays and mutations common to such enterprises, the house of Nijhoff issues this handsome volume whose binding, paper, typography, and illustration alike rejoice the eye and show what makers of books can do when they like. To Professor Blok fell the task of authorship, and he found in it, as the preface states, a source of great intellectual enjoyment and enthusiasm. The enjoyment and enthusiasm have entered happily into the composition, and the result is unworthy neither of the hero's fame nor of the author's scholarship. To mollify the general reader notes, references, and bibliographical comment are relegated to the final pages; to mollify the student Professor Blok has taken full advantage of the mass of material bearing on De Ruyter's career that has come to light in the two and a half centuries since Brandt published his famous life of the admiral in 1687. While it is not likely that the new biography will replace the old—undoubtedly the more charming of the two—Professor Blok has written more critically as a perspective of two centuries and modern wariness of hero-worship require. Students of naval warfare may be disappointed that the author has not entered more fully into the technical side of the story, for the sea battles are quite simply and—from a civilian point of view—intelligibly described. To be sure, naval tactics were still elementary, and it was only during the first war with England that boarding the enemy was obsolescent, and victory depended on manoeuvre and gunnery.

The narrative confines itself fairly closely to De Ruyter's career, a story as full of strange and stirring incident as Ulysses's or Othello's, but with a wider geographical range and in the full rhythm of the seventeenth century. This son of an ale-porter of Flushing acquired his seamanship on whaling voyages to Jan Mayen, trading voyages to Ireland, Barbary, and the West Indies, privateering for prizes, and privateer-hunting. He learned to know men and ships: the first much as they always are; the latter, small, cranky, and almost completely at the wind's will. There was not a great deal of difference even at this period between merchantmen and men-of-war, and De Ruyter passed easily from being, as he put it, "schipper naest Godt", to being admiral, still more surely "naest Godt". His faults and his virtues were congenial to his time. A Calvinist of Calvinists, he never willingly sailed, even in whaling days, without a minister in the ship's company. This piety was by no means incom-

patible with occasional brutality: keel-hauling for the seamen and outbursts of temper for his captains to whom he not infrequently talked "ronde Hollandse tael". Yet he watched paternally over both captains and men, and liked to be served by his accustomed crew and his tried officers. Of undoubted personal courage, he was most cautious in his conduct of the fleet, finding courage, as he once observed "too perilous". Part of his anger at young Tromp was evoked by the recklessness of that commander, to whom a battle was "a dance". Because of his caution De Ruyter never won a smashing victory nor sustained a smashing defeat. His most famous exploit, the destruction of the English fleet at Chatham, was forced upon him by the two De Witts. In the work of preparing the fleet to go out, he labored as hard and unremittingly as any humble servant of the admiralty. Victualling, arming, manning—all took place under his eye. He disliked theory. De Witt, mathematician that he was, drew up elaborate plans of naval campaigns. De Ruyter considered one of these and replied: "Wel goet, soo het conde gepractiseerd worden gelyck men het schriftelyck op 't pampier can stellen" (p. 245). His tastes and manner of living were simple and frugal. Even in the days of his greatness he tidied his own cabin. He disliked hand-kissing and "Spaensche complementos" and elaborate dress. But he was careful to claim his full admiral's share of booty, and gave much thought to the investment of his accumulating fortune. Politics he left to land-lubbers. With horror and pity he learned of the terrible death of the brothers De Witt, but he made no protest. When, however, he was invited by a member of the States General to withdraw praise he had bestowed on Cornelis De Witt, he replied firmly: "If we have come to such a pass in our country that a man may not speak the truth, we are wretched indeed" (p. 333). His devotion to his country was complete. When the new government sent him to his death with a wholly inadequate fleet, he pointed out the folly of it, but added: "If I were ordered to carry the country's flag with but a single ship, I would put to sea with it, and since the Lords States entrust their flag to me, I will venture my life" (p. 370). He lost his life and the States their devoted servant. They gave him a splendid funeral, and were unaware that it was a farewell not only to Michiel Adriaanszoon De Ruyter, but to the heroic period of Dutch sea history.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

James the Second. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1928. Pp. 298. \$4.00.)

THE author defines his purpose as an attempt to portray a character of which "academic historians give but a caricature". He simplifies his task by the omission of several of the most discreditable passages in James's career, and by the absence of all references—though it is clear that his authorities are mainly those available to Macaulay. Among the incidents of James's life on which it would be interesting to have the

views of an apologist are James's persistent partiality towards Berkeley, the traducer of his wife, his active share in the persecution of Scottish Presbyterians, and his attitude towards plots to assassinate William III. Other awkward matters are passed over with a silence as misleading as the many positive errors the book contains. A few examples must suffice. Mr. Belloc states that "we have the estimate of the beginning of the [seventeenth] century that then some half of the people were more or less on the Catholic side". On the contrary, we have the estimate of A. O. Meyer¹ that during the hundred years following 1580 Catholics numbered from 2.3 to 3 per cent. of the whole population. The ecclesiastical commission of 1686 is stated to have been framed "according to both statute and precedent". The act of 1641 had declared that "no new court shall be erected . . . which shall or may have the like power, jurisdiction or authority as the said high commission court now hath or pretendeth to have". An old fable about the Prince of Orange's reception in the west in November, 1688, appears in a more definite form. "William, sullen, disappointed and alarmed, proposed to abandon the attempt within the first week. What saved him was Churchill's treason." On the other hand, the prince himself, in the first letter he wrote to his confidential friend, Waldeck, thought he had grounds for hoping for success. "The beginnings are good." At the treaty of Ryswick Louis XIV. is stated not to have recognized William as legitimate King of England. Yet the preamble calls William, as well as Louis, king "by the grace of God". Clearly, Mr. Belloc can not have glanced at the text of the treaty for he mentions two other matters "all in the much-contested opening clause"—the payment of the jointure of Mary of Modena and the recognition of James's son as William's heir. Of course, there is not a word about either in the first clause or in any other. There was a verbal agreement about the first point, though it is here stated so incompletely as to be unfair to William, but the second is a novelty of the author. It is asserted that the classes that promoted the Revolution of 1688 "felt instinctively that the spirit of Catholicism was a popular spirit making for popular monarchy". Possibly so, but when they translated their feelings into words they said that "popery and slavery go hand in hand". If they looked abroad they failed to recognize Louis XIV. as one who "stood for popular monarchy". When they sought a precedent in the history of their own country they were equally blind to the popular nature of the rule of Mary I. On the whole this book is too inaccurate in statement and too partizan in tone to serve as a useful guide to the character of James II.

G. D.

¹ *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, p. 65.

The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783: Printed from the Original Papers in the Royal Archives. Edited by the Hon. Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, LL.D., D.Litt. Volume III., July, 1773–December, 1777; volume IV., 1778 to December, 1779; volume V., 1780 to April, 1782; volume VI., May, 1782, to December, 1783. (London: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xx, 556; xxviii, 567; xvii, 524; xiii, 495. 25 s. each.)

VOLUMES III., IV., and V. carry the reader from the raid on the tea ships to the formation of the Rockingham Ministry, a most critical period in English history. It seems not to have occurred to King George III. that the Intolerable Acts would be received with anything but meekness by the Americans, and he appears to have been obsessed with the idea that the Whigs were causing the American troubles by encouraging the colonists to resistance. This misapprehension on the part of the king stands out through his letters, and may be accounted of the main contributory factors in his failure to employ even those Whigs who might have helped him during the American Revolution.

Gage, upon the ground, saw instantly that the Intolerable Acts must be suspended as a condition precedent to getting anything done; the king characterized the suggestion as absurd, and from that moment until the surrender of Cornwallis he held to his notion with tenacity, that the only alternatives were the complete submission of the colonies or their complete triumph. The investigator who wishes to write a modern biography of the sort that overturns previous notions, will not be able to overthrow the king's established reputation for perseverance by reference to the George III. Papers. There is evidence that North's conciliatory bills of 1775 were thought too conciliatory, even by some members of Parliament, but not, needless to say, by the Whigs.

With the war well under way, General Howe's report from "Camp on the Heights of Charles Town", June 22, 1775, is a new document of very great importance. It is followed by a letter of cutting, but exceedingly pertinent criticism from Burgoyne beginning: "Let us draw the veil for the present on all that has passed previous to the 17th of June." The employment of the German mercenaries was regarded as a matter too obvious for comment, and Empress Catherine's refusal to rent Russian troops for service in America was considered not "genteel".

Late in 1775 Lord George Germain comes on the stage in the Cabinet shake-up incident to the retirement of Lord Rochford. The long succession of documents on the subject might incline one to think that the emoluments attached to the various offices had far more to do with placing the men than any qualifications, and Germain gets the American office because he "cannot treat with the continent". The Ghost of Minden gives him the direction of the American war by default. To the American historian there are disappointingly few of the letters between Germain and the king, a defect which is largely repaired by the recent arrival at Michigan of the Papers of Lord George himself. The investigator in

the military history of the American Revolution will likewise be baffled by the paucity of letters or copies of letters from Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis. This, however, is also made up in the recent acquisition for Michigan of the Sir Henry Clinton Papers. Even a hasty examination of the Clinton Papers suggests that Sir Henry collected a vast number of these essential documents after the war, preparatory to writing his complete and unpublished, but extant, "History of the American Revolution".

The period of the Burgoyne surrender is marked by an ominous absence of letters, both before and after. It would be difficult to prove from the George III. Papers that Howe ever knew he was even supposed to coöperate with Burgoyne. The immediate consequence of the surrender at Saratoga was the increase in French interest in American affairs, pointing toward an open break with England. The threatened break between the ancient enemies from this point on occupies the king's attention and American affairs become subordinate.

More serious than the surrender of Saratoga was the immediate evidence of active French participation in the war. The Cabinet was shaken. North fairly begged the king to call Chatham, but the king's pride, already made clear in Donne's *Correspondence of George III. and Lord North*, is now further attested by the Windsor Castle documents. The king would not even see Chatham personally. From this point the next two volumes might bear the subtitle "Lord North's efforts to get out". The mere chronicle of his lordship's attempts to resign would make a good subject for a seminar. Failing to reconstruct the Cabinet so as to secure a ministry of all talents, North and the king set to work to offset the French attack. Sea power was evidently the way to combat France, and there was the great fleet under Admiral Keppel. While there is little material available on the subject of this armada and the indecisive action off Ushant, there are reams of documents on the fight that came afterward between Keppel and his second in command, Sir Hugh Palliser. Following this, the king's attention in the year 1779 seems wholly engrossed with the expected French attack on England. In this same year came the investigation of Sir William Howe for the disasters of 1777, and it is apparent from the papers that Lord George Germain wished to quash any idea of an investigation of Howe, and that, when the investigation was under way, Germain refused to probe for the facts—both circumstances of considerable significance. It is in supplementary evidence of this sort that Sir John Fortescue's work is invaluable. At this time the king had very definitely in mind the idea of getting rid of Lord George altogether—a project which he gave up, to his own cost.

The entrance of Spain into the war still further distracted the king from the American aspect of the conflict and he seems to have subordinated that side of the struggle with the thoughts that Clinton, though he was constantly appealing for help, was in fact doing very well, and would soon do better. Clinton's capture at Charles Town gave the king false

comfort—neither he nor North ever could seem to estimate Washington's ability at its true worth. A victory was a victory, but they seldom stopped to enquire what kind of a victory it was. Their attention was immediately diverted by the Gordon Riots, and again the American side sinks into insignificance. The news of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown does not seem immediately to have convinced the king of the futility of his efforts. He asked for Germain's ideas on further carrying on the war, to which Germain's evident reply may be found in the Germain Papers. Conway's resolution, however, took the whole business out of the hands of George III., to which George could only say that he was "much hurt". Shelburne now enters the stage as the principal character to be reckoned with.

While American historical investigators in the period of the Revolution must be grateful for this publication of the George III. Papers, the reviewer must, with due delicacy, remind all such investigators that these documents are necessarily incomplete, as far as American history is concerned, and that they must not be used without a realization of the existence of the papers of the British Commander-in-Chief in America, the British Colonial Secretary, and the man who was called upon at Rockingham's death to salvage the wreck of the empire. These collections, the Sir Henry Clinton Papers, the Lord George Germain Papers, and the Papers of the Earl of Shelburne have now come to America and are being prepared for use at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. So often in reading the George III. Papers the reviewer has come across the beginning of a story which he knows is completed in one of the collections at the William L. Clements Library, that he can not in justice to the readers of the review omit reference to these collections.

The sixth volume of the papers includes the periods of the ministries of Rockingham, Shelburne, and the Fox-North Coalition. This amounts to saying they include the Peace of 1782-1783. In the king's papers is but a skeleton of what took place—albeit a very useful skeleton, because the bulk of the English papers have never been printed. The American side has fared better because of the published works of Franklin, Jay, and John Adams, and because of the collections of Wharton, Sparks, and Doniol—all of which, however, leave many documents unaccounted for. But on the English side, most of the source material still remains in manuscript, original or transcript. The transcripts made by Sparks (now at Harvard), by George Bancroft (now at the New York Public Library), and under the direction of B. F. Stevens (now at the Library of Congress), have done much to make this English material available. The coming of the Shelburne Papers from Lansdowne House to the University of Michigan affords more material. If one will think of the Shelburne Papers, the Bancroft transcripts, and the Stevens transcripts as three large circles, all of which overlap, but none of which coincide, one will get an idea of what the available material is on the Peace of 1783. If one will consider the portion of that picture where all three circles

cover the same area (a relatively small one), one will understand what is included in the Sparks transcripts. In other words, each of the collections of Shelburne, Stevens, and Bancroft contains much of what is in the other two, and much of what is in neither of the other two. The Sparks transcripts contain nothing relating to the peace that is not in the other three. But all of these papers are still in manuscript and available in America only at the places mentioned. The Papers of George III., while they do not contain the substantial matter in the other collections, are the first of the English papers to appear systematically in print. Until the publication of the Shelburne, Strachey, Oswald, and Fitzherbert papers, the English side is incomplete.

Through this volume, as through the others, one gets an impression of George III. as an indefatigable worker, working pretty largely in the dark. Moreover, one is apt to gain the impression that the king was rather patient and rather humble in the face of his many detractors and enemies. He could not stand Charles James Fox any more than he could stand Chatham, but even an American reviewer must admit that there was much to be said for King George's attitude.

Especially valuable are the letters between George III. and Shelburne—the one part of the Lansdowne papers which did not come to America. Yet throughout all six volumes of these *Papers of George III.*, the historian is going to be puzzled by the number of letters which begin "I inclose herewith . . ." and yet, where is the inclosure? In many cases, it will be easy to find these, but in others, much more difficult.

Considering the magnitude of the task, one can have nothing but praise for the accuracy and care with which Sir John Fortescue has done his work, within the limits he set himself. He did not undertake to explain every document in a foot-note, nor locate each missing inclosure. This would have been desirable, but probably impossible, if the scholarly world were ever to get the benefits and advantages of Sir John's work.

King George III. now awaits another biographer, but the need is not pressing in view of this publication. The human side of the king can be best understood from a manuscript memorandum penned as a marginalium to one of Shelburne's letters to him and written just after the signing of the preliminary articles of peace in 1782: "I cannot conclude without mentioning how sensibly I feel the dismemberment of America from this Empire, and that I should be miserable indeed if I did not feel that no blame on that account can be laid at my door, and did I not know also that knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of its Inhabitants that it may not in the end be an evil that they become Aliens to this Kingdom."

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

William Huskisson and Liberal Reform: an Essay on the Changes in Economic Policy in the 'Twenties of the Nineteenth Century.

By ALEXANDER BRADY, Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Toronto. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. 177. 12s. 6d.)

HUSKISSON is a tempting theme for an historical essay, especially to a writer who can interpret England's commercial policies of the early nineteenth century as a battleground of the older and the newer economic opinions. Sufficient justice for the time being was done to Huskisson's part in parliamentary discussions of this conflict of views when Murray, in 1831, issued the three-volume collection of Huskisson's speeches, to which he added an extensive biographical memoir. Since 1831 the only sketch of Huskisson worth recording is the admirable short account by J. A. Hamilton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Hamilton indicated the directions in which his own brief notice might be expanded by references to periodicals and parliamentary debates, and to the diaries, memoirs, and biographies of contemporary statesmen. He accepted without reserve the general estimate of Huskisson handed down by that statesman's official friends. The publication of Professor Brady's work naturally gave rise to the expectation that perhaps a study of Huskisson's epoch had been made that advanced the subject beyond the limits previously set. A comparison of Professor Brady's chapters with Hamilton's review and with the volumes of 1831 shows the contrary to be the case. Substantially Professor Brady contributes almost nothing new; the accounts of the Navigation Acts, of the silk trade, of the conditions of British agriculture, inserted in his exposition, have long been the common knowledge and the common property of readers; even the categorizing with terms of economic theories and practice seems in places almost too simple and elementary for publication. The strongest recommendation for his book comes from its being the only short work on Huskisson now available for a reference shelf.

In describing (chapter VI.) the Liberal-Tory treatment of commercial interests in the British North American provinces, Professor Brady betrays a disposition to want to stop short at contriving to fit Huskisson's intentions into a scheme of imperial preference, designed, as he says, to forge "links of empire". That, it may be pointed out, was not Huskisson's full view; his speeches anticipate clearly an eventual separation of British North America from the mother country; his great anxiety was lest, when the separation came, it might not be arranged amicably. The omission of any mention of Huskisson's employment for twelve years as colonial agent of Ceylon, at a really considerable salary, and his special interest in the British Empire in Asia, is a decided drawback to any well-rounded comprehension of Huskisson's imperial vision. Search amongst Liverpool local records of the shipowners association and the chamber of commerce, amongst the proceedings of the Manchester chamber of commerce, and in the newspaper press of big shipping centres, might help to

elucidate the point as to what extent Huskisson had an original statesmanship, and to what extent he lent himself to acquired opinions which he urged as a cautious parliamentary attorney. Certain of his speeches on Canada, for example, exhibit traces of hasty and not altogether accurate coaching; where a candid admission in the argument would confirm the contentions of the philosophical radicals, Huskisson's evasiveness is distinctly disingenuous. About these and similar questions we need the results of wider study; we should welcome, if for nothing else than the sake of argument, a scholarly challenge to long established pronouncements. An essay on Huskisson and his times that carries us scarcely beyond the friendly critics of 1831 is of limited usefulness only.

C. E. FRYER.

The Eighth Earl of Elgin: a Chapter in Nineteenth-Century Imperial History. By J. L. MORISON, D.Litt., Professor of Modern History in Armstrong College, University of Durham. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1928. Pp. 318. 15 s.)

THE career of James, eighth Earl of Elgin, was cut short at the age of fifty-two. Still, during the twenty-one years of his public life he had held a number of offices that required an unusual degree of administrative and diplomatic talent. A list of the positions will speak for itself—governor of Jamaica, 1842–1846, governor-general of Canada, 1847–1854, two missions to China and one to Japan within the years 1857 and 1860, viceroy of India at the time of his death in 1863. In every instance, Lord Elgin's tenure of office coincided with a period of storm and stress; but posts which have proved graveyards of reputations offered him opportunities to gain an illustrious name among Britain's imperial statesmen.

That the life of such a man should attract the historian, the biographer, and the essayist is but natural. Professor Morison has had many predecessors, although only two of these, Mr. Théodore Walrond and Professor George M. Wrong, have dealt with the whole field of Lord Elgin's activities. But the former published *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* in 1872; and the latter's *The Earl of Elgin* came off the press in 1905. Since then the ban has been lifted from Elgin's official correspondence, and Professor Morison has apparently enjoyed freer use of his private papers than has any of the other biographers except Walrond.

Considering the opportunities afforded Professor Morison, it is a pity that his book deals solely with Elgin's political life. That, no doubt, offers most material for the historian, but it leaves the biography rather patchy. Unity is difficult to achieve when an account is limited to services of various kinds in different parts of the globe; and it can not be said that the obstacles in that respect have been successfully overcome.

However, within his self-imposed limits Professor Morison has written an interesting and valuable book. From Elgin's letters, information has been gleaned that sheds new light on many of the problems which he faced. In this respect the story of his governor-generalship in Canada

offers most material. It is clear that Lord Elgin, while abstaining from meddling in the politics of the colony in the manner of Sir Charles Metcalfe, exercised a direct influence on political events more closely resembling that of Lord Sydenham than that of the later governors-general of the Dominion of Canada. Professor Morison also deepens our knowledge of the methods used in negotiating and securing the ratification of the famous Elgin Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Members of the United States Senate fare rather badly; but Lord Elgin does not go scotfree; it supplies food for reflection that he, though deeply religious, apparently counted nearly every means legitimate provided it insured the success of the treaty and did not incriminate himself.

Similar reflections in regard to the connections between nineteenth-century religious feelings and political morality appear when one reads Professor Morison's account of Elgin's missions to China and his treatment of the Chinese. We are assured (p. 41) that: "From first to last he never failed in his adherence to the simple creed . . . to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Yet, tens of thousands of innocent people suffered in the bombardment of Canton and by the wanton pillaging of that city. Lord Elgin could certainly have prevented the latter. Professor Morison's discussion of Elgin's work in China is not so clear and comprehensive as that found in Professor Wrong's *Life of Elgin*, nor so critical as that in *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*. In this part of the book Professor Morison shields his hero, but still he supplies us with a good deal of new information.

While one may differ now and then with Professor Morison's judgment of men and events and with some of his interpretations, he has written a stimulating book that will be read with benefit and pleasure by all who are interested in the history of British expansion and the growth of British colonial policy.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Origins of the World War. By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY, Professor of Modern European History in Smith College. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xxii, 551; xiv, 577. \$9.00.)

If a student of history were banished to the traditional desert island and permitted but one book on each field of history, he would choose for his unique reference work on the origins of the World War the two volumes of Professor Sidney B. Fay. No other work has yet appeared in English, French, or German which is at once so comprehensive, authoritative, impartial, and well proportioned. Specialists in the field will long use it as a cornerstone of their own constructions; other historians will place it within easy reach on their reference shelf as an indispensable first aid in clearing up diplomatic problems of the period from 1870 to 1914; but the general reader will do well to read first some standard text-

books on recent European history so that he may understand the detailed and often highly technical analyses of successive crises of European diplomacy. The book was not written for those who need explanations of every diplomatic "incident" to which casual allusion might be made.

Professor Fay was undoubtedly right in thinking that, owing to the opening of the Russian, Austrian, and German archives by revolution and of the British archives to meet public criticism, the time had come when the war of 1914 could be studied more thoroughly than would ordinarily be possible for a generation or two after the close of hostilities. He might have added that such differences of opinion as still exist, and perhaps always will exist, as to the distribution of demerit among the belligerent powers are due less to lack of evidence than to the fact that different judges will view the same evidence from different points of view. To this day historians are not in accord as to whether Prussia in the Seven Years' War, France in 1792, Prussia and France in 1870, were more sinned against or sinning. Why expect a unique agreement as to 1914?

The school of thought which has been termed "revisionism" includes views so diverse that the term is hardly worth preserving. If Professor Fay be called a "revisionist" some new word must be coined for those who believe that the war arose from a Franco-Russian conspiracy. His book stands almost equidistant between the wartime propaganda of such writers as James M. Beck and the viewpoint indicated in Professor Harry Elmer Barnes's *Genesis of the World War*. The reviewer can not find in it a trace of partizanship. In many places Professor Fay specifically repudiates unwelcome allies of the "extreme left" (e.g., I. vi, 14, 243, 524, 527; II. 549). He is still of the opinion that Count Berchtold, who almost single-handed determined Austria's foreign policy at the crisis, "more than anyone else was responsible for the World War" (I. 18). His summary of the attitude of individual statesmen (I. 352) is the best that has yet been made and is worth quoting in full:

As one reads the complicated diplomatic negotiations of the years immediately preceding the War one gets the impression, beyond all doubt, that Sir Edward Grey was the man who most sincerely and tirelessly placed the Concert of Europe above the interests of any single Power or group. Next to him in support of the Concert of Europe would come Bethmann-Hollweg and the German Secretary of State, Kiderlen-Wächter; but Kiderlen died in December, 1912, and after that the German Chancellor was less able to make his influence prevail over that of Tirpitz and the Kaiser. In France, M. Poincaré was more interested in the solidarity of the Triple Entente than in the Concert of Europe; but in order to preserve the confidence and friendship of England, which was one of his primary aims, he also frequently took the lead in steps for initiating or upholding collective action by the Powers. Sazonov and Izvolski cared less for the Concert of Europe, and Count Berchtold least of all.

Germany's responsibility was both real and important, though of a negative order (II. 223):

The Kaiser and his advisers on July 5 and 6 [1914] were not criminals plotting the World War; they were simpletons putting "a noose about their necks" and handing the other end of the rope to a stupid and clumsy adventurer [Berchtold, presumably] who now felt free to go as far as he liked. In so doing they were incurring a grave responsibility for what happened later.

An Austrian critic might, indeed, point out that Germany had more selfish motives than mere loyalty to an ally in supporting the Austro-Hungarian Near Eastern policy; that beyond the Serbian villages lay the golden vision of Bagdad. A Russian might urge that since German support alone made the Austrian policy feasible the partnership of the two was a partnership of equal responsibility. Still the fact remains that the war-like initiative was Austria's and that Germany's part in their joint policy was always secondary and sometimes reluctant.

The first volume is a review of diplomatic history from the Franco-Prussian war to 1914. The road is a familiar one, but Professor Fay has used the volumes of *Die Grosse Politik* freely in gaining new light on old problems. His judgments on particular problems are interesting, though only a few can be mentioned: Alsace-Lorraine was really French at heart and its annexation, if not a crime, at any rate a blunder (I. 51); Bismarck was not responsible for the war scare of 1875 (I. 58), nor for the Schnaebeli incident (I. 103), nor yet for deliberately sowing ill-will between France and Italy (I. 80-81); Baron Holstein's influence was the main factor in preventing a renewal of the Reinsurance Treaty (I. 92), but this fact was not the sole or even the main cause of the Franco-Russian alliance (I. 95); "the first years of the Franco-Russian Alliance tended to strengthen rather than endanger the peace of Europe" (I. 124); Sir Edward Grey's "great responsibility and mistake" was to permit Anglo-French military and naval understandings while still holding to the illusion that they left England diplomatically uncommitted to France (I. 193, 323); the deliberate encirclement of Germany by an iron ring of enemies was a myth, "the product of German imagination, fear, and suspicion" (I. 243); both Germany and Russia worked hard to avoid war over Morocco (I. 290-293); Izvolski was mainly responsible for reopening the delicate question of the Straits (I. 414-426); Sazonov usually took a very cautious and moderate position at times of crisis (I. 524-531); Germany, even more than Italy, was responsible for restraining Austria from an attack on Serbia in 1913 (I. 448-455).

The second volume deals wholly with the crisis of 1914. It contains a very detailed account of the Sarajevo assassination and devotes rather more space to the less familiar field of Balkan politics than to the high politics of the Great Powers. Much use is made of the Austrian accounts of the trial of the conspirators, and there is a prolonged controversy, marked with perhaps a touch of acerbity, with the eminent British historian R. W. Seton-Watson as to the responsibility of the Serbian government. Professor Fay concedes as "perfectly certain that Mr. Pashitch

and his cabinet had nothing to do with the originating of the assassination" (II. 145) but he holds, on circumstantial evidence, that they must have eventually become aware of the plot. He believes that this knowledge induced the Serbian ministers, who did not at the moment want war, to send a general warning to Austria that Franz Ferdinand should beware of assassination or stay away from Sarajevo, but unfortunately, from fear of being compromised by the investigations that would result, they did not dare make their warning explicit enough to prevent what happened. This is admittedly speculative, but seems on the whole the most probable explanation of Serbia's dubious and ambiguous official attitude on the eve of the assassination.

Professor Fay's analysis of the attitude of the Great Powers in July, 1914, is on lines familiar to those who have read his studies in the *American Historical Review* and elsewhere. He offers satisfactory proof that the Konopischt meeting did not deal with general plans of European conquest, as at one time asserted by H. Wickham Steed, but chiefly with the laudable aim of improving neighborly relations between Austria-Hungary and Rumania (II. 32-43), and dissipates whatever might be left in any reader's mind of the Potsdam Council legend (II., ch. IV.). He proves that Austria at no time made a sincere attempt to come to agreement with Russia on the Serbian question, and that the legend that the Kaiser's declaration of war cut short an Austrian move for peace had no foundation (II. 521). He believes that Sazonov intended to keep the peace, but that in trying to use Russian mobilization to put diplomatic pressure on Austria he precipitated the war which he had not desired. He contends that the Russian general mobilization clearly antedated the German, and that mobilization meant war. On this last point the reviewer is not wholly in agreement. No doubt the military authorities were convinced that once general mobilization was undertaken peace was no longer possible (II. 479-481, 524-525, 554), but Professor Fay himself states that many of the highest civilian authorities, rulers, cabinet members, diplomats, were of a different opinion (II. 525, 554). May not one cause of the war have been the "inferiority complex" of the civil authorities, especially in Russia and Germany, which led them needlessly to surrender their right to the last word in deference to the "technical reasons" of the army chiefs?

There is but one major limitation to Professor Fay's study. It never really "gets outdoors". Only the most incidental references are made to such factors as nationalism, racial myths, jingo literature, class antagonisms, business interests, colonial dreams, popular ideals and passions. It is not at all the same war as was seen by the "man in the street", whether Wall Street or Main Street; it is wholly the war as seen by a group of not more than a hundred professional diplomats, playing their chess games with human lives as though it were still the eighteenth century. No doubt Professor Fay is right when he says that "It is not so much questions of economic rivalry as those of prestige, boundaries,

armies and navies, the Balance of Power, and possible shiftings in the system of alliances which . . . raise the temperature in Foreign Offices to the danger point" (I. 46), but a greater amount of space devoted to such topics as industrialism in Germany, divisive nationalism in Austria-Hungary, revolutionary socialism in Russia, and liberal pacifism in England would explain better the limitations within which the diplomats did their work.

On the other hand, special praise must be accorded to Professor Fay for recognizing the human factor among the diplomats themselves. Tisza, Bülow, Poincaré, Franz Ferdinand, and the rest are not to him, nor to any who have once read his work, mere symbols in a diplomatic equation. They become men, in the main well-meaning men, but with vanities, jealousies, and spurts of temper which go far to explain why they bungled their work. Very pregnantly he offers the suggestion that many of the peace proposals of July, 1914, failed merely because the officials at the foreign offices had brains too dulled with anxiety and want of sleep to comprehend their opportunities. "If one is to understand how it was that experienced and trained men occasionally failed to grasp fully the sheaves of telegrams put into their hands at frequent intervals, how their proposals were sometimes confused and misunderstood, how they quickly came to be obsessed with pessimistic fears and suspicions, and how in some cases they finally broke down and wept, one must remember the nerve-racking psychological effects of continued work and loss of sleep, combined with the consciousness of the responsibility for the safety of their country and the fate of millions of lives" (II. 288-289). The great engine of traditional European diplomacy thundered down the track, past the danger signals, and on to destruction because the engineers either slept or fumbled the levers of power with slow and awkward fingers.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Volume III., *The Testing of the Entente, 1904-1906.* Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., with the assistance of LILLIAN M. PENSON, Ph.D. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. xlii, 487. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE editors of this invaluable series are to be congratulated upon the rapidity with which their volumes are appearing. The first, second, and eleventh volumes, already reviewed in this journal (XXXII. 600; XXXIII. 648), dealt with England's abandonment of splendid isolation, her Entente with France, and the diplomatic crisis of July, 1914. The present volume tells the tangled story of the Franco-Spanish Moroccan Agreement and the long diplomatic crisis with Germany down through the Algeiras Conference and the summer of 1906.

M. Delcassé had early fixed his eye on Morocco. In 1900 he had secretly recognized Italian aspirations in Tripoli in return for Italy's recognition of French aspirations in Morocco. In 1902 he had negotiated with Spain for dividing Morocco into French and Spanish spheres of influence; but no agreement was finally signed, because Spain wanted to take England and Germany into confidence. Delcassé was soon convinced that French control over Morocco was not to be secured without English consent, so, dropping the negotiations with Spain, he secretly arranged directly with England the Moroccan agreement of 1904. But he was determined not to let Germany have a word to say on the subject; his ambassador in London had told Lord Lansdowne in 1902 that "Germany had no concern in Morocco"; if at any moment she attempted to assume a conspicuous rôle, it should be intimated to her that she had no *locus standi*. To be sure, shortly before the Entente was signed, Delcassé indicated to Prince Radolin, the German ambassador, quite informally after dinner, that negotiations were on foot with England touching many subjects including Morocco. But after the Entente agreements were signed and printed in the newspapers (except certain secret articles concerning Morocco), Delcassé studiously avoided notifying them officially to Germany, either because he feared Germany might naturally use the opportunity to claim some compensations, or more probably, as Lord Sanderson, the British under-secretary, later believed, because "there is no doubt that M. Delcassé was steadily pursuing a series of manoeuvres for the purpose of isolating Germany and weakening her alliances" (III. 421).

Delcassé's "diplomatic oversight" (III. 68), as Lord Lansdowne euphemistically termed it, was in striking contrast to the action of the British, who at once entered into discussion with the Germans in regard to Egypt and found them not unreasonable. In spite of Delcassé's after-dinner conversation with Prince Radolin, and in spite of Bülow's assumed optimism in his Reichstag discussion of the Anglo-French Entente a few weeks later—which Lord Sanderson, shrewdly reading between the lines, regarded "as an invitation to Great Britain and France to discuss in due course its bearings on German interests" (III. 421)—one must take *cum grano salis* Delcassé's later professions of injured innocence in assuring England that the French government was "entirely unable to understand the attitude which the German Government has lately taken up", and which "certainly could not be justified upon the ground that Germany had been kept in the dark with regard to the Anglo-French Agreement and its effects upon the position of France in Morocco" (III. 69).

When many months had passed since the signing of the Anglo-French Moroccan Agreement and Delcassé had still made no move to consult Germany but was preparing to force French plans on the Sultan of Morocco by the Taillandier mission, Bülow by sending the Kaiser to Tangier served notice that Germany wished to be consulted. This Tangier visit and the German diplomatic pressure which followed was

interpreted by the French as an effort to separate England from France, break up the Entente, and prevent it from developing into an alliance (III. 75). This interpretation was accepted in England (III. 168, 400, 421), and had the natural effect of solidifying instead of rupturing the Entente. On April 22 and May 17, 1905, Lord Lansdowne stated to the French that he was ready to join them in opposing strongly any German demand for a port in Morocco, and that he thought England and France ought to treat each other with the utmost confidence and discuss in advance all possible contingencies (III. 73, 76). These statements did not at all constitute a formal offer of alliance, but they were apparently exaggerated by the French as being such, and originated in the summer of 1905 the rumor, flatly denied by the English, of an Anglo-French offensive and defensive alliance. A little later came the pregnant Anglo-French military and naval "conversations", which Sir Edward Grey thought left his "hands free", but which gradually came to constitute a moral, if not legal, obligation to give France armed support.

The story of the Algeciras Conference fills a third of the volume, and supplements *Die Grosse Politik*, but does not add greatly to what we already know from it, from Tardieu's book, and from other sources.

The most interesting and altogether new materials in this volume are the various documents giving British views of Germany: Sir Charles Hardinge's solemn account of his long talk with the Kaiser at Cronberg in the summer of 1906; Lord Haldane's diary, written for the private eye of King Edward, of his frank but friendly discussions with the Kaiser, Bülow, Moltke, and Tschirschky, when he went to Berlin to study the German army organization preparatory to his own reorganization of the British army; and the shrewd reports of the English ambassador, Sir Frank Lascelles, which are all the more valuable because his wit, tact, and good sense always enabled him to keep on intimate and friendly terms with the Kaiser as well as with Holstein and the Wilhelmstrasse officials. His account of Holstein's resignation is vivid, though he is not quite certain as to its cause. He describes the Kaiser "as a man possessed of great knowledge and ability, and endowed with remarkable personal charm, but impulsive, rash, with an undue sensitiveness" as to Germany's importance, and his own, in the world; he "is really animated by the most pacific sentiments, and . . . his great ambition now is that his name should be handed down to posterity as that of the German Emperor who kept the peace" (III. 437-438). Most interesting and valuable of all, as coming from a man who was to exert a strong influence on Sir Edward Grey in the coming years, is Sir Eyre Crowe's 10,000-word review of German policy, with his emphasis on the balance of power theory, his deep suspicion of Germany's desire for hegemony, and his strong denunciation of German intrigues and ingratitude. Lord Sanderson wrote a counter-memorandum, correcting or denying many of his statements. But Sir Edward Grey marked Crowe's memorandum "most valuable . . . most helpful as a guide to policy . . . contains information and reflections, which should be carefully studied" (III. 420). SYDNEY B. FAY.

Lord Grey and the World War. By HERMANN LUTZ, translated by E. W. DICKES. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. 346. \$5.00.)

MR. LUTZ enjoys an extraordinarily wide knowledge of Anglo-Saxon political thought and magazine literature and opinion, which enables him to see more clearly than the rest of his countrymen the English point of view. At the same time he combines with this knowledge an amazingly thorough acquaintance with German diplomatic history and especially with the monumental collection of secret archive material recently published in *Die Grosse Politik*. It was therefore a wise choice which led to his selection as editor of the German edition of the eleventh volume of "British Documents" relating to the crisis of July, 1914. Furthermore, he has paid much attention to the study of psychoanalysis, and rightly uses light from this source to interpret the thoughts and acts of important pre-war personages. He is thus well equipped to give a most searching and satisfactory analysis of the baffling problem of Sir Edward Grey's personality and policy in the years preceding the war.

The problem is baffling because Viscount Grey's charming post-war memoir, *Twenty-five Years*, makes at first reading such a convincing impression of simplicity, honesty, and love of peace. This also is the testimony of most Englishmen who knew him intimately, as well as of the ambassadors who came in closest contact with him, like Cambon, Page, and Lichnowsky. Yet his memoir contains many passages which it is difficult to reconcile with other material now available; he failed to prevent a world war; and his influence was the most potent single force which drove a hesitating and divided British Cabinet into participation in the war.

In this volume Mr. Lutz picks to pieces, critically, even mercilessly, but not altogether unsympathetically, with voluminous citation of authorities, the narrative which Viscount Grey has given in *Twenty-five Years*. He shows Grey's early and increasing suspicion of Germany; his large dependence on the very strong pro-Entente advice of Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir Eyre Crowe; his inability to "face reality" in thinking that after the military and naval "conversations" entered into with France in 1905-1906 he still had his "hands free", whereas in reality they were so tied by a moral obligation to France that he intimated to the Cabinet that he would feel obliged to resign if his colleagues did not follow him in 1914 in giving France armed support. Mr. Lutz pictures Grey as "gentle in personal life, full of good will and good feeling. A thoughtful, true, and loyal friend; a harsh and bitter enemy. No Machiavelli, and subjectively no hypocrite; nor the hawk-headed evil spirit with rapacious clawed fingers that many Germans imagined during the War. No true statesman. A man with a narrow insularity of outlook, his view dimmed by strong predilections and deep prejudices; unconscious of the enormous encouragement which his Entente policy gave to the nationalists in power in Russia and France. Accessible to suggestion and greatly

under the influence of auto-suggestion. A man who came unwillingly to his post; who imagined that he was steering his ship with a sure hand, unaware that other hands were also on the wheel; who imagined himself free and saw nothing of the thousand threads of his own spinning that had combined into an unbreakable tow-rope and towed him in the course of others" (p. 193).

Mr. Lutz concludes, rightly we believe, that Grey did not fully realize the selfish aims of Russian diplomacy, supported by the French. "Great Britain was the dominant factor for both sides, and was in control of the situation; had she immediately and clearly stated her position world peace would have been saved. But Sir Edward Grey had not the competence as a statesman or, in consequence of his predilections and prejudices, the personal inclination to use his power entirely in the service of peace" (p. 300).

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Drafting of the Covenant. By DAVID HUNTER MILLER. Two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 555; iv, 857. \$15.00.)

MR. DAVID HUNTER MILLER was the legal representative of President Wilson in the inquiry which was set up to prepare the information for the Paris Peace Conference. He was therefore familiar with the legal and political and many of the economic questions involved in the peace negotiations before he went to Paris, and had a weighty voice in deciding upon the recommendations to be made to the President. At Paris he continued his work as one of the legal advisers to the American delegation and participated as legal expert in the preliminary conversations from which resulted the draft of the Covenant, as adviser to the President in the meetings of the Commission of the Peace Conference which considered the draft and finally prepared the text of the Covenant for approval by the Conference. Throughout the period of inception of the Covenant, Mr. Miller was in personal touch with the President and also with Colonel House. Understanding the importance of every step taken, he kept notes which have served to "refresh his memory" in the preparation of this important contribution to the genesis of the document which laid the foundations of a new era in international organization.

Since President Wilson was the protagonist for the League, it was owing largely to his insistence that the Covenant was included in the Peace Treaty (p. 76 ff.), and since he was the active Chairman of the Committee on the League of Nations of the Peace Conference, which prepared the Covenant (I. 85), Mr. Miller's position as the President's adviser makes his statements of the genesis of the Covenant an authentic pronouncement of the American understanding at the time. His work is valuable for two purposes—first, as an historical document of importance on the formation of the Covenant, its origins, the intentions of its sponsors, the varying views of different governments, and the process

of their reconciliation; and second, as an authentic source-book for the interpretation of the Covenant. Not the historian alone, but the international lawyer and statesman will find this book of increasing importance as the League grows in authority and the inevitable difficulties arise in adjusting its general language to particular situations. As the author says: "The idea of some people that an elaborate statute or charter can be so drafted as to have only one conceivable meaning in every given place, if written in 'plain English' as such people say, is a laughable delusion. In this sense there is no such thing as 'plain English' or 'plain' any other language" (I. 535). Not only constitutional but Biblical exegesis confirms this statement and bears testimony to the importance of having all the light possible thrown from an authoritative contemporary source on the meaning of the words used in a document upon which will be based the action of international assemblies and governments.

The book with its collection of documents may be fairly called a parliamentary history of the Covenant, corresponding to the parliamentary history of statutes upon which courts and legislatures so much depend in their interpretations. The fact that it was written by a man trained in the law is an advantage from this point of view. In the first volume the author describes in detail the conferences in which he took part with British and French experts, where the terms of the Covenant were worked out for presentation to the committee. He further gives an account of the meetings of the committee which he attended as legal adviser to President Wilson, the chairman, so that his record, completing the dry account of the minutes, makes it possible to follow through the ideas finally crystallized in the Covenant.

The second volume contains documents collected from scattered sources which are needed for the completion of the parliamentary history of the Covenant. It begins with the British Phillimore plan in the last year of the war, contains the American preliminary drafts and the drafts and suggestions submitted during the course of the discussion in committee. Furthermore; Mr. Miller has included the minutes of the Committee on the League of Nations, both the English and the French texts. This collection of material would be a great convenience and time-saver to students who have easy access to a great library, but its value in putting the original materials in the hands of editors, teachers, and thinking people all over the country, who would otherwise have difficulty in consulting them, is an important service to the understanding of the Covenant.

The author makes evident throughout the close attention which the President gave to the Covenant both in conference with him and his other advisers (I. 62, 172, 331, 475) and as chairman of the committee of the Conference (p. 324). The close attention with which the President followed the text till its final draft is evident in his correction of an important modification which appeared after the text had been reported by the committee and was in the hands of the Drafting Commit-

tee of the Conference (I. 503). He gives the President full credit for his determination in forcing the inclusion of the Covenant of the League in the Peace Treaty, as to which the author says: "The wisest of Wilson's many wise decisions was to put and to keep the League in the Treaty of Peace" (I. 549).

Not the least interesting passages in this book are those containing comments on the difficulties resulting from the formal decision that "the Peace Treaty should be printed in French and English languages, which should be the official languages of the Treaty" (I. 505). Mr. Miller shows that the original text was prepared in English by the American and English experts and finally that "the English text was the only text passed on by the Drafting Committee as a Committee" (I. 511, 515). The French text was therefore based on the English and the author gives a number of instances of the ingenuity required in rendering precisely into French, expressions which may be doubtful or vague in English (I. 532, 535).

If the writing makes the exact man, translating will carry accuracy to the highest power, and while phrasing in another language what seemed clear in his own, the author may stumble upon unexpected doubts. The difficulty in putting into French the English expression "self-governing" is a case in point (p. 523).

The book contains a general subject-index and in addition an index by articles of the Covenant, which will add very greatly to its value as legislative history of the Covenant, and as a source-book for its interpretation.

JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Works Council: a German Experiment of Industrial Democracy.

By C. W. GUILLEBAUD, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company.
1928. Pp. x, 305. 16 s.)

IN the twentieth century "Laborism" is becoming to "Capitalism" what, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, capitalism was to feudalism. The constitutions of political governments were revolutionized when the feudal and ecclesiastical hierarchy gave way to the modern capitalistic state. And the constitution of the state itself is again revolutionized when capitalism yields to the domination or participation of laborism.

Australia seems to have led the way. There, for thirty years, compulsory arbitration has incorporated the "shop rules" of labor unions into the very common law of Anglo-Norman jurisprudence and the law merchant of capitalistic jurisprudence; and a labor party vies with a capitalist party. In England, the Whig succession of Liberals has practically disappeared and laborism confronts capitalism. In Russia proletariate dictatorship wipes out feudalism, ecclesiasticism and capitalism. In Italy capitalistic dictatorship compels all workmen to be members of

labor unions, and the state itself—if it may retain that name—is a representation of business and labor. Now, for Germany, we have, for the first time in the English language, an authoritative and documentary account of the national collective agreement between the trade unions led by Legien, the German Gompers, and the capitalists led by Stinnes, then the German Pierpont Morgan, eliminating Monarchism and creating the Republic. This trade agreement was written into the Constitution and named by Legien the Magna Carta of Labor (p. 4). It prohibited the employers' company unions, long since installed to exclude labor unions and known by the unionists as "yellow unions". In their place the great charter, confirmed in detail by the legislative act of 1920, ordered these "works councils", which Guillebaud describes, to be installed in the factories of the employers.

These works councils, in the shops, are composed of employees alone, the employer having no right to attend their meetings unless invited. The council is elected by vote of all the employees. The council coöperates with the employer in promoting efficiency, introducing new labor methods, establishing shop rules, settling disputes, and executing awards. It defends the workers' right of association, hears appeals, coöperates with the factory inspectors, and participates in administering welfare schemes. The employer can not discharge a labor leader except by consent of the works council, or on appeal to a labor court.

Thus Germany establishes by its Constitution and laws "industrial democracy" within the shops. How does it work? Nine-tenths of the book answers this question. The outstanding facts seem to be that it works where the unions get control by electing the works councils; that the unions themselves now give their major attention to the formulation and enforcement of shop rules protecting individuals within the capitalist system, where formerly they were an annex to the Socialist party that tried to elevate labor as a mass by ousting the system; and that the Socialist party becomes a labor party. Thus from Australia to Russia, from England to Italy and Germany, the twentieth century sees, except in America, as many different political experiments as there are nations attempting to revolutionize the capitalist state into an industrial government within the shops and factories.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

The Far East, a Political and Diplomatic History. By PAYSON J. TREAT, Ph.D., Professor of History in Stanford University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. x, 549. \$4.00.)

To the monographs on Japanese-American relations by which he has made all students of Far Eastern history his debtors, Professor Treat has now added an excellent general survey of the recent political and diplomatic history of Japan, China, and the adjacent countries. A brief survey is given of the history and culture of Japan and China before the coming of the Westerner. This is followed by a summary, still brief, but some-

what more detailed, of the intercourse between these lands and the Occident, and of internal political developments down to 1895. This in turn is followed by a section, comprising the final two-fifths of the book, on developments since 1895. There are also chapters on the Philippines and Indo-China.

In any work covering so extensive a field the critic, if he is disposed to be at all captious, is certain to discover flaws. There is still doubt—which the author does not recognize—whether (p. 16) the name “China” is derived from the Ch’in dynasty. The year of the death of John of Montecorvino, the first Roman Catholic missionary to China, is highly uncertain and not necessarily 1328 (p. 48). There is serious question whether Laotzū ever lived, and the short summary of the teaching attributed to him (p. 29) is misleading.

In addition to these and a few other minor errors is a characteristic of the book which some readers will deem a more serious defect—a tendency to defend Japanese policies. This is easily understandable. So much criticism of Japan—a large proportion of it hopelessly biased and inaccurate, and often voiced by men of supposedly reputable scholarship—has been heard in the United States, that any one with a decent respect for accuracy in writing for Americans almost unconsciously takes the opposite side. Professor Treat has used great care not to go beyond what can be supported by documents, and he frankly recognizes that at times Japan has been seriously at fault—as in the unfortunate Twenty-one Demands. He is, too, fair to the other governments with whom his narrative deals. Occasionally, however, he takes a position which is open to debate, as when (p. 441) he says of Japan’s attack on Tsingtao in 1914: “Unlike the Germans, who smashed their way through Belgium in spite of heroic resistance, the Japanese advanced across Shantung with the permission of China.” Technically China permitted the Japanese to cross her territory, but the Japanese were determined to utilize Chinese territory, and China’s proclamation of a war zone was a vain attempt to preserve the appearance of self-respect and to set limits to Japanese activities. Usually, however, what Professor Treat has to say in defense or extenuation of Japan badly needs saying to Americans, and he invariably speaks his mind with a good temper and restraint which go far to disarm criticism.

By the self-imposed and clearly defined limits of the book only diplomatic and political phases of recent Far Eastern history are treated at all fully. Other, and important, phases of the story are only briefly touched upon. For a full-rounded account of what the last century and a half have seen in the Far East one must supplement the volume by other works.

When all of these strictures and comments have been made, however, the fact remains that Professor Treat has here given us one of the two or three brief accounts of the recent political and diplomatic history of the Far East that we have in any language.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Mœurs et Histoire des Indiens Peaux-Rouges. Par RENÉ THÉVENIN et PAUL COZE. (Paris: Payot. 1928. Pp. 346. 30 fr.)

THIS book is not exactly what one might be led to expect from the title. Instead of a general account of the customs and of the history of the American Indians, we have here a book dealing exclusively with the Indians of the United States, and almost exclusively with the tribes of the Western plains. This limitation of the subject is unfortunate, as the culture of native America, with all of its local differentiation, rested upon the same foundation. No satisfactory analysis of the culture of a group of tribes in any particular geographical area is possible without some reference to the culture of other areas, and particularly to the traits which seem, through thousands of years, to have radiated in all directions from Middle America.

The first, and more valuable portion of the book, is devoted to a description of the geographical environment and of the culture of the Plains Indians and the second part is a disjointed, episodic history of their contact with the whites, of the Indian wars, and of the gradual conquest of the West. The narrative begins with a brief account of the earliest relations of the Spanish, the French, and the English with the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard. There are short references to the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, and the Indian War of 1811; but most of the history consists of anecdotes of the wars in the West during the nineteenth century. Neither part contains anything which is not already available to English readers in books easily accessible, but the book gives a much more complete account of the Plains Tribes than has heretofore been available in French, except in the volumes of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*.

Both for the description of customs and for the narrative the authors have made good use of good authorities, but one wonders what authorities were used in writing the paragraph devoted to the American Civil War. The difficult question of tribal nomenclature has apparently been solved by using in different parts of the book whichever form of a tribal name was used by the particular authority on which each part was based, with the confusing result that the same tribe may be mentioned under half a dozen different names. For example—of the 173 names by which the Shawnees have been called by different authors, this book uses indiscriminately "Chawnies", "Shawnies", "Shawnees", "Shawanos", and "Shawanèses".

There is a brief bibliography containing only the titles of the principal books used by the authors. Curiously enough Wissler's *The American Indian* and Radin's *The Story of the American Indian*—both of which would have been most useful in preparing a compilation of this kind—are omitted from the bibliography.

For a book published in French and containing a great many English words and names, the errors in English are comparatively few. The omission of "a" or "the" sometimes gives a curious effect, and the "s" of the plural is sometimes used incorrectly and sometimes omitted. The reviewer finds the phrase "gesture sings on signal" utterly incomprehensible. There are "Ralegh" for Raleigh; "Harisson" for Harrison; "Well and Fargo" for Wells, Fargo; and other similar errors.

The book is profusely illustrated with 50 photographs and with 383 well-executed drawings—some of them in color—covering such subjects as the different types of habitations, fire drills, canoes, head-dress, pipes, pictographs, etc. Most of the drawings are placed in an appendix, and the explanations which accompany them are the only technical anthropological material in the book.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

The Headquarters Papers of the British Army in North America during the War of the American Revolution: a Brief Description of Sir Henry Clinton's Papers in the William L. Clements Library. By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS. [William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Bulletin no. 14.] Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library. 1926. Pp. 47. \$1.50.)

The Papers of Lord George Germain: a Brief Description of the Stopford-Sackville Papers now in the William L. Clements Library. By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS. [William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Bulletin no. 18.] (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library. 1928. Pp. 46. \$1.50.)

THESE preliminary reports from the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, dealing respectively with the Clinton and Germain papers, remind us again of the important bodies of manuscript material, which have lately found their way across the Atlantic. They include not only notable series of transcripts, like those in the Library of Congress, but also, as in this case, extensive collections of original papers. These acquisitions, taken in connection with the Shelburne Papers, also recently added to the Clements Library, furnish an impressive example of what may be done for our future historians through the collaboration of academic scholarship with the skill and enthusiasm of the experienced collector. Though comprehensive and detailed inventories are not attempted, Mr. Adams has presented some attractive samples of what future investigators may expect to find. Both reports are good specimens of generous bookmaking, with excellent illustrations, chiefly photographic reproductions of selections from the correspondence.

Though the primary interest of the Clinton Papers (acquired in 1925) is in the correspondence of Sir Henry Clinton and in the new light which his papers throw on many important phases of our War for Independence, students of colonial history should also take note of the documents—more

than a thousand in all—from the files of his father, Admiral George Clinton, for many years royal governor of New York. Among the many notable items in Sir Henry's files, a special human interest attaches to Arnold's correspondence with the British headquarters, still awaiting exploitation by American historians. Another unique opportunity offered to future investigators at Michigan is that of examining in the same library the Clinton and Nathanael Greene papers for the Southern campaigns. Among the printed books included in the collection are copies, annotated by Sir Henry himself, of the books and pamphlets issued in the "Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy". Clinton's own history of his campaigns never reached the press, but is now, with his "scholarly footnotes and citations", housed with the manuscripts at Ann Arbor. Other interesting features are a large number of intercepted letters from American leaders and, last but not least, an extensive collection of maps executed by British engineer officers.

The "Germain Papers", described in the reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts as the "Stopford-Sackville Papers", were acquired by Mr. Clements, with certain indicated exceptions, in 1927. Of this collection also a substantial part antedates the Revolutionary era, including much interesting material on the Seven Years War, in which the future Lord Germain played so unfortunate a rôle. Mr. Adams mentions "superb Wolfe letters", also important correspondence of the elder Pitt and several of his political rivals and associates. For this collection, as for the Clinton Papers, the centre of interest is naturally in the period from 1775 to 1782, when Germain as colonial secretary directed the campaigns in America. Mr. Adams observes, however, that Germain's correspondence for the preceding decade contains many comments on American affairs and that he assembled much material bearing on the political controversies of that period. One important item noted is the manuscript volume made up from copies of the correspondence of Franklin, Thomas Pownall, and Samuel Cooper (the letters of the two latter as yet mainly unpublished). This was apparently prepared for George III. by Benjamin Thompson, subsequently Count Rumford, who was for a time one of Germain's protégés. One letter, partially reproduced in facsimile, shows young Thompson carrying his loyalism to the point of serving as a spy on the American army in Cambridge. More important is the fresh matter about the costly bungling on both sides of the Atlantic which brought on the disaster at Saratoga. Finally Mr. Adams describes the large folio volume—"virgin soil" for the historian—which contains the secret and confidential despatches sent by Germain to America during his seven years service between 1775 and 1782.

In view of the positions held by Clinton and Germain, the most obvious value of these collections is on the military side. There are indications, however, here and there, that the social historian will find new grist for his mill.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Turning Point of the Revolution or Burgoyne in America. By HOFFMAN NICKERSON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. x, 500. \$6.00.)

THIS is the most complete study yet made of the campaigns of 1777, and has very evidently involved original research of a type not likely to be done over again at any time in the near future. In many respects, particularly as far as the American sources are concerned, it almost might be called the final word on the subject. It becomes increasingly clear that the catastrophe of the British army in the autumn of 1777 was due to no one single cause, but to a multitude of contributing factors, among which were Germain's casual attitude toward the conduct of the Revolution, Burgoyne's pride, Howe's wrong-headedness (whether intentional or unintentional), and last but not least, the fact that the Americans not only fought, but fought well.

The book is not documented in the orthodox fashion; that is, it has no foot-notes. It has, however, thirteen appendixes in which controverted points are discussed. The author defends this practice with a reference to Michelet's comment that no amount of quotation can make a dull history interesting. While one is not likely to dispute that point, there still remains the question of whether a less brilliant writer than Michelet might not increase the real value and service done by his work if he did document it. Just before the appearance of the present volume, there came from the press the late Mr. F. J. Hudleston's *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (1927), which, with whatever faults, is certainly a keen and suggestive book on the Burgoyne campaign. Mr. Hudleston's book is of the type that can dispense with scholarly apparatus, but that having been done, the scholar might perhaps be forgiven if he retains a furtive regret that Mr. Nickerson did not take advantage of his opportunity to supply the documentation for which investigators of the Burgoyne campaign must still wait.

As to Burgoyne, it is doubtful whether we can "set aside the question of (Burgoyne's) self interest . . ." (p. 57). There is some question whether all, from Burgoyne down, believed that Howe's army from New York was about to advance northward to meet them (p. 187). When Balcarres was under fire in the parliamentary investigation which followed the surrender, he certainly was at great pains to evade committing himself on this very point, and rather pointedly made it clear that the rest of the army had nothing but Burgoyne's confidence to guide them. (See Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition from Canada*, 1780, p. 37.)

As to Clinton, it is not quite right to make him share Germain's casual attitude toward the war. Mr. Nickerson attributes to Clinton the remark (made to Burgoyne), "I own to you I think the business will quickly be over now". This is an excellent example of an error which inevitably creeps in from lack of a full consideration of the Sir Henry Clinton Papers (for which, because of their recent discovery, Mr. Nickerson can not be held responsible). The very despatch in which that phrase

occurs is, in fact, a faked-up and masked despatch. It was not intended to read that way, but, when the mask is applied, it gives Burgoyne the really terrifying information: "I own to you I think Sir W[illiam Howe]'s move [toward Philadelphia] just at this time [is] the worst he could take." (See R. G. Adams, *The British Headquarters Papers*, 1926, opp. p. 12.)

Moreover, it becomes increasingly doubtful, the more one reads the papers of Clinton and Germain (of which, through no fault of his own, Mr. Nickerson could not have made a thorough study), whether the North ministry, Germain, or anyone else ever thought of this campaign in terms of separating the New England states from the rest of the colonies, and "holding the line of the Hudson". That was a fine scheme probably thought up afterward in the parliamentary investigation in an effort to make the campaign seem a reasonable thing.

Other objections might be pointed out, but the reviewer would not leave a false impression; this is a very able book, one which will be of great service to scholars. It must be reckoned among the best of the detailed studies of the Revolution, based on sound and hard work.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

The Life of George Rogers Clark. By JAMES ALTON JAMES, Professor of American History in Northwestern University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1928. Pp. xiii, 534. \$5.00.)

THE approach of the sesquicentennial of George Rogers Clark's capture of the Western posts, and the appropriation by Congress and several Western states of large sums of money for monuments and memorials, have increased the demand for an adequate life of Clark. This has now come to hand in the stately volume of Professor James, who for nearly a score of years has consorted with Clark and the documents concerning his career. It seems strange that so interesting a subject should so long have awaited a biographer. Since Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites in 1903 issued his essay on "How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest" nothing with any pretensions to scholarship has appeared save as portions of historical works or fugitive articles in periodicals and biographical dictionaries. It may be that Temple Bodley's biography of 1926 should be excepted from this sweeping statement, but as Mr. Bodley's book was written with a bias, and was frankly put forth to prove that Clark was a perfect hero, it hardly comes within the scope of historical biography. James's life, on the other hand, is written not only with scholarly detachment and impersonal judgment, but is, so far as this reviewer knows, the only adequate interpretation of Clark's somewhat baffling and singular personality as well as the only full presentation of his earlier period of triumphant accomplishment and the later years of storm and bitterness.

It must not be forgotten that Clark's achievement both as warrior and pacifier was the work of a very young man, infused with the ardor and the

self-confidence of youth. He was less than twenty-seven years old when he led that desperate march against the British at Vincennes, and although he may seem thereafter like Achilles to have sulked in his tent, the inevitableness of reaction and the stern lessons of disappointment disciplined his eager soul and dragged him down from the heights attained.

Thenceforward he was more an opportunist than a statesman, a patriot with vision blurred and distorted by the mists of misunderstanding and detraction. It was a tortured soul that wrote: "I fixed myself a colossus for them to shoot their darts at but I believe they begin to discover they have no effect. I despise them and pity the publick." James thus portrays the situation: "Then scarcely forty years of age, proud, ambitious, with services seemingly unappreciated by his country, with prospects blighted, without employment, dependent on the generosity of his family, there was left to Clark, as he thought, only a life of obscurity." This in a measure accounts for his acceptance of commissions from Revolutionary France and his attempted filibuster into Spanish territory.

James's *Life* is, however, more than a biography of an eminent soldier, the conqueror of the West. It is, in effect, a history of the Revolution in the West, and of the troubled years that followed down to the Louisiana purchase. With the outstanding hero as the dominant figure, the author has skilfully woven into the texture of his book a reasoned and adequate account of the Western area in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. From French and Spanish archives he has obtained material which throws new light on the tangled diplomacy of France and Spain, and particularly on the share the latter nation had in aiding Clark and in supplementing his efforts by conquests of their own. On the much discussed question of the exact influence of Clark's activities on the settlement of the boundary at the Peace of Paris, James gives us nothing new. He does, after citing the several shades of opinion, give us as his own the belief that Clark's military control of the Northwest territory aided Shelburne in his determination to make the Mississippi and the Great Lakes the boundaries of the new nation. In the last third of the volume the author has contributed several valuable chapters on the American occupation of the Northwest, the Spanish conspiracy, and the overshadowing influence of the French during the blazing years of its Revolution—all of which had important results not for Clark alone, but for the nation in its infancy.

No more important work than this for the study of Western history has issued from the press in recent years. It may lack in dramatic fervor, although there is no finer description of the march on Vincennes than appears in chapter seven; it may in some parts be overweighted with details, but the whole is a well-wrought, thorough, and scholarly narrative of one of the most important periods and one of the most baffling personalities in the entire field of our history. No future historian can afford to neglect a careful perusal of this *Life*, and the general public will find therein information and pleasure.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume IV., January 1 to December 31, 1779. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1928. Pp. lxvi, 581. Unbound, \$5.00; bound, \$5.50.)

No other four volumes of contemporary Revolutionary material can come so near to telling the personal, political, and constitutional history of the American Revolution as do these volumes, bringing the letters of the members of Congress up to December 31, 1779. The amazing erudition which has been shown in editing them, the forethought for every need of the critical and scholarly reader, the accuracy and thoroughness of the work in every particular can hardly be overpraised. After twenty-five years of study of the American War for Independence, I find the editor constantly telling me things I did not know—and which are worth knowing. This last volume maintains the same high grade of judicious and valuable annotation which has marked the other three. There is the usual valuable list of members, the time of their election, their attendance and their absences. There is the same useful and trustworthy index. When the prefaces of the several volumes are read in their order, and together, they will form a concise and reliable history of the main activities of the Continental Congress.

The editor points out that the year 1779, barren in military accomplishment and almost so in diplomacy, was in politics and finance a time of storm and stress. Dark as was the outlook, none thought of surrender. Disappointments, anxieties, forebodings there were, but always hope. Over finance there was endless controversy, and like the sick man in his bed, Congress tried every position only to find each as bad as the last. The French ambassador urged them to get ready for the peace negotiations which would come anon, but beyond quarreling for months among themselves over what the treaty should contain as to the fisheries and the free navigation of the Mississippi, little was accomplished. There was enough diplomacy left in Congress to congratulate the King of France on the birth of a princess, and even to ask Louis for his portrait, but a hint went along with the request that a loan of a few million would come handy.

The intrigue of the Lees and the Adamses against Silas Deane drags on through interminable pages of these letters. Quarrels over paper money which was slipping daily deeper into Avernus consume even more pages; but still the inundation of paper buried the liberty of America ever deeper. Another cause of bitter discussion was the Western lands. Members of Congress also grew quite eloquent over the high cost of living in Philadelphia. The question of officers' pay and adequate support of the army went on until Washington wrote that there was little more than the skeleton of an army. The Confederation and the question of putting the executive business of Congress on a better basis are the subjects of many letters. Indeed, it would be hard to think of any vital subject concerned with the Revolutionary War which does not occasion large discussion in this valuable collection of letters. C. H. VAN TYNE.

Het Aandeel van den Amsterdamschen Handel aan den Opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest. Door Jhr. Dr. P. J. VAN WINTER. Eerste deel. (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1927. Pp. xxxvi, 240. 6 gulden.)

THIS study of Dutch-American economic history—of which only the first volume has appeared—may be mentioned with Bernard Faÿ's brilliant *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire*, not for clairvoyant style and limpid lucidity of thought and arrangement, but for being one of two very important books written in recent years by foreigners who have thoroughly exploited manuscript resources in the United States as well as in Europe. For years our historical investigators have been journeying to Europe for archival work, but the Europeans who have been coming to the United States for similar purposes might be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. Professor Faÿ had a subject which lent itself to style and the very nature of which tempted in advance the reader's appetite. Dr. van Winter, who seeks to show the part that Amsterdam trade had in building up the American republic, has nothing to deal with but dry economic facts, the flow of trade and of capital between the Netherlands and the new United States during and immediately after the War of Independence. He is careful to mention, at the outset, that the Hollanders, despite their traditional share in the colonization of New York and New Jersey, had little spiritual or political interest in the larger significance of the American Revolution. They were influenced by no French mirages of *exotisme*.

By the end of the eighteenth century the mercantile systems of the great colonial powers of Europe had painfully restricted the area for Dutch commercial purveyance and freighting. When the Revolution broke out the Netherlands saw in it not the proximate consummation of fond political utopias, but the chance of fat war-time profits—an avenue of riches which was all too quickly closed by the British seizure of St. Eustatius and the declaration of war against the Netherlands. More important than war-time profits was the new field anticipated for the expansion of cramped Dutch commerce into an independent United States freed from British navigation laws. But here too lay disappointment. After the war Dutch merchants, like their French competitors, could not deal successfully in America against the competition of established British houses in satisfying American tastes and demands for long-term credits. It was rather in the loans made to the government of the United States and the ultimate profit thereon that the Netherlands, that is, the Amsterdam bankers, profited from the American Revolution; and this volume might better have been entitled, "The Rôle of Amsterdam Capital in the Development of the American Republic". Of course, the infant United States benefited by these loans more than the Amsterdam bankers.

The loans and their payment have long since been itemized in such publications as R. A. Bayley's *National Loans*, but that is about all that

has ever been known about them. Dr. van Winter now traces the history of these loans on both sides of the Atlantic, those made during the war, and those made from 1783 to 1789. During these years the government of the Confederation staved off *absolute* bankruptcy abroad by borrowing Dutch money to pay arrears of interest on loans from France, then more Dutch florins to pay interest on the first Dutch loans (payment of the interest to France having meanwhile ceased), then still more Dutch gold to pay interest on the second and on successive Dutch loans, until, at the last gasp, the United States Constitution of 1787 was ratified (Dr. van Winter follows Beard on the economic interpretation of the Constitution, as he does Schlesinger on the economic interpretation of the Revolution) and the reorganization of the finances under the régime of Alexander Hamilton restored our credit at almost one jump. The Dutch bankers watched the American political situation carefully, doling out loans enough to pay interest due them on earlier ones; and, as the possibilities of a more perfect union increased, they really bet on the movement for the Constitution by buying up Continental securities in great amounts at cheap prices. Dr. van Winter describes some of the companies organized for such speculations, as well as the different banking firms, and individuals, Dutch and American—Gouverneur Morris, Daniel Parker, William Duer, and many others who were trying to sell American securities or put through deals in coöperation with Dutch capitalists for discounting with French assignats the American debt to France. These unsuccessful schemes bear no faint resemblance to present-day plans to discount the German reparations debt and peddle it out among innocent individual investors.

One great American collection of sources has been left untouched, but through no fault of the author, who explains that the documents are so thoroughly unorganized and badly housed as to be impossible of use—we allude to the archives of the Treasury Department. We hope that the long-hoped-for, long-proposed, long-studied, long-debated, and long-awaited national archive building may be built somewhere in Washington soon enough to spare another distinguished foreign scholar the disappointment experienced in this respect by Dr. van Winter.

The volume is extremely well printed. There is a careful and somewhat redundant bibliography of the kind natural to doctoral dissertations. An appendix includes a list of Dutch and other foreign owners of American securities, as well as a copy of John Adams's contract of 1784 with the Dutch banking triumvirate—Wilhem and Jan Willink, Nicolaas and Jacob van Staphorst, and de la Lande and Fynje; much more useful as an appendix would be a neat tabulation of all the American loans made from Dutch bankers, with terms, precise amounts subscribed, and manner of payment; and some calculation as to the amount of Dutch purchases of American securities. Perhaps this, and a badly needed index, will appear in the second volume.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

America's Ambassadors to France, 1777-1927, a Narrative of Franco-American Diplomatic Relations. By BECKLES WILLSON. (London: John Murray; New York: F. A. Stokes Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 433. \$5.00.)

A YEAR or so ago Colonel Beckles Willson published under the title *The Paris Embassy* a narrative of Franco-British diplomatic relations, 1814-1920. His interest in diplomatic history continues unabated. The more recent volume by Colonel Willson tells the story of the work of American ministers and ambassadors to France from Benjamin Franklin to Myron T. Herrick. Strictly speaking, the narrative closes in 1921 with the second appointment of Ambassador Herrick to France by President Harding. It focuses attention upon the personalities of thirty-five Americans, casting light upon the problems, varied and often perplexing, with which they were from time to time confronted. Eighteen of these men were appointed from three states, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New York; Ohio supplied four, and Louisiana three. When in 1919 Hugh C. Wallace at President Wilson's request went from the state of Washington to Paris an ambassador, Wallace was the first man in the group to come from the Far West. Only two men, W. C. Rives of Virginia and Herrick of Ohio, have had thus far the distinction of serving twice in France. In respect to length of service Mr. Herrick, now occupying the position of ambassador, has exceeded the term of any predecessor. Regular changes of administration such as ours seldom give assurance that qualified men abroad will be retained beyond a limited period. British diplomats in France on the other hand have fared better than our own: Earl Cowley was British ambassador in Paris from 1852 to 1866; and his immediate successor there, Lord Lyons, occupied the position for the next twenty years.

The major portion of the narrative Colonel Willson has based upon the archives of the American legation in Paris, having had access to the letter-books and despatches there through the courtesy of Mr. Herrick and with the permission of the Department of State. Along the way he has made discriminating use of numerous sidelights such, for examples, as the diary of James Gallatin entitled *A Great Peacemaker*, an almost forgotten volume by Lewis Cass, *France, its King, Court, and Government* (1840), John Bigelow's *Retrospections of an Active Life*, Elihu B. Washburne's *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877*, and more recent records which he has gathered from *The Autobiography of T. Jefferson Coolidge*, the *Life of Whitelaw Reid* by Royal Cortissoz, *Robert Bacon* by James Brown Scott, and an autobiography left incomplete in manuscript by the late William Graves Sharp. These materials serve to give a fairly authoritative aspect to the book. Within its pages will be found vivid and often entertaining sketches of such men as Franklin, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris, Gallatin, Richard Rush, Washburne, Reid, Horace Porter, and Hugh C. Wallace. All the minor figures find a place, although in these instances the author has not revealed much critical dis-

cernment. No one familiar with the career in France of John Y. Mason (1854-1859) could admit him to the group of men distinguished by any special ability.

In reflecting upon the failure of American diplomats to gain better salaries (p. 239), Colonel Willson is evidently unaware of the reforms in the service accomplished by the law of August 18, 1856. He ventures to correct Minister Washburne's statement that he regarded himself as forbidden by law to wear a court costume (p. 300). But, it may be asked, did not Mr. Washburne have in mind the wording of the statute on the subject of dress (March 27, 1867), which prohibited him "from wearing any uniform or official costume not previously authorized by Congress"? In more recent times that law has been interpreted with very great liberality, although, so far as I know, it remains the law today. To ascribe President Taft's failure in 1909 to reappoint Mr. Henry White to the Paris legation to a minor, if vexatious, personal disagreement between the two men many years earlier, will impress some readers as making much out of very little (pp. 378 ff.). There would seem to have been other more important considerations in the situation which brought Robert Bacon to Paris as White's successor. In the volume there are twenty-eight portraits. The proof-reading of the American edition has been done carelessly. An adequate index concludes the book.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Professor of American History on the Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College. Volume III. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1928. Pp. xxxiv, 464. Unbound, \$3.00; bound, \$4.00.)

WITH the third volume of *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* there comes to the reader a sorrowful reminder of the death, on January 27, 1928, of the editor, Professor John Spencer Bassett. With regard to the *Correspondence*, one learns with satisfaction that Professor Bassett, before he was overtaken by the fatal accident of last January, had brought to completion the editorial work for the whole of this series of volumes. For this third volume the introduction, extensive and enlightening, was prepared by Professor Bassett.

Whereas the second volume covered a period of something less than six years, that which falls into the third extends over nine, from 1820 to 1828 inclusive. This volume opens with General Jackson at home, but still in command of his military division, and preparing to get his troops in readiness for an attack upon the Floridas, in case Spain should pursue further her dilatory tactics with regard to the ratification of the Treaty of 1819. It was not necessary to take such action; and the general, after making, in June, 1820, a tour of inspection of the troops in his district, and after consenting reluctantly to negotiate in October another treaty

with the Choctaws, spent the winter of 1820-1821 at the Hermitage. Then in pursuance of instructions received from Secretary John Quincy Adams, he left again to receive possession of the Floridas and to be their governor. When the transfer of government had been accomplished and the general had once more resigned public office, there developed in 1822 his nomination for the Presidency by the members of the legislature of Tennessee, and his election, in 1823, to the Senate of the United States. After the campaign for the Presidency and the elections of 1824 and 1825 Jackson was once more put forward by Tennessee for President and resigned, October 12, 1825, his seat in the Senate. From this time to the end of 1828 practically all of the general's letters were written from his plantation, where, except for occasional journeys like that to New Orleans, in January, 1828, he continued to dwell, a private citizen.

This outline will make it easier briefly to characterize the *Correspondence* as printed in this volume. Throughout 1820 and 1821 the letters are in large part official, written to or by President Monroe, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, and John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War. Jackson was at this time on friendly terms with both Adams and Calhoun. In the Florida period, one finds the fiery and not very creditable correspondence with the dilatory Callava, the Spanish governor. In 1822 domestic matters—the general's crops and the education of young Donelson, Mrs. Jackson's nephew—figure largely, but the general's candidacy begins to occupy an important place. In the winter of 1823 and the spring of 1824 the general wrote very often from Washington to Mrs. Jackson, who was at home, and both he and General Eaton sought evidently to comfort her with accounts of Jackson's steady church-going. For 1825 and 1826 the correspondence is disappointingly limited in extent: but there are letters which voice the general's genuine indignation at the "corrupt bargain", and later much that illustrates the careful preparation for the next campaign. As one would expect, the political activity of that campaign is increasingly reflected in the expanding correspondence for 1827 and 1828.

It may be added that anyone who uses the *Correspondence* should constantly refer to the List of Letters and Papers Printed Elsewhere than in This Volume which follows the Table of Contents. The bulk of this previously printed matter will be found in the *American State Papers*, the "Lewis Correspondence" printed in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for 1900, and in the newspapers. Some of the letters and papers in this volume of the *Correspondence*, in fact over six per cent., have been printed before; and in view of this it seems to the reviewer that Professor Bassett might well have reprinted here, as throwing light on Jackson's opinion as to banks, the important letter of Jackson to Lewis of July 16, 1820, in which the general vehemently argued against the Tennessee loan office then under consideration.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy. Edited by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. Volume V.: *Daniel Webster* (first part), by CLYDE A. DUNIWAY; *Abel P. Upshur*, by RANDOLPH G. ADAMS; *John C. Calhoun*, by ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT; *James Buchanan*, by ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT; volume VI.: *John Middleton Clayton*, by MARY W. WILLIAMS; *Daniel Webster* (second part), by CLYDE A. DUNIWAY; *Edward Everett*, by FOSTER STEARNS; *William Learned Marcy*, by H. BARRETT LEARNED; *Lewis Cass*, by LEWIS EINSTEIN; *Jeremiah Sullivan Black*, by ROY F. NICHOLS. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. x, 436; x, 457. \$4.00 each.)

VOLUME V. presents more material which has not previously been reduced to usable form, and more critical judgments upon disputed historical questions, than any other of the series as yet issued. It is the least carefully edited. On page vii, the year 1841 is made to do incredible things that happened neither then, nor in any other one year.

The first study is by C. A. Duniway, who in 64 pages discusses Webster's twenty-six months of office. Often as this period has been treated, the author has succeeded in giving it a new clarity, particularly by the masterly analysis of the documents. This very emphasis on the documents, however, creates a somewhat distorted impression, as it was characteristic of Webster's chief negotiation that it was so largely carried on by conversation. For the same reason the neglect of the social background, which is true of most of the sketches, is here more important than usual, as good fellowship and conviviality were its atmosphere. Webster's interests outside the Ashburton negotiation, as in California, are scantied.

One feels also that an opportunity has been lost for a genuine historic critique. Why did Webster, who is universally admitted, or asserted, to have been the better player, lose most of the tricks? He gave more land than was necessary, and his expectations as to right of search and the working of the extradition treaty were not justified. Nothing is said of the origin of the slave-trade solution, which the reviewer has supposed to have been Tyler's rather than Webster's.

In 60 pages, R. G. Adams deals with the eight months of A. P. Upshur's incumbency. He has met his difficulty of dealing with perhaps our least known Secretary of State by producing a good short sketch of the man. On the episodes of the secretariate he has arrived at conclusions which seem to be justified by the evidence; a fact which causes surprise because of the number of careless and needless generalizations scattered through the text. The sketch needed a drastic editing, which it did not receive. Three statements of fact vary from those made in the preceding (pp. 60 and 105, 61 and 91, 62 and 80), and one from that in the next following (105 and 176); in all cases Mr. Adams is wrong. More important is his anti-Southern tendency which would be amusing if it did

not happen to be psychologically important. He does, indeed, repudiate the "made in New England history" of J. Q. Adams and W. E. Channing, but after all their views were political and not historical, and one suspects that Southerners would resent their hostility less than Mr. R. G. Adams's contempt. The editor should not indeed interfere with the author's pertinent views, but sweeping generalizations as to the character of "that South which controlled the Government of the United States almost uninterruptedly from the election of Thomas Jefferson to that of Abraham Lincoln, and consequently dominated its foreign policy most of the time" (p. 68), and "the attitude of a southern Democrat towards England in the forties", distinctly do not belong in such a series as this is intended to be.

Calhoun served exactly one year and is dealt with by St. G. L. Sioussat in 110 pages. The treatment is in general admirable. It is, of course, an affectation to say the Calhouns were Irish, when their characters were as Scottish as their ancestry. Mr. Sioussat gives a very well-judged, conservative statement of the famous episode of Texas and the Pakenham correspondence, an excellent and needed summary of Calhoun's other activities, and an admirable estimate of his policy as a whole in so far as it is possible to present it.

The remaining 102 pages of text are taken up by Mr. Sioussat's treatment of James Buchanan's four years of office. It is plain that this space is proportionally too small, and the effects of over-condensation are evident. No such totality emerges as in the case of Calhoun, and Buchanan's ability, which is affirmed, and which some deny, is not proven. The affairs of Oregon and the Mexican War are well handled on the basis of the immense amount of work which has been done on them by others as well as by the author, but the reader is not given enough material to enable him to arrive at independent judgments, or to gain a sense of that authority which the author undoubtedly possesses. The mere enumeration of the other topics of the administration is illuminating, but all are too briefly handled, with the possible exception of the problems of the slave trade. The transit treaty with New Granada is noticeably neglected.

Volume VI. fully maintains the high standard set by the earlier volumes of the series. It covers, moreover, a period less completely known than that of the first three, and so conveys fresher material. The general plan is continued under the same editorship.

The first study is that of J. M. Clayton, by Professor M. W. Williams, dealing with sixteen months in 72 pages. This is indeed a joy, exhibiting such mastery of the subject and such comprehension of the purpose as make it a model for work of the kind. The chief episode is the making of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, upon which Miss Williams had already written. Here, however, she makes distinct contributions in revealing the personality of Clayton, the fact of his carrying out an individual and comprehensive foreign policy, and the interference of Taylor therewith.

The second article is by Professor C. A. Duniway, who treats the

twenty-seven months of Daniel Webster's second term in 36 pages. Webster presents several serious problems in connection with such a series. He has been dealt with repeatedly and fairly exhaustively; he was a great man, but hardly a great diplomat; during this term his interest even in foreign questions was chiefly in their domestic repercussions. Professor Duniway has done well considering these handicaps.

In the third section Mr. Foster Stearns deals in 24 pages with Edward Everett's four months of office. The picture which Mr. Stearns gives of what was accomplished in so short a time by trained and interested intelligence is striking. Machinery, dragging under Webster, suddenly revived. Everett completed Clayton and Webster's work on the Perry expedition, he retrieved Webster's error in the Labos affair, he secured provision for the new and needed office of assistant secretary of state, and he wrote one famous diplomatic document, that defeating the prepared tripartite agreement with regard to Cuba.

In some respects the study of W. L. Marcy by H. B. Learned is the most important in the series so far. This covers a complete term of four years in 148 pages. It constitutes a very genuine and important contribution not only to the history of American diplomacy, but to that long-desired addition to American historiography, a life of Marcy. Mr. Learned has examined all available material, printed and manuscript, with meticulous care, and his work calls for a more detailed criticism than is here possible. Its character may be judged by the fact that his most striking novelty comes from his study of the manuscripts of sources already printed, leading to his discovery that a phrase omitted in the printed document makes Marcy actually, though probably not intentionally, responsible for the Ostend Manifesto. While the whole article is shot through with the freshness of his investigations, the study of the British enlistment controversy contains the greatest amount of new matter.

Lewis Einstein, United States minister to Czechoslovakia, deals with Lewis Cass's forty-five months of service in 86 pages. Here for the first time an author takes the bull directly by the horns, and frankly treats policy and its handling as the work, not of the Secretary of State, but of the President, James Buchanan. The treatment is well informed and particularly well written. The author is distinctly favorable to Buchanan, and has apprehended and made plain the fact that he was among the few Americans who have possessed a well-knit and coherent attitude toward the world. His detailed picture of how plans were thwarted and distorted by the indiscriminate opposition of Congress will bring a thrill of sympathy from those attempting to direct our foreign policy in the last thirty years. The reviewer believes that there is a useful distinction to be drawn between the terms "Manifest Destiny" and "Imperialism" (p. 302).

Professor R. F. Nichols covers Jeremiah Sullivan Black's seventy-nine days as secretary in 19 pages. It is hard to see how either Professor Nichols or Mr. Black could have done more than they did in that confused and dismal period. Professor Nichols takes the opportunity to give

a picture of some of the routine affairs of the department. Secretary Black began his famous and unfortunate connection with the *Alta Vela* claim, and set in motion machinery to prevent the recognition of Confederate agents abroad.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Christopher C. Andrews: Recollections, 1829-1922. Edited by his daughter, ALICE E. ANDREWS. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 327. \$6.00.)

GENERAL Andrews's life spanned more than four score and ten years; his experiences were many and varied, embracing a New England upbringing—including a term at Harvard Law School—some months of 1854 in Kansas; a couple of years in Washington—most of the time a clerk in the Treasury Department—law practice in the frontier town of St. Cloud, Minnesota, service in the Union Army carrying him to the rank of brevet major-general, an eight-year diplomatic mission to Sweden and Norway, consular service in Brazil, and finally many years of activity in Minnesota where his energies soon came to be almost entirely directed to the problems of scientific forestry and conservation.

In the opening paragraph of the reminiscences he states: "At the earnest request of my daughter, I sit down, at the age of seventy-eight [this must have been in 1907 or 1908 for he was born October 27, 1829], . . . to write my recollections of what has been interesting in my life. I do not expect this autobiography to be read by the public and therefore I write with more freedom." The context shows that the writing must have extended over a number of years, for there are references to happenings as late as 1918, but nowhere is there positive information on this point. General Andrews had the assistance of his diary to jog his memory; hence, we may presume, for all except the account of the very first years, the work possesses the reliability of a first-hand, contemporary narrative. This is, however, only a presumption. The editing leaves much to be desired in that it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to tell where the recollections end and the diary begins, and *vice versa*. Not only did the general himself run in excerpts from the diary, usually indicating which was which, but the editor took the liberty of doing the same thing without exercising so much care in differentiating. Furthermore there is nothing to indicate whether or not the story stands as originally written; if it has not been expurgated the general had no reason to believe that the "public" or any member thereof would be disturbed by anything now found in the printed book. His roaring is that of a sucking dove.

The recollections show the writer to have been a man of considerable ability, a keen observer, and possessed of rather unusual administrative talent. He was a man of considerable tolerance; a strong opponent to slavery, he could, at least in retrospect, recognize that there was something to be said on the other side, and even as a young fellow, so the diary bears witness, did not lose his head through fanatical zeal. His

service during the days when, in Arkansas and Louisiana, Reconstruction was treading on the heels of war, revealed his broadmindedness and his capacity to appreciate the attitude of mind of the defeated foe.

Like so many men of his time who had attained, at a relatively early age, high rank in the army, General Andrews returned to civilian life in Minnesota and found himself unable to take up his old career with any zest. He was out of step and younger men had overhauled him in his profession. Consequently an opportunity to represent his country abroad came as a welcome relief. Diplomatic and consular service, where his career was more than respectable, held his attention a number of years, but the spoils system, which put him into the service, dragged him out at the time when he had learned the ropes, and sent him back to Minnesota to find new interests in life. After floundering a bit he found what could occupy both time and attention in working, first as a public-spirited citizen and then in official capacity, for scientific preservation of the forests of his state, taking with him to the task a real knowledge stimulated first by what he had observed in the Scandinavian countries. One may venture to differ with Dr. Folwell's dictum in the introduction that General Andrews's "most conspicuous service to the country was that rendered in the war of the slaveholders' rebellion", and maintain that his forestry work should take at least equal rank; there were many officers, even general officers, during the civil war, but not too many Americans at the opening of the twentieth century who could both see the need for constructive conservation and labor intelligently for it.

General Andrews's recollections make no startling revelations; history will not be reinterpreted because they have been written. They give us an interesting series of comments, sometimes illuminating, on persons and things encountered in the course of an unusually long life, and as such they are distinctly worth while.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE.

The War Department, 1861: a Study in Mobilization and Administration. By A. HOWARD MENEELY. (New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. 400. \$6.00.)

IN this well-documented volume Dr. Meneely presents the most thorough study yet produced of the administrative history of the United States Army in the first year of the Civil War. Not content with the vast store of published source-material on his subject, he has ransacked the archives of the War Department and its bureaus, as well as a score of collections of manuscripts of soldiers and politicians. Despite the amount of old straw that had to be threshed, the author has gleaned a good deal of fresh material and has given us a sober and scholarly analysis of the chaos out of which were born the Northern armies of 1861 and 1862.

Dr. Meneely justifies his view that the administration of the War Department in 1861 and the work of putting an army into the field

"constitute a distinct chapter in the history of the period. They represent the struggles and experiences of a democratic government, totally unprepared for war, and hampered by incompetent management and legal provisions requiring decentralized military control, in attempting to meet the gigantic problems of war on a grand scale. . . . By the time Secretary Cameron departed from the War Office in January, 1862, the federal government had finally succeeded, clumsily and at an excessive cost, in placing more than half a million men in the field and had built up an establishment to sustain them. It had gathered into its own hands most of the control over the army and was about ready to carry on war on an efficient and effective basis".

That this much was accomplished "was not due to the efforts of Cameron: it was largely in spite of him". The painstaking analysis of the failure of the Pennsylvania boss, so successful in his own business affairs, to do more than bungle the business of his department, is an outstanding feature of the book. Making all due allowances for the difficulties which confronted the secretary, Dr. Meneely concludes that "it is impossible to credit Cameron with a modicum of success". "If he himself profited only through the diversion of certain traffic over the Northern Central Railroad, others, through his assistance, reaped large fortunes. Pressing public business waited while friends, time-servers and political creditors received their due." His departure from office was rightly hailed as equivalent to a great Union victory.

As to whether the author's treatment of McClellan is equally satisfactory, opinions will differ. Skilful quotations of egotistic and contemptuous passages from the McClellan manuscripts prepare the reader to accept the author's charges of "over-cautiousness" and "fatal hesitation". Consideration might well have been given, however, to the point of view expressed in Captain Frothingham's articles on the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns; that the time spent in organizing the army could not have been so well utilized in any other way, and that McClellan's delays proved disadvantageous to the South. The emphasis which is rightly laid on the grave mistake of keeping the small regular army practically intact might have been heightened by pointing out the great initial advantage gained by the South in leavening the state commands with regular officers.

Dr. Meneely's book lacks the breezy and colorful style which makes it hard for the reader to lay aside Professor Shannon's *Organisation and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*, until he has turned the last page. On the other hand, for the period which he covers, Dr. Meneely has probed deeper into the sources and used them more critically.

Although good use has been made of some of the Welles Papers, the treatment of the relations between the War and Navy departments is inadequate. As to the degree of ineffectiveness of the blockade during the first winter of the war, Dr. Meneely's verdict is more severe than that of the British officers who were sent to observe it. No one familiar with

The Navy Department correspondence will be likely to agree that "the administration failed to see and appreciate adequately" the need of cutting the South off from its European supplies in the first twelve or fifteen months of fighting. In the detailed account of the activities of Morse and Sanford on "the European front", no use seems to have been made of their despatches in the State Department, although the Sanford Manuscripts in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society have been utilized. The judgment on Minister Sanford's manifold activities seems to this reviewer too favorable.

The book is equipped with a bibliography and an index, and marred by few errors of fact or typography. "Condidate" (p. 80), "Thouvenal" (p. 283), and "harranged" (p. 345) might be noted.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3RD.

Personal Recollections of the Civil War. By JOHN GIBBON, Brigadier-General, U. S. A. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 426. \$5.00.)

IN the spring of 1861 Captain John Gibbon, a North Carolinian, was in command of a battery of regular artillery at Camp Floyd, Utah Territory. He reported with his battery at Washington late in October, was made chief of artillery in McDowell's division, and set about molding raw volunteers into soldiers. In the spring of 1862 he was promoted to the command of a brigade of infantry, famous later as the "Iron Brigade", and distinguished himself at Second Manassas and Antietam. In November he was given command of a division. He was wounded at Fredericksburg, but rejoined the army in March, 1863. He was not in the fighting around Chancellorsville, but at Gettysburg his division was in the centre of the line and helped receive and repel Pickett's desperate charge. Here he was again wounded. After convalescence he was put in charge of the draft, first at Cleveland and then at Philadelphia where he spent the winter. He rejoined the Army of the Potomac early in April, 1864, and was in the thick of the fighting from the Wilderness to south of Petersburg. In June he was promoted to be major-general of volunteers; and in January, 1865, he was given command of the newly organized Twenty-fourth Corps. He was active in the pursuit of Lee's retreating army in April and was chairman of the joint commission which arranged the details of the surrender. His corps was mustered out in June; but Gibbon remained in command of the region about Petersburg during the military occupation. Here he had to deal with the desolation and poverty of the country and the restlessness of the ex-slaves. When the regular army was reorganized and officers' ranks readjusted he became colonel of the 36th Infantry and was sent west to Fort Kearney.

His *Recollections* were prepared in 1885 and were based in part upon his letters and diary of the war period. They are written in a straightforward, frank, soldierly fashion and tell only what the writer himself saw. He had a very high opinion of the early volunteers and gave an

interesting account of how they were made into soldiers. His chief difficulty was with the untrained officers. Incidentally, he revealed much of his own development as an officer, for, like most of the men who rose to high rank, he had to get his higher military education in the school of the war itself. He comments rather freely upon the various commanders of the Army of the Potomac, and his opinions were generally those which prevail today. He had a high opinion of McClellan and criticized severely the interference with him from Washington. He asserted that McClellan enjoyed the confidence and excited the enthusiasm of the men to a higher degree than any commander that army ever had, and that his removal in November, 1862, was a costly blunder. Pope was a confused blunderer without proper sense of his own responsibility. Burnside trusted to luck and was incompetent. Hooker had a certain ability, but, though apparently frank and engaging, was fundamentally a political intriguer who sought scapegoats for his own failures. Meade was competent, of high character, but of too excitable a temper. Gibbon is strangely reticent about Grant—perhaps he thought comment unnecessary. His explanation of the failures of the army around Richmond and Petersburg in 1864 is that the veterans were fought out, many of the best ones killed or disabled, and the replacements of drafted men and bounty-jumpers were of lower fighting quality. The morale of the army was very low.

Although he had no sympathy with secession, Gibbon never expressed any animosity against the Southerners. (He had three brothers in the Confederate Army.) On the contrary he had nothing but praise for Lee and Jackson, and said that the latter was almost as popular among the Northern soldiers as among his own! But he thought that J. E. B. Stuart, of whom also he had a high opinion, blundered in losing touch with Lee in the march toward Gettysburg. His account of the surrender of Lee adds a few more picturesque details to the records of that occasion. The latter part of the book contains much about his differences with his corps commander and former friend, W. S. Hancock, particularly as to whether Hancock had given him an order to advance across the Brock Road at the Wilderness. It seemed very important to General Gibbon, but it is the one tiresome thing in the book.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906. By ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Professor of History in Clark University. (New York: Dutton and Company. 1928. Pp. x, 537. \$5.00.)

THE fact that the author has had access to the unpublished documents in the State Department, and to the Olney, Roosevelt, and Hay papers, makes this a valuable critical commentary on the principal diplomatic relations of the United States in a particularly adventuresome period of our history. Thorough treatment is given to the following outstanding international incidents: the Venezuela boundary dispute, the Spanish-

American War, the Alaskan boundary, the problems of the Far East inclusive of Hawaii, the Panama Canal treaties, Cuba and the Caribbean, the European Powers and Venezuela together with African questions, Americans in Turkey, the Hague and the Algeciras conferences. While each chapter is complete in itself, the author has succeeded in so handling the chapters as to bring out the interdependence and close relations of the foreign programmes and to preserve a unity in the review of the period. Into each chapter he has worked the contributions from his studies of the unpublished documents and, best of all, he has placed in the appendixes many valuable documents otherwise inaccessible to the students.

In handling the various topics due recognition is given at all times to the importance of a clear understanding of European history of the period. The thorough grasp which the author has of European diplomacy serves him well. Naturally all the chapters are not of equal merit. A completeness is given to the story of the Venezuela boundary dispute but no astonishing disclosures are made. No new matter is found in this meagre treatment of the Spanish-American War and the author fails to prove his assertion that "the practical independence of Cuba could have been secured without recourse to war". In a brief chapter on Anglo-American Relations it is shown that the solidarity of our interest with that of England was uppermost in the mind of Hay, both as ambassador and as Secretary of State. It is proven, however, that there is not a single scrap of evidence sustaining the claim that the United States ever made a secret treaty of alliance or understanding with England. On the other hand on page 126 is given a note of John Hay to an unnamed ambassador rejecting overtures hostile to British interests. In the account of the Alaskan boundary the general course of the negotiations is not only traced but there are many references to unpublished documents, extracts from which are given in the appendix. Here, as elsewhere in the book, the reader is given many intimate glimpses of Hay, and others, of great value to a better understanding of the personalities behind the diplomacy.

Most valuable are the contributions to a better understanding of the Panama Canal treaties, the affairs of the Far East, and the Algeciras Conference. In the chapter on the Panama Canal the new material in reference to the Panama revolt will enable the reader to draw the correct conclusions regarding the part played by the government of the United States therein. In the chapter on the Open Door in China it is not only established that the policy was British in origin but a clear presentation is given of the influences which affected John Hay. The important personal influences of Lord Beresford's book on *The Break-up of China* and the opinions of Rockhill are shown. Rockhill's hitherto unpublished memorandum is given in the appendix. Hay's reassertion of the Open Door doctrine is correctly stated to be a departure from the traditional American foreign policy in its utilization of coöperation in place of independent action. A proper recognition is given to Adeë in the rescue

of the legations and the saving of China during the Boxer Movement. Adee, it is recalled, was in active charge of the State Department during this period of Hay's illness. A full account of the complications involving the several European nations during the Boxer Movement is given and this enables us more clearly to appreciate the successful manner in which the United States handled the situation and kept alive the Open Door doctrine during those anxious years. The especially valuable chapter on the European Powers and the Far East, 1901-1904, gives the ground plan of European affairs and shows that American diplomacy in the Far East was inseparably connected with its diplomacy in Europe. A proper disclosure of the inter-relationships of diplomatic questions is given, together with emphasis on the importance of the great personalities in the game. Here again in the appendixes are rich selections from the Hay Papers. The study of the Treaty of Portsmouth is made to supplement the material in Dennett's *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, giving a version of what happened not only at Portsmouth, but at Bjorko between the Tsar and the Kaiser, and in Japan, and calling attention to the German proposals as to Morocco affairs. Some surprise may be expressed by readers at the disclosures of close approaches towards understanding between Roosevelt and the Kaiser. Certainly very extensive is seen to have been the influence of President Roosevelt during the years 1905 and 1906. From the account of the Algeciras Conference we are able to watch the active manner in which President Roosevelt interfered to restrain the Kaiser and postpone the outbreak of war.

The book is a sound piece of historical writing, of interest to both the specialist and the general reader. Remarkably successful is the author in compact marshalling of the facts of an unusually complicated period of history.

R. B. WAY.

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Arranged as a narrative by CHARLES SEYMOUR, Provost and Sterling Professor of History in Yale University. Volume III., *Into the World War*; volume IV., *The Ending of the War*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xx, 453; xiv, 552. \$10.00; the four volumes, \$20.00.)

THESE concluding volumes of the papers of Colonel House contain less of novelty than did those in which, two years ago, Professor Seymour covered the relationship between House and Wilson in the years 1911 to 1917. The earlier volumes opened up a relatively unknown field, traced in detail the private negotiations of our period of neutrality, and revealed in the quiet person of Colonel House a new type in American diplomacy and politics. They revealed as well the completeness with which Wilson entrusted to House certain angles of his business, and the firmness with which he declined to let delegation of authority carry with it abdication of himself. But the matters within House's activity were substantially his

own, and complete in themselves, so that the volumes told a new story and nearly all of it.

After the entry of the United States into the World War the events in which House had a part are better known, and no one new narrative can entirely change their outlines. Moreover, House's own part was gradually shifted from that of a detached portion of the President acting on his own judgment, to that of a conduit through which the ideas of his chief were seeking realization, and at last to that of a diplomatic secretary acting in the presence of his principal. To an amazing extent the minds of the two ran along parallel courses, and the one could without discussion understand the other. But Wilson never surrendered his mind, and when he came himself completely into action upon the terms of peace, he filled the stage. Because of these conditions the reader of the four volumes will experience a let-down in the last two; but no careful student of the World War will omit from his scrutiny any word of either.

The matter in these last volumes is generally grouped about one or another of the three large aspects of the American effort: the coördination of the American contribution with that of the Allied powers, the formulation of a set of American war aims that should have a disintegrating effect upon the enemy while the war lasted and an overpowering reasonableness upon the associates when the war should cease, and the persistent pressure to make a permanent peace at the conference in Paris. In each of these aspects House had a vital part.

As the war opened, House occupied a unique position among statesmen in that he alone had during the past three years been *persona grata* and actually present in the capitals of the opposing belligerents. His contacts, and the confidence that he inspired, were among the more valuable of the American assets with which to carry on the war. He was at once drawn into the problem of coördination when the Balfour and Viviani missions arrived in April, 1917, prepared to expect that the whole American effort should be devoted to equipping the Allies with food and munitions, paying their debts, and feeding American soldiers into their armies as replacement troops. These volumes contain abundant materials, and many new details, upon the Purchasing Commission, the Inter-Ally Conference, the creation of the Supreme War Council, and the selection of Foch as *generalissimo*. They establish what we have suspected, that in using its financial contributions to enforce the argument for real teamwork, the United States made one of its heaviest contributions to the winning of the war.

Both Wilson and House recognized, from the moment of the declaration of war, that the aims which had drawn America in were unacceptable to the Powers already there. There is good reason to believe that Wilson knew most of what there was to know about the secret treaties within a month of entry into the war (III. 40-63). But there was a real dilemma. To fight for Allied aims, many of them imperialist in character, would bring no real satisfaction in the United States; yet

to stop the war at the outset in order to force the Allies to say what they would do with victory if they won it, would be visionary and frivolous. There was only one course—to carry on the fight and to manoeuvre the Allies into such a position that they would have to accept the American aims at the council table. Hence the significance, now much of it revealed for the first time, of the Flag Day speech, the reply to the pope, the utterance on the Fourteen Points, the "force without stint" speech, and the Fourth Liberty Loan speech of September, 1918. Here too is the meaning of Wilson's growing determination to sit himself at the head of the peace table and control the outcome.

In the task of coördination House operated in touch with the President, and for him, while Wilson devoted most of his time and strength to other matters of the war. In the discussions of doctrine, they were still in confidence and touch, with Wilson making the utterances and House preparing the way or interpreting them, through Sir William Wiseman, to the Allies. In both of these phases House played a leading part in construction as well as in elaboration and staff-work.

But in the third phase, the making of the peace, the whole mind and strength of President Wilson were occupied, progressively, until he was trying to carry it all. Quite as progressively, House now became an aide. There is much material here upon the drafting of the Covenant, but Miller and Baker have been heard on this, and Baker is again to be heard; and neither House nor his editor makes any pretense of being able to relate the whole.

In the concluding chapters of the work there are many traces of the controversy that has been begun over the rôle of House in Paris. The outcome will be secondary so far as the peace with Germany is concerned, but in the affairs of Colonel House it is primary, and pardonably primary. When the negotiations were over he was no longer the chief instrument of President Wilson in diplomacy. He never saw the President after the latter left him in Paris upon the signing of the treaty; and the occasion of the separation, he declares, "was and is to me a tragic mystery" (IV. 518). They did indeed carry on a desultory correspondence through the summer, for House crossed to England to continue his mission; but affection visibly waned and turned to void. Until and unless the Wilson papers yield an answer, or a charge, the matter must remain among the things unknown. There is no evidence for it here, and no unkind word has been found in all the correspondence that Professor Seymour has examined (II. 513). Yet one may perhaps guess. Even if the treaty negotiation had been a success, it might have been hard to share the glory on terms consistent with friendship and devotion. But with the treaty headed for rejection, it is not strange that one of them might have come to think that had his advice been taken the result were otherwise; or that the other might have remembered the moments when he felt impelled to depart from advice that was ever asked and often given. The President was entirely human. He must have recalled the embarrass-

ment when House broke to him the news that the premiers, and even House, were disposed to believe his European trip an error. He had taken it for granted that he would preside at Paris (IV. 209); and House had had to point out his mistake (IV. 202). He had rejected House's advice to take Root and Taft to Paris (IV. 221). He found on his own arrival there that House was desired, trusted, and seemingly indispensable to the premiers. He had failed to see the point of House's urging that the procedure of the conference be arranged early and with care (II. 274). And although he himself had come to compromise before the work was done, some of his counsellors feared that House was too ready to yield a point (IV. 274). House's very last urging was that the Senate be greeted in a conciliatory spirit (IV. 487); and the Senate could not be controlled. Wilson came home to turbulent politics and physical weakness, to some advisers who had never fully reconciled themselves to House, and to others who had never had him (Wilson) fully to themselves. The friendship lapsed, and it is not surprising. But for eight years there had been a relationship unmatched in American politics, and as creditable to the one as to the other. And when it was cold, neither of them laid aside his dignity to recriminate; and it is indecent that the friends of either should. Except for the papers of Wilson himself, there can not be any single archive that has so much to tell about the American participation in the World War as these that have been entrusted to the skilful hand of Professor Seymour.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814. By JAMES B. WILBUR.

In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xv, 544; vii, 570. \$12.50.)

MR. JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR has long since made himself known to American historians by his hospitality to them at his Manchester home, and will be remembered by successive generations of them for his recent gift to the Library of Congress of \$100,000 to aid research in American history. For many years he has been building up a remarkable collection of material pertaining to the Allens and early Vermont history, which is ultimately to be housed in the beautiful chapel that he has built in memory of Ira Allen at the University of Vermont. With this collection as a basis Mr. Wilbur has written—virtually compiled—the life of Ira Allen, the lesser known (indeed, practically forgotten) younger brother of Ethan Allen, the famous Green Mountain boy. Ethan's spectacular exploits have been kept alive by the story books and school histories. Ira's quiet statesmanship has been overlooked by everybody except those who have delved into Vermont history, or have known of Mr. Wilbur's keen enthusiasm for him. This book is the result of that enthusiasm.

From the point of view of the historian of the Revolution and early years of the Republic this book, even with its imperfections, is important, for in it Mr. Wilbur has reprinted many documents hitherto buried in

collections, such as the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society, the *Collections* of the Vermont Historical Society (2 vols. 1870-1871), the *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, 1775-1836* (8 vols. 1873-1880), William Slade's *Vermont State Papers* (1823), etc. In addition to these, Mr. Wilbur has printed many unpublished documents from American, Canadian, English, and French archives; photostatic copies of which he has deposited at the University of Vermont and in the Library of Congress. A large majority of these pertain to the well-known Haldiman affair and to the affair of the "Olive Branch".

From the point of view of history and biography, the book is difficult reading, for the lengthy quotations tend to break the narrative which at times is entirely sacrificed to them. In fact, many of these quotations should have been relegated to foot-notes, which are very sparingly used except for bibliographical purposes. As a biography, the book belongs to the "official" type which reached its highest development in the reign of Victoria. The following quotations are typical: "[This document] is in the handwriting of Jonas Fay, who wrote a very legible hand, but Ira Allen's master mind is evidenced in every clause" (I. 295); "Allen must have now realized that he had made a master stroke when he formed the two unions. He had Congress, New Hampshire, and New York begging Vermont to give up all claims on the new territory, which he had no idea of doing, as will be seen" (I. 299); "Yet the Legislature of the State that Ira Allen had created would not advance some thirty or forty thousand dollars" (II. 219).

Without a doubt Ira Allen deserves more recognition than he has had hitherto. A young man in his twenties when the Revolution broke and affairs in the New Hampshire Grants, as Vermont was then called, reached a crisis, he immediately became prominent in the territory, where his brother's name had been known for several years. In this activity he was with men years his senior, such as Thomas Chittenden and Jonas Fay. Frequently his youthful enthusiasm for the welfare of the embryo state carried him through when an older man's deliberation would have failed. Ira Allen was clever, his instincts keen, and his ingenuity thoroughly Yankee. Naturally he wanted Vermont's independence, for then his vast holdings in the Grants would be confirmed to him, whereas the recognition of New York's claim to the jurisdiction of the territory would greatly reduce his wealth. So his fight for Vermont was not altogether altruistic and patriotic. The accusation of treason made against him at the time of the Haldiman affair in 1780-1781 is not altogether justifiable, as Mr. Wilbur has shown, for the controversy over the Grants began before the Revolution, and the Continental Congress did nothing to settle the matter. Had Congress recognized Vermont's independence the Allens would never have opened negotiations with General Haldiman, whatever the motive for those negotiations may have been. In the opinion of the British agents actually dealing with Ira Allen, as Mr.

Wilbur's documents so amply prove, he was using the affair to bring Congress to acknowledge the statehood of Vermont.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Wilbur has not been more careful in always noting the number or serial of a quoted document in the collection containing it, for future historians will have to search through a mass of documents to find some of those he has used.

GILBERT H. DOANE.

Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, Colony, Province, and State. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Government, Harvard University. In five volumes. Volume I., *Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1605-1689*; volume II., *Province of Massachusetts, 1689-1775*. (New York: States History Company. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 608; xiv, 592. \$9.50 each.)

ONE might easily catalogue the numerous regional histories published by concerns as commercial projects. Most of them are compilations, some well and others poorly done. Their value depends largely on editorial supervision and the training and knowledge of the compilers. Where writers are employed directly by publishers with an ornamental editor who supplies little more than a big name and a large photograph of himself for the enterprise, the results are likely to be disappointing. Where able historians are persuaded to organize materials, supervise the collection of data, and carefully edit the work, a valuable local history is produced.

The *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, in five volumes, two of which have appeared, is an enterprise of merit. The editor's work seems to be the important task of organizing the advisory board of forty-two persons representing fifteen colleges and universities, twenty-four libraries, historical associations, and patriotic societies, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Massachusetts State Chamber of Commerce. Among the names are well-known historians, antiquarians, librarians, college presidents, and leaders of patriotic organizations. The plan followed contemplates a history that is (1) coöperative, (2) diversified, (3) truthful, (4) educative, and (5) popular.

The staff of writers, for the most part, has not been selected from the advisory board, but consists of men and women qualified to present in an authoritative manner particular phases of the history of Massachusetts. The forty chapters in volumes I. and II. are written by thirty-six different persons. Although this coöperative method destroys the unity of the work, compensation is found in the diversity. Geography, social and economic institutions, education and religion, trade and shipping, external relations, finance, women, and business receive rather unusual treatment along with the political evolution and biography of eminent leaders. The maps and numerous illustrations are well chosen, and the select biographies following each chapter are discriminating. It is to be

hoped that a first-class index will be included in the final volume. In many ways these first two volumes hold out the promise of a model state history which other commonwealths might well follow.

This history has been prepared under the conviction that the histories by Hutchinson, Palfrey, Barry, and Winsor not only do not cover the history of Massachusetts during the century and a half since the American Revolution, but also are not sufficiently accurate or readable "to be of service to the present generation". Further, the appearance of fresh material and the rise of new points of view call for a rewriting of the history of the Old Bay State.

The survey of pre-colonial England in chapter I. by Wilbur C. Abbott is followed by two chapters on geographical backgrounds and origins before the coming of the Pilgrims and Puritans is described. One chapter is devoted to the Indian. John Winthrop and Cotton Mather are each favored with a chapter. A similar amount of space is devoted to social life, women, Harvard College, religious freedom, literature, economic conditions, trade and shipping relations with England, external relations, colonial wars, the witchcraft episode, the royal governors, the expansion of the town system, the colonial bench and bar, finance, Boston, and the factors in the dispute up to April 19, 1775. The editor, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, has his name attached to chapter VII. of volume I. on the commonwealth builder, John Winthrop.

In general one may criticize the natural tendency to laud the activities of Massachusetts at the expense of other colonies. Other errors, mostly growing out of this excessive loyalty to the Old Bay State, are found. For instance (II. 510) the statement is made: "At New York and Philadelphia the tea ships were not allowed to land, but there was no attempt to destroy the property of the company." On the contrary it is a well-known fact that "New York's Tea Party" occurred on April 22, 1774, when "Mohawks" dumped eighteen cases of tea into the harbor.

A. C. FLICK.

MINOR NOTICES

Bibliography, Practical, Enumerative, Historical: an Introductory Manual. By Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Assistant Librarian of Princeton University, with the collaboration of Frank Keller Walter, Librarian of the University of Minnesota. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928, pp. xvi, 519, \$7.50.) This book contains the subject-matter of a course which Professor Van Hoesen has given for several years at Princeton to graduate students, together with material used by Mr. Walter at Minnesota. Any one who has worked with students and even with professors knows the need of instruction in bibliography, and the present work is the first to supply the need comprehensively in this country.

The plan of the book is first to prepare the student for the mechanical processes of research, including making a bibliography and note-taking,

leading up to putting a book through the press (chapter II.). The subject bibliography is taken up, historical and social sciences first, and on through the whole field (chapters III.-VI.). So much for the graduate student. Especially for the library student are the chapters following (VII.-XI.). Then comes the history of writing, of printing, of book-decoration, of libraries (XII.-XV.).

Truly an amazing amount of fact and general information in these 424 pages. The authors have made excellent general statements, illustrated by specific examples, and then have made running comment on leading bibliographies. For a technical work, it is readable. For a bibliographer it may not be complete in every special field, but it is a good general introduction which penetrates far into every subject. The authors show familiarity with the material, and one feels confidence in their use of material. In this respect it is likely to become an indispensable tool for librarians and bibliographically minded specialists.

In addition to the text there is a bibliographical appendix of 75 pages, again a most remarkable collection of titles referred to in the text. There are 1643 numbers in the appendix, but there are many subnumbers, so that there are at least seventeen hundred entries. These are "short title", but sufficient to identify, and form a handy and accurate list of titles with correct dates for the best and most wanted bibliographies.

The preparation and proof-reading have been so careful that the reviewer has found only one error in quoting a title. As to omissions the authors have so frankly stated that they have made selections rather than a complete list that suggestions would be based on opinion. The chief adverse criticism, if it be such, is that there is too much in the book. It is really one pamphlet and two distinct books. The pamphlet is the chapter on Practical Bibliography. Compared with the scholarship of following chapters it seems puerile. But since bibliography is capable of so many meanings perhaps the authors felt they must include this. Enumerative Bibliography is the first book included in the pages. It is a subject by itself and the most distinctive contribution in this work. Historical Bibliography is the other book, and gives the most up-to-date summary of the subject. The authors have done well in doing it all so accurately and thoroughly. Those indebted now will be doubly so when ten years hence a new edition appears in two separate volumes.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway: the Place-Names of a Country Discussed in their Bearings on Social and Religious History. By Magnus Olsen. [Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.] (Oslo, H. Aschehoug and Company; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. xv, 349, 8 s. 6 d., \$2.80.) Ten lectures on Norwegian place-names delivered in Oslo in September, 1926, by Professor Magnus Olsen, an eminent authority on Northern and Old Northern languages, before the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, make up the con-

tents of this volume. Inasmuch as Norway, so far as we know, has always been occupied by the same North Germanic people, the linguistic problems involved in the study of local nomenclature in that country are not so varied or difficult as they are in England, for example, where one has to deal with the contributions of successive races. But if the research is less baffling, it is certainly not less extensive; for the author estimates that Norway has at least five million place-names of respectable age. Most of these have, of course, little interest for the student; but there is a considerable remainder, the study of which has led to a series of significant conclusions.

Professor Olsen deals almost exclusively with farm names. His interest lies in the question whether these can be made to contribute in any way to our understanding of social or religious history. He concludes that many of these names, especially such as are simple in structure, have a history that goes far back into antiquity, perhaps in cases to the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Olsen sees an early settlement of large farms, each occupied by a single family of the patriarchal type. In the course of time it became necessary to divide these estates, or to form new farms with outlying fields as the nuclei; frequently it also happened that younger members of the family, or even freedmen, were sent forth to clear and develop holdings at some distance from the parent home. These new farms usually received names of a compound character, with such endings as *heimr* (home), *land*, *setr* (place of settlement), *ruð* (clearing), and the like, as the more significant part of the compound. Thus it seems that these later names can give information as to how successive groups of farms originated and how the settlement spread from the lower valleys to the higher ground.

Professor Olsen devotes a lecture to such farm-names as indicate the location of heathen sanctuaries, names ending in *hof* or *høgrgr*. The work closes with a discussion of a few names which seem to cast light into certain obscure corners of Northern mythology.

L. M. L.

Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion. By W. Barthold. Second edition, translated and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. [E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, new series, V.] (London, Luzac and Company, 1928, pp. xx, 514, 25 s.) The work of W. Barthold first appeared in Russian in 1900 and thus remained known only to a few specialists. We are grateful for the English translation which has been thoroughly revised and amplified by the author himself who endeavored to bring his work up to date. It is a most erudite and painstaking piece of work which aims at presenting a digest of all Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources relative to the historical geography and political history of Russian Turkestan from the end of the seventh century down to the death of Chingiz-Khan in 1227. Chinese sources, as far as accessible in translations, have also been utilized. The introduction

contains a discussion of the sources bearing on the Pre-Mongol period, the Mongol invasion, and European works of reference. The book is divided into four chapters: geographical survey of Transoxania, which is very detailed, Central Asia down to the twelfth century, the Qara-Khitays and the Shahs of Khwārazm, and Chingiz-Khan and the Mongols; the last-named, especially the characteristic of Chingiz, being the best portion of the book. It is concluded by a chronological summary of events, bibliography, and index which might be more complete, and is accompanied by a good map.

It is not surprising that in a work of this compass, despite all care, many slips occur. Thus the word *bakhshi* used throughout Central Asia is not derived from the Sanskrit *bhikṣu*, as asserted on pages 51 and 388. This etymology was disproved by me in *T'oung Pao*, 1914 (p. 411), and 1918 (pp. 485-487), I have given the correct derivation from Chinese *po-shi* (ancient form *bak-shi*).

The name of the Chinese pilgrim is not Hiuen Tsiang, as it is spelled on page 70, but Hsüan Tsang. The Kin can not be called a Manchu dynasty (p. 381); Kin is the Chinese dynastic name for the Jurchi, a Tungusian tribe akin in language to the Manchu, but not identical with them. Can it truly be said that nomadic life and intellectual culture are two incompatible things (p. 461)? Despite its eminently geographical and historical character the Oriental sources translated in the work contain numerous data of culture-historical interest and references to commerce and products, but most of these are unfortunately not registered in the index.

B. LAUFER.

The Achievement of the Middle Ages. By W. E. Brown. (London, Sands and Company, 1928, pp. 240, 5 s.) By the Middle Ages the author refers to the period 1100 to 1500 A.D., and the achievement he notes is threefold. "The men of these generations achieved and maintained . . . a reign of law in the relations between man and man. Secondly, they developed their towns, i.e., their industries and their commerce, in a way which is unique in history and which was intimately related to the contemporary improvement in ordered liberty. Thirdly, these generations achieved a high culture, which did not decay but was developing into a yet more splendid form at the end of the period", to be checked by the wars of religion. A discussion of this threefold development is prefaced by an essay on "their tradition", i.e., the background of the development from 1100 onward.

The author's point of view is shown by these statements. "The third quarter of the eleventh century saw the resurgence of the Catholic Church as the great European law giver", and "it remains to be shown how the Church, as a free juridical society, informed the institutions of the Middle Ages with the governance of law". There are no foot-notes and no references; "there is no pretence at a complete history, but only

an effort to make a few general observations". The author has read diligently, and in places has dug deep into the sources, but his conclusions sometimes seem to be biassed. Some of his statements we should question. "It was the Catholic Church which Constantine recognised by the Edict of Milan" (p. 14); "these achievements [12th-13th century] indicate undoubtedly a widespread and sound aesthetic taste, a devotion to religion, and a joy in life which the world has never known since" (p. 130); "these master-craftsmen, comprising the great bulk of the citizens" (p. 139); "most of the guilds originated in an association for pious purposes" (p. 143); "the new orders of the thirteenth century, the Dominicans and Franciscans, devoted themselves especially to teaching in the universities" (p. 193); "in most manor rolls there occurs record of the tax which the villein had to pay when his son attended the university" (p. 194); "the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries making themselves, at the cost of much unpopularity, masters of the wealth of the Church, wisely directed much of it to the purposes of study" (p. 194); "while admitting the legal value of the Civil Law, they jealously denied to it any necessary incorporation in the law of the Church, and because of this refusal a separate science of Roman law was revived at this time" (p. 202). These and other passages which might be added indicate the shortcomings, but should not deter a student from reading the book. A discussion of the relations between Medieval art and learning and that of the Renaissance period is especially interesting.

Kaiser Otto III., Ideal und Praxis im Fruehen Mittelalter. Door Menno ter Braak. (Amsterdam, J. Clausen, 1928, pp. 247.) This is a dissertation written in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the doctorate of letters at the University of Amsterdam. The author is a Hollander but for obvious reasons has preferred to write his work in the German language. Some of his historical studies were pursued at the University of Berlin. The book is not so much history—at least in the usual acceptation of that term—as it is an endeavor to determine the *Weltanschauung* of Europe about the year 1000, using Emperor Otto III. as a type—to discover "den Zusammenhang zwischen Individuum und Zeit". The suggestion for this dissertation quite evidently was derived from Lamprecht, who dubbed Otto III. "the Euphorion of the tenth century". The writer has faithfully read all the sources, and, one surmises, all the secondary literature as well. The ruling ideas and concepts of the time, such as "state" and "church", "asceticism", etc., are analyzed and discussed in these pages, and in so far the book constitutes a synthesis of the moral culture of Europe, which is suggestive and especially valuable for the references to other literature upon these subjects. But it seems to me that there is a fundamental error in the author's point of view, in spite of the authority of Lamprecht. For he assumes that Otto III. was a *type* of his age, whereas that curious boy was rather a freak, or at least he seems so to me.

J. W. T.

L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151: Foulque de Jérusalem et Geoffroi Plantagenet. Par Joseph Chartrou. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928, pp. xv, 444, 50 fr.) This study of the reigns of Fulk of Jerusalem and Geoffrey Plantagenet fills the gap between Halphen's admirable work on Anjou in the eleventh century and the various accounts of the Angevin empire of Henry II. and his sons. The period, too, is one of transition, in which the history of Anjou ceases to have a purely local interest as one of its counts becomes King of Jerusalem and his son becomes the father of the future King of England and master of the Anglo-Norman empire. If M. Chartrou lacks the sure and penetrating criticism of Halphen, he takes his subject more broadly, so as to include the institutions and culture of the county. Five chapters are devoted to biographical and narrative detail, a sixth to Angevin and Norman institutions, and a seventh to the Church. There is an appendix on Fulk's career as King of Jerusalem. Nearly half the volume is taken up with a catalogue of acts, unpublished documents, and an elaborate index.

The work is carefully and systematically done, yet without any particularly novel conclusions. The account of the development of administrative institutions is interesting, and there is a full discussion of the scanty evidence for the workings of the sworn inquest in Anjou, but the author does not maintain that the Angevin procedure exerted any influence on Normandy. The study of the jury in Normandy, while emphasizing the importance of Geoffrey's reign, adds nothing to previous discussion. Something more might perhaps have been made of the relations of the Plantagenets to William of Conches, if indeed William be the author of the *De Honesto et Utili*. M. Chartrou makes good use of the *Historia Pontificalis*, but apparently does not realize that its author is John of Salisbury; he is doubtless excusable for failing to use R. L. Poole's recent edition (1927), and for omitting to mention Poole's discussion of the date of Henry's assumption of the ducal title (*English Historical Review*, XLII. 569). He fails to note Miss Abrahams's recent edition of the poems of Baudri de Bourgueil. Professor H. W. C. Davis, whose untimely death is mourned by all students of Anglo-Norman history, is strangely made the editor of a fictitious "Calendar of Charter Rolls, Oxford, 1913", instead of his well-known *Regesta*. Important modern works which are absent from the bibliography are Rössler's *Kaiserin Mathilde*, Heinrich Böhmer's *Kirche und Staat*, and David's *Robert Curthose*.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Le Speculum Perfectionis ou Mémoires de Frère Léon sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise. Tome I., texte Latin. Préparé par Paul Sabatier. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. XIII.] (Manchester, the University Press, 1928, pp. xxxii, 350, 21 s.¹) Thirty years ago M. Sabatier published the first edition of the *Speculum*

¹ Price now advanced.

(reviewed VI. 544) which he had discovered. Now appears a definitive edition of the text, "résultant de la comparaison des onze meilleurs manuscrits connus jusqu'ici, avec l'indication de toutes les variantes fournies par eux, et d'un grand nombre d'autres, provenant des documents secondaires". It is interesting to note that forty manuscripts are now known. A second volume is planned to contain the general introduction, description of manuscripts, illustrative documents, and an index; but it is not known as yet how much of the introduction M. Sabatier had completed before his death, last March. For the present volume, in addition to the text and notes, he supplied a preliminary note explaining why he had changed from the title used in 1898, and a "coup d'oeil préliminaire" on interpolations. In the latter he proves that the first chapter was an interpolation and argues that it was made toward the end of the first half of the thirteenth century. The other interpolations are of less consequence. It is sincerely to be hoped that he had prepared, after his thirty years of labor on this manuscript, much of the material for the second volume, as in 1925 he made an outline of what it would contain. It is needless to say that this edition is of the greatest importance for all engaged in Franciscan studies.

The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent. Edited by N. Neilson, Ph.D., Professor of History in Mount Holyoke College. [British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales.] (London, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. xii, 255, 21 s.) Though the agrarian organization of Kent in the Middle Ages differed in many particulars from that found elsewhere in England, it is not these differences with which Dr. Neilson is primarily concerned in the present volume.¹ Her study is confined to the customs peculiar to weald and marsh in Kent but not common to the whole county. It is a continuation of her investigation of manorial organization in sections of England where the local topography necessitated the survival in the manorial economy of customs established in an earlier period (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 319).

The introduction is a monograph based on extensive researches in manuscript materials. Many of the forests in Kent, Dr. Neilson finds, were used in common by the Anglo-Saxon villages of the neighborhood for purposes of pasture and estovers. In the smaller woods located within the different lests the practice of intercommoning was similar to that found elsewhere in the wood common to a hundred or a soke, but within the great Andredsweald "villages lying at a long distance from it, as well as those that lay along its border, had units of pasture . . . called dennis, probably often in addition to similar dennis in woodlands of their own lest" (p. 5). When these dennis became parts of manors, "the rents and customs paid by them to their parent manors were in partial contrast

¹ She has treated these in "Custom and the Common Law in Kent", *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII. 482-498.

at least to the rents and services of the anciently arable, *terra sulingata*, and the newly approved land of the marsh or waste" (p. 13). The development of the dennis, the exceptional dues (such as *danger* and *summerhussilver*) received from them, and several other problems connected with the use of the forests (such, for example, as the tithe of *silva cedua*) are the principal topics treated. The exposition of custom in the marshland includes the rents and services characteristic of tenements in the marsh, the methods of improvement and colonization, *wrek-kum maris*, and the royal measures for protection of Romney marsh against "the hideous, uncouth, violent rage and aestuation of the sea" which was "too swift for the common law" (pp. 40, 42).

Although the estate of the priory of Bilsington was located partly in the weald and partly in the marsh, the cartulary and the terrier are useful chiefly for their description of conditions in the marsh. The cartulary consists almost entirely of charters. They were issued mainly during the fifty years following the foundation of the house in 1253, though a few are of earlier or later dates. A chronological list of priors with a statement of the lands acquired by each (p. 138), royal licenses to appropriate a church *in proprios usus* (p. 144) and to acquire lands despite the statute of mortmain (pp. 138-145), and a judgment with regard to the possession of tithes rendered *ad curiam Romanam* (p. 147) are among the few documents which are not conveyances of land. The terrier, written in a hand of the fifteenth century, surveys with much detail the many small tenements constituting the manor and their rents and dues. The abundant critical apparatus supplied by the editor completes a scholarly contribution to a significant and previously obscure aspect of English agrarian history.

W. E. LUNT.

Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria, Diocesis Londoniensis. Edited by R. C. Fowler. Volume I. [Publications of the Canterbury and York Society, pts. LI., LVII., LXXI., and LXXX.] (London, the Society, 1916-1927, pp. 290.) The Canterbury and York Society is performing a service of exceptional importance to historical scholarship by the publication of English episcopal registers. These records throw light not only on the church but also on many phases of national life. The number of extant English registers is unusually large, but they are not easily available for research. The diocesan archives where they are deposited are widely scattered, and their possessors, generous as most of them are disposed to be, generally lack the facilities to accommodate all the students who may wish to consult the manuscripts.

In the present volume the relations between church and state are illustrated richly. The bishop appoints vicars to exercise his spiritual functions during his absence abroad on royal diplomatic missions (pp. vi, 38, 39). The king requires the bishop to produce clerks before the royal courts (pp. 52-59), to appoint collectors of a clerical tenth (pp.

75-79), to certify a will (p. 52), to distrain upon the ecclesiastical benefices of clerks who are in debt to the exchequer (pp. 45-82), and to perform a variety of other administrative tasks. Even the nature of the clerical debts is instructive. One of them, for example, is a fine imposed "for various transgressions and contempts done in the Roman curia" against the king (p. 45).

On the relations of the bishop to his clergy there is also much of interest. The processes followed in the elections of the heads of several religious houses are reported fully (pp. 86-118, 128-181). The disputed possession of tithes (p. 200) and of oblations (p. 204), the appropriation of a church (p. 83), and the foundation of a chapel (p. 219) are the subjects of typical entries. Institutions to benefices, which occupy a large space in the register, are for the most part tabulated by the editor. Accompanying explanatory notes supplement the list in Newcourt's *Reperitorium* in many particulars.

Only two letters from the pope appear. These and several archiepiscopal letters deal with a papal subsidy imposed in 1362 (pp. 182-200). Other correspondence from the archbishop gives instructions for the enforcement of two provincial constitutions. One requires the proper observance of holy days and the other fixes the stipends of unbeneficed clergy after the black death. The latter has been treated at length by Miss Bertha Putnam (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 18, *et seq.*). Another allusion to the plague occurs in a document of 1366. A monastery, referring to a recent "second mortality", alleges that its revenues and rents have been sorely reduced "per mortem servorum et colonum et tenentium", and its fertile and fruitful arable lands rendered sterile by the scarcity of laborers (p. 119). There are many other brief references to contemporary social and economic conditions.

In addition to an excellent edition of the text Mr. Fowler supplies a brief introduction. It contains a sketch of the career of Simon of Sudbury, a description of the manuscript and its contents, and a suggestive analysis of the causes of vacancies of benefices.

W. E. LUNT.

Les Entrées Solennelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484-1551. Par Joseph Chartrou. (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928, pp. 158, 30 fr.) To those who, like Dr. Chartrou, look back with envy to the days when every public act, the arrival of every distinguished personage, was made the excuse for colorful pageantry, the chief interest of this book will be found in the interminable accounts of involved allegories, costumes, and the like. Others, who are repelled by the contrast between the rather tasteless, even vulgar, display, and the acute misery of most of the French people during the years from 1484 to 1551, will be more impressed by other considerations, mentioned by M. Chartrou, but almost buried under the mass of detail. First of all, there is the pathetic frequency with which the figure of Peace appears in the ponderous al-

legories; always as a blessing just about to descend on a France drained of resources and men by futile wars. Again, the literal and unimaginative representation of Roman antiquity attests to the alien character of the classical ideas which were, during this period, becoming so popular in France. The king, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was represented by Caesar or some other Roman figure, rather than by Solomon or David, as he had been earlier, but "malgré toutes les modifications d'origine étrangère, l'Entrée royale reste une cérémonie française et médiévale". It is this evidence of the continued vitality shown by ideas inherited from the Middle Ages in the presence of the new interest in classical civilization apparent in sixteenth-century France, which constitutes the chief value of M. Chartrou's work.

RAYMOND SONTAG.

Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems, 1559-1660. Von Dr. Walter Platzhoff, Professor an der Universität Frankfurt a. M. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below, F. Meinecke, und A. Brackmann.] (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. xviii, 279, M. 12.50.) Professor Platzhoff has written an excellent guide to the involved political history of the European states during the years 1559 to 1660. The conflicts and cross-currents of the religious, dynastic, nationalistic, and commercial interests are well stated. Only occasionally, as in the mere mention (p. 130) of the Donauwörth affair (1607), is an important incident left unexplained. In so compact an account it is of course impossible to go into the details of many complicated situations, but the reader may find them by consulting the historical literature listed in the carefully selected general and special bibliographies. There are but a few omissions of essential books, notably the works of Sir Charles Firth. To the special student the reference to the most recent researches will be especially welcome.

The book falls naturally into three main divisions: the religious and political conditions in Europe in 1559, the period from 1559 to 1618, and from 1618 to 1660. Although the author pleads the lack of unity of the subject-matter in the second division, a greater degree of clarity might have been attained by abandoning too close an adherence to the chronological method. After 1618 the story runs smoothly.

The reviewer can not always agree with the author's conclusions and interpretations. Regarding the Spanish Armada, Dr. Platzhoff quotes with approval Ranke's words that the destinies of mankind hung in the balance (p. 101). Considering the economic ruin of Spain, which the author contends set in as early as the 1570's, it is difficult to see how Spain could ever have conquered England, even if the Armada had been victorious. Besides, when Philip made the attempt, would he not have been weakened rather than strengthened in his struggle against the Dutch? How then could the Armada's victory have been a mortal blow (*Todesstoss*) to the Dutch?

The author stresses the importance of the secret agreement made in 1617 between Ferdinand of Styria and Philip III. In fact he makes this so-called "Oñate treaty" the starting point of the Thirty Years War, and the cause of its extension (p. 149). One may well grant that the assurance of Spain's support encouraged Ferdinand to attempt the overthrow of the rights of the Bohemian Protestants guaranteed by the "Letter of Majesty". However, considering the inflammable state of the Empire, it seems more likely that the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by the Elector Palatine, and the transference of his electorate to Maximilian of Bavaria, turned a Bohemian revolt into a wide-spread conflict.

A few less important points may be mentioned. There is no proof that Elizabeth's ambition was a factor in persuading her husband to accept the Bohemian throne (p. 157). Felton, the murderer of Buckingham, can scarcely be called a "Puritan" fanatic (p. 180). "Independent" and "Congregationalist" were not interchangeable terms in Cromwell's day (p. 233).

Despite minor defects, Dr. Platzhoff has adequately filled the gap between the volumes of Fueter and Immich in this valuable series.

E. A. BELLER.

The Rôle of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century. By Martha Ornstein. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 308, \$3.00.) This dissertation, first printed in 1913, has enjoyed a high reputation as the only general survey in English of a most important subject. It is now reprinted with a brief foreword by its instigator, James Harvey Robinson. It consists of a sketchy account of the origin of "experimental science", a survey of the organization and work of the chief learned societies and journals, an examination of the welcome accorded science by the universities, and a detailed bibliography. Its general thesis is that it was in the scientific societies and not in the universities that "the new game was really invented and played". The main body of the book is a very useful compilation from the standard histories of the various bodies concerned, of great value to the general historian of culture. The author was especially handicapped by the lack of material in American libraries on the reception of science in the universities; she has very little to say about the two places where science was most welcomed, the Italian universities during the early years and the Dutch universities after the rise of Cartesianism. Consequently her generalizations are too sweeping.

It is in the author's assumptions about the rise of natural science that recent scholarship has most advanced beyond her account. She shares the view of the standard historians of science of the last generation, like Rosenberger, on whom she relies, that natural science was a "mutation" involving a complete break with the Medieval tradition and owing nothing to the heritage of Greek thought. For her, as for them, science has since that day been "experimental", founded on "observation" and "demon-

strable fact" alone. In the last generation research has exploded these naïve myths, although its results have hardly penetrated to the general historian. The work of Singer and Lynn Thorndike has been done since 1913; but Miss Ornstein makes no mention of Tannery and the epoch-making investigations of Duhem. Such scholars have shown the essential continuity of the seventeenth-century pioneers with the Medieval Franciscan and Occamite tradition, as well as the great scientific activity in the sixteenth-century universities. Recent studies have also made clear the subordinate part played by observation and experiment in the establishment of Newtonian science, and the complex system of rational assumptions, both Greek and Medieval, in which observation was involved. In consequence, the modern scholar would find Miss Ornstein's interpretation of the history of science, and of the real rôle of the societies, largely antiquated. She distorts the significance of individual figures, like Galileo and Descartes, and falls into the old error of misconceiving the genuine service of Bacon. Where the contemporary scholar sees the perfectly definite development of definite ideas in the thought of the seventeenth century, she sees only a confused and incomprehensible mixture of error and truth. Her book remains, therefore, the annals of science rather than a piece of genuine historical interpretation. It is to be hoped that the responsible historian will not much longer say, "there is no other work which gives so correct a notion of the manner in which our modern science got under way".

J. H. RANDALL, JR.

En Torno a un "Papel Anónimo" del Siglo XVIII. Por Abel Chanutón. [Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, número XL.] (Buenos Aires, J. Peuser, 1928, pp. 31, lv.) The Institute of Historical Research of the National University of Buenos Aires, through the publication of a large number of documents bearing on the history of Argentina and other Spanish-American states, is rendering a service, the value of which, to students of American history, becomes daily more apparent.

Among the latest documents to be published is the record of a quaint debate on the subject of antichrist, or the second coming of Jesus. Neither the timeliness nor the importance of this publication is to be sought in the document itself. This does, it is true, throw interesting light on the literary culture of viceregal Argentina. The author of the present pamphlet, however, finds of far greater intent the circumstances which surrounded the appearance of the document, and especially the interesting light it throws on the inquisition.

While in some other Spanish colonies the inquisition left behind it a long and sensational record of justice administered with the aid of barbaric instruments, the use of the torture, etc., in the Argentine the inquisition reflected the fact that it was functioning among a people but little given to mysticism, engrossed in the more practical activities of trade and industry, and not interested in the quarrels of dogmatists.

Indeed the debate covered by the document now published is important as one of the very few instances in which the inquisition in the Argentine considered a case involving a dogmatic dispute and the charge of heresy, and in this it limited its action to the condemnation of a palpable error of doctrine without citing before it any offender other than the document in question which was condemned to be burned.

Señor Chaneón weaves a delightful little romance out of the few slender threads brought to light by the discovery of this document and raises the curtain on an interesting episode in the ending years of Spanish dominion.

WILLIAM F. MONTAVON.

Adam Smith, 1776-1926: Lectures to Commemorate the Sesquicentennial of the Publication of "The Wealth of Nations". (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. x, 241, \$3.00.) Few volumes have received such tribute to their enduring influence as was paid to the *Wealth of Nations* in 1926, not only in Chicago but also in other educational institutions of the country. Inevitably the lectures here printed are of unequal interest but all of them possess substance and offer suggestive lines for further work. The collection opens with two contributions from Professor Hollander, the "Dawn of a Science", and the "Founding of a School", in which, with an easy facility which is the delight and despair of his readers, he deals with an immense array of bibliographical material that under less skilful handling would have degenerated into a dull catalogue. Instead, it becomes a fascinating and suggestive interpretation of times and men. Professor J. M. Clark follows with a chapter on "Adam Smith and the Currents of History", in which he offers an examination of doctrine in its relation to environment well worth much study. His thesis is that the dominance, in the eighteenth century, of the idea of natural law necessarily prevented Smith from any development of the notion of a relative system of political economy.

Professor Douglas's account of "Smith's Theory of Value and Distribution" escapes the danger of revamping old material by tying his analysis of Smith's work to that of others of his own day and of the present, and showing how even Smith's errors carried the science forward. Both Professor Viner and Professor Morrow, in "Adam Smith and Laissez Faire" and "Adam Smith: Moralism and Philosopher", study their author's economic creed in the light of his philosophy as expressed in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Professor Viner being concerned to designate the points of conflict between the two books, Professor Morrow to show their complementary nature. Most difficult of accomplishment within the bounds of fifty pages was the discussion of the "Introduction of Adam Smith on the Continent". Here, Dr. Palyi indicates briefly the conditions in various European countries which, in some cases, forwarded, in others checked, the spread of Smith's influence. Few American students will be able to read his pages without encountering many writers

whom they have not known before. Those who approach the achievement of Professor Morrow's mythical man, who had read all of the *Wealth of Nations*, will find this volume the richer for what they bring to it; those to whom that classic is but a name may be tempted to make its further acquaintance by some of the lectures here printed.

Talleyrand, 1754-1838. Par G. Lacour-Gayet, Membre de l'Institut. Tome I., 1754-1799. (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 426, 40 fr.) Essays which the author has published especially in the *Revue de Paris* have for some years made it apparent that we might expect a new critical biography of the great diplomat. The first instalment which carries the story to the beginning of the Consulate will heighten the interest which the articles had already created. Those who remember the controversy which raged about the memoirs of Talleyrand, when these were first published a generation ago, will be glad to know that they have been subjected to an acute sifting process, with the aid of *documents inédits* from private collections and other sources. M. Lacour-Gayet shows, for example, that the stories of parental neglect were exaggerated, if not entirely fabricated, mainly for the purpose of the writer's own apologia. He frequently calls attention to statements the inexactitude of which may have been due to a lapse of memory, but which seem more likely to have been cases of deliberate falsehood. Talleyrand's assertion that he had no share in planning the Egyptian expedition the author calls "un mensonge d'une impudence rare", and adds "ne faut-il pas, quand on parle de Talleyrand d'avoir toujours présent à l'esprit le sage conseil *Nil admirare*, 'Ne s'étonner de rien'?" In his preface the author disclaims the intention of pursuing any "dénigrement systématique", and yet the cumulative impression of the narrative is of Talleyrand's moral obliquity perhaps more than of his intellectual power. Talleyrand's niece, the Duchesse de Dino once accounted for some of his most unfortunate deeds as examples of extraordinary "insouciance". But Lacour-Gayet would not be satisfied with that description. For example, he takes the reports of Talleyrand's avarice as not exaggerated, and quotes his exclamation to Benjamin Constant and Boniface de Castellane, when he was first appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Nous tenons la place: il faut y faire une fortune immense", adding that he repeated the last three words four times. And the author says that by the time of Talleyrand's resignation in July 1799 he had three millions well placed in Hamburg and London. Although the author displays no tendency to linger on Talleyrand's private life, the calm and pitiless manner in which the contrast between the functions of the priest and the bishop and the conduct of the man is described leaves an impression of almost uncanny wickedness. The only consciousness of depravity which Talleyrand seems to have exhibited was at the moment of his consecration as bishop of Autun, when the palms of his hands were anointed with holy oil. Then, relates the author, he had such a crisis of feeling that he became ill, and the ceremonies had to

pause until he regained his composure. There are, of course, other phases of the career of Talleyrand, and the author does full justice to these, but probably it is not the lights of the portrait so much as the shadows which will fix the attention of the reader. The second volume may correct the balance, for it was after 1800 that Talleyrand scored his greatest successes as a diplomat.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838. By William Law Mathieson, Hon.L.L.D., Aberdeen. (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. x, 318, \$6.40.) Dr. Mathieson, in his "study of British slavery and a narrative of the movement for its abolition", has essayed the task of filling "in some measure" a gap in the anti-slavery movement, in particular, the reception of anti-slavery measures in the West Indies. The short period covered is that from the parliamentary attack on slavery in 1823 to the abandonment of the apprenticeship system in 1838. The emphasis is placed on conditions among the 800,000 negroes in the colonies and on the working out there of measures insisted on by public and parliamentary opinion in Great Britain. The thread runs from island to island and back to England. With a lawyer's dry clarity, the author keeps his narrative free from confusion.

The comparison in the first chapter of British slavery with the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the Danish, although interesting and suggestive, does not avail itself of recent historical scholarship. The chief contrast made is with Spanish slavery, but no reference is made to Hubert H. S. Aimes, *The History of Slavery in Cuba*, nor to the work of Cuban and other Latin-American historians. Neither are the researches of Dr. Frank W. Pitman and of Dr. Waldemar Westergaard referred to.

The two chapters, explaining the attempts of the British government, during the years 1823-1833, to secure a series of reforms and to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by orders in council in the crown colonies and by pressure on the legislative colonies, give an excellent picture of the reception of the government policy and measures in the colonies. It would have been interesting to have had more detailed information on the fiscal controversy and the rivalry between the West and East Indians in Parliament out of which emancipation so largely grew. The last chapter is an analysis of the working of the apprenticeship and of its abandonment under the threat of renewed parliamentary legislation in Great Britain. A question arises, were the special magistrates sent out to supervise the apprenticeship, like most of the royal governors, men of military training? The Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius are excluded throughout from the discussion.

Some differences of opinion are inevitable. Three men are omitted or their importance diminished: George Thompson, Thomas Clarkson, and Zachary Macaulay. The minutes of the Anti-Slavery Committee

in London show that the last was of prime importance. The account of Joseph Sturge is probably too unfriendly (p. 314).

Dr. Mathieson's book raises the fundamental question whether anti-slavery, a state of mind, produced by national and international propaganda, and the institution of slavery can be studied together in a relatively short treatment. The facts of slavery are quite different from the creed and convictions of anti-slavery. An anti-slavery leader was often influential in proportion to his ignorance of the institution or to his willingness to misrepresent it. Many agitators had never been in the presence of actual slavery. Dr. Mathieson illustrates one method by the James Williams case: "In the space of about two and a half years he was seven times flogged, thrice incarcerated in the loathsome estate dungeon, and four times sentenced to the tread-mill; and in addition, having twice tried to escape from his tormentor, he had to make up fifty days' labour out of his free time. It was of course a quite exceptional case, . . . but truthfulness is a virtue which those who appeal to popular taste and passion can seldom afford to practise; . . ." (p. 283).

Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips has shown in his studies what methods and what sources must be used in the study of slavery as an institution. To this end anti-slavery literature is of questionable value. The view of English scholars that less has been written about English slavery than about the American is substantiated by the very appearance of this survey, drawn from old printed sources, which accomplishes the author's purpose as stated in his preface. But a detailed study of the institution of British slavery remains to be made.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

China and England. By W. E. Soothill, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford. (London, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. iii, 228, \$3.00.) The title of this book does not indicate accurately its contents. It is not a history of the relations between China and England, though the first two chapters treat of that subject in a discursive manner. The succeeding chapters deal with such subjects as extra-territoriality, the concessions, and recent troubles in China; the concluding ones, with Chinese nationalism, especially as it was interpreted by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Professor Soothill enjoyed a long and useful career as a missionary and educator in China and writes with a sympathetic understanding of some of the difficulties of the Chinese. But the lectures which constitute this book (given "in Oxford at the request of the Oxford University Extension Lecture Committee"), whatever may have been the author's intention, are in fact concerned with a defense of British policy in China from attacks recently directed against it both at home and in the East. The book is chiefly interesting to the historian as an example of patriotic polemic.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Within the Walls of Nanking. By Alice Tisdale Hobart, with proem by Florence Ayscough, D.Litt. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1928, pp. 243, 6 s.) In the summer of 1846 Mr. Thomas Taylor Meadows, interpreter to her Britannic Majesty's consulate at Canton, gave to the world his distinguished, if not widely known, *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China*. Eighty-one years later Mesdames Hobart and Ayscough have published their *Within the Walls of Nanking*, a book similar in size—and significance. Mr. Meadows analyzed the elements and the longevity of Chinese civilization as he observed that civilization after the first series of violent impacts of West on East had reached their climax. The authors of the later work are as keen observers and competent reporters of things Chinese as was the annalist Meadows; each has published notable earlier volumes.

In her proem, Mrs. Ayscough presents a masterly analysis and appreciation of the foundations of Chinese civilization. She describes the pyramidal form of the ancient Chinese social structure resting upon the world—"All-Below-the-Sky"—with its four triangles composed of scholars, farmers, laborers, and traders; "at the apex, forming a communicating link between Heaven and Earth, firmly supported by each triangle, reposed the 'Son of Heaven'".

In perfect contrast to the China of the ideal, or even of the reality under the late imperial government, is that of the pseudo-republic described in part by Mrs. Hobart. Of the welter of horror which has prevailed at one time or another in all the provinces of China during the past decade and a half—famine, floods, pestilence, war, banditry, kidnapping, looting, assassination, rape—no clearer and less sentimental account has been given. Specifically the narrative deals with the Nanking affair of March 24, 1927, but the background of events and conditions leading to this climax is sketched in telling fashion. The account does not purport to be history in the strict sense of the term, but the fact that it is given in an informal and somewhat impressionistic manner in no way robs it of value to the student of history. One might wish that Mrs. Hobart had been able to incorporate more of the experiences of the other Westerners in Nanking, and of the Japanese, who were not on Socony Hill but whose experiences were no more pleasant than those of the beleaguered on that hill overlooking the Yangtse. That American publishers refused to publish this account but indicates how great is the need of the American people for non-sentimental information of contemporary developments in China. No student of Far Eastern affairs can afford to ignore this work.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR.

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. Volume III., May 1, 1705–October 23, 1721. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1928, pp. vii, 679, \$5.00.) This volume is a mine of information for the student of colonial history. It covers

endure, modified in type, as conditions change or as new needs arise, but based always on the fundamental urge to overcome the obstacles that separate us from our desires.

Explosives have earned an honored place in peace and war by the assistance they have given to the advancement of the ideals of democracy and of the legal equality of men, and by what they have done to facilitate man's efforts to obtain the basic raw materials on which civilized life depends and to bend nature to his needs.

This *History of the Explosives Industry in America* is a record made by competent hands of these explosive agents and their accessories, of the organizations which are, or have been, engaged in their production and of the men directing them, that have done and are doing their part—and a very important part it is and has been—in the winning, holding, and development of this continent and nation.

The book consists of a preface, an introduction, appendixes; and is divided into parts I.–VI., inclusive, each of which, subdivided in turn into appropriate chapters, considers in a comprehensive manner those data which fall logically under the particular one of the following general subjects with which it deals: Black Powder; Nitroglycerine and Dynamite; Blasting Supplies; Smokeless Powder; Military Explosives; Explosives in the Making of America.

Three of the first five parts begin with one or more chapters, devoted to a general historical outline of the origin and growth of the explosive agent, or agents, under consideration and the past and present application in industry, or war, or both. The chapters which follow contain a more detailed discussion of the industrial organizations and their personnel which are, or have been, engaged in its manufacture, and of how they have faced the problems of organization, production, distribution, and of product employment that have confronted them. Parts III. and V. condense this into one chapter. Part VI., after calling attention in its introductory chapter to the little realized fact that dynamite has been a most potent factor in making possible the material progress of civilization, discusses in the two which follow what explosives have done to facilitate the extraction of certain minerals and oil and to assist the progress of various great engineering projects.

Those interested in any phase of the past or present of the explosives industry, except the complete details of technical procedure in all cases with respect to composition or manufacture, will find in this volume a veritable mine of information. However, the technical side has not been neglected since, to the authors, "it has seemed best to treat the technical development of the industry somewhat in detail, especially as existing text books have little to say about American practice". There are so many interesting things discussed—or better, so many things interestingly discussed—that to attempt to comment on any of them within the space limits available would be unfair and most unsatisfactory. Let it suffice to say that the form, scope, and content of this work leave little, if anything, to be desired.

Any appraisal of this book can not be better expressed than has been done by Dr. Charles E. Munroe in his excellent and most interesting introduction: "The authors have written with such frankness and enthusiasm, and with such evident knowledge of their subject, that the narrative arouses the interest of the reader and continues throughout to hold his attention. The result is a book of permanent value and abiding interest."

JOHN HALE STUTESMAN.

Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution, with Special Reference to the Northern Towns. By Michael Kraus, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 302.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 251, \$4.00.) In his introduction Dr. Kraus ventures the opinion that, on the one hand, scholars have done little to relate colonial culture to the general stream of European civilization and that, on the other, the attention ordinarily given to differences among the colonies has tended to obscure the fact of the growth of a common provincial civilization. The clumsy title of this slender volume covers an attempt, not at all clumsy, indeed very ingenious, to redress the balance in the latter instance. Few of the interlacing cultural strands are overlooked. There are reasonably full treatments, for example, of such matters as the improvement of roads and postal facilities and of coastwise communication, the circulation of books and newspapers, the interprovincial economic ties, the numerous religious and scientific contacts, and the prevalence of common artistic tastes. Of particular interest and freshness is the discussion of the migration of individuals from province to province for business, professional, and educational reasons and the social and political bonds resulting from the frequent intermarriage across provincial boundaries.

By the painstaking process of accumulating myriad data the author makes out a convincing case for the existence of a wide diversity of common interests; but am I wrong in thinking that no historian, even without the benefit of this excellent guide-book, would be inclined to deny the general fact? Indeed, twenty-three years ago James Schouler published his still very useful book entitled *Americans of 1776*, in which Dr. Kraus's thesis was implicit on almost every page. In any case, however, this well-documented volume supplies a greater abundance of exact information on the point than has hitherto been readily available, and incidentally sheds light on the general aspects of colonial civilization in the mid-eighteenth century.

The main imperfections of the book grow chiefly out of the inherent difficulties of the author's task. His narrative is crammed with facts; but after all it is in the realm of fact rather than theory that he could alone hope to make a real contribution. He is moreover constantly engaged in the provoking business of describing the interrelations of things without saying too much or too little about the things themselves. He is

more culpable in restricting his treatment chiefly to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, a choice dictated doubtless by eagerness to publish his preliminary findings, but essentially disloyal to the conception of a well-knit culture among the thirteen provinces. It is not always clear whether the author's terminal date is 1763, at which time for instance he halts his discussion of the intercolonial affiliations of the merchants and of the mechanics, or 1775, to which date he ordinarily carries his story. Finally, the usefulness of the work would be greatly enhanced by a less capricious index.

A. M. SCHLESINGER.

British Headquarters, Maps and Sketches used by Sir Henry Clinton, while in Command of the British Forces operating in North America during the War for Independence. By Randolph G. Adams. (Ann Arbor, William L. Clements Library, 1928, pp. vi, 144, \$1.50.) This book lists and describes briefly the maps found in the Clinton Papers, a collection which was acquired in 1925 by Mr. William L. Clements from the descendants of Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British army in North America, 1778-1782. The maps are three hundred and fifty in number and vary in size from small sketches six by six inches to large wall maps four by six feet. With some exceptions they cover the period of the American Revolution and the territory of the Thirteen Colonies. Several maps relate to Canada, and three to the Indian campaigns in the Northwest Territory a decade after the close of the Revolution. The printed maps, about one-ninth of the whole, cover the period 1755-1806. Of these, the rarities are the Ratzler map of New York, 1776; Price map of Boston, 1769; Park map of Connecticut, 1766; Sauthier map of New York state, 1779; and sections of the Roman's map of Florida, 1774.

The manuscript maps are of great value for the military history of the Revolution and for local history. Many of them are plans or sketches of forts, battles, towns, and other small places. Some of them are undated and without the name of the author or indication of the object for which made. There are however memoranda and notes in the Clinton Papers which relate to the maps and which should be used in connection with them. Fifteen maps found in the papers and not identified are not listed in the book. Five of them seem to relate to European campaigns.

The maps have been listed according to an excellent plan that gives the kind of map (finished, unfinished, typographical, etc.), the scale, and dimensions. The listing and indexing are well done and the format is pleasing. The frontispiece, a portrait of Captain John Montresor, has not hitherto been reproduced. To supplement this collection the William L. Clements Library has recently obtained photostats of the manuscript maps, covering the period of the Revolution, of the Jared Sparks Collection at Cornell University, and the Robert Erskine Collection in the New York Historical Society.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: the British Story. By Allen French. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. vi, 90, \$2.50.) Mr. French has written an interesting monograph on an event that has received much attention from historians.

His foreword assures the reader that it "is not a careless or mischievous attempt to reopen a subject on which there has been much controversy". The title, "the British Story", is misleading. "A more or less discredited British officer's story", would be nearer the truth. The monograph has brought an added interest to the controversy: was Arnold in equal command with Ethan Allen, of the men who captured Ticonderoga, and did Ethan Allen demand the surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress"? Mr. French states: "Feltham has made it clear that the old controversy as to whether Arnold was admitted to equal command with Allen, should now cease. For it would seem to be proved that Ticonderoga was surrendered not merely to two bold adventurers, nor upon a bombastic demand, but to the authority of Massachusetts and Connecticut, exercised jointly." This would be the natural conclusion of one not familiar with the background of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys, who would take no orders from, or serve under any one but Allen. Whether or no Arnold was joint commander should never have been of any importance, because, if he was, it was not by a higher authority, but by the courtesy of Allen. Arnold confirms this (p. 85): "On and before our taking possession here, I had agreed with Colonel Allen to issue further orders jointly. After capture, Allen 'positively insisted I should have no command'. 'He assumed the entire command. . . .'"

The taking of Ticonderoga was accomplished within a few minutes. Delaplace's room, within which was his wife, and probably his two children, faced, and was within a few rods from the "covered way" through which Allen entered the fort. Delaplace may have been at the front door with his breeches in his hand, with his wife peering over his shoulder, surrendering the fort when Felthman was pounding on his back door. Feltham returned after dressing, and he must have been fully dressed, for one puts on trousers before coat and vest, and he knew Mrs. Delaplace was there. Many of the conclusions drawn by Mr. French are not tenable.

Feltham's statement of what Allen and Arnold replied when he enquired by what authority they demanded surrender, reads like a conversation held after, and not during the excitement of capture. Their replies, as he states them, did not answer his question. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Congress did not want the responsibility. Allen and his Green Mountain Boys acknowledged no authority. They came from a "no man's land" that soon became and remained, for fourteen years, a republic. Whether or not Allen made the reply he states he did, it was characteristic of him.

JAMES B. WILBUR.

The John Askin Papers. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Volume I., 1747-1795. [Burton Historical Records, I.] (Detroit, Detroit Library Commission, 1928, pp. 657, \$5.00.) The beginning of a systematic publication of the rich store of manuscript material in the Burton Collection at Detroit is an event of importance to all students of the history of the Old Northwest. For the first volume of the Burton Historical Records, the Detroit Library Commission, which has undertaken the work of publication with the competent editorial assistance of Dr. Quaife, has selected the papers of John Askin, whose activities as fur trader, land speculator, local magistrate, and prominent citizen of Detroit, throw light upon various phases of the history of that region in the period of the American Revolution and following.

Of the value of this volume to the local historian and genealogist there can be no question. The numerous biographical notices alone, compiled largely from unpublished records, will be invaluable to the future historian of Detroit, and their usefulness is enhanced by an excellent index. To the general historian, however, the present volume is likely to prove disappointing. During the years principally covered by these papers, 1778-1795, many important events were occurring in the Northwest, yet little information concerning them can be found here. Askin himself, and, for the most part, his correspondents, were little interested in politics save as politics affected business. The documents for the period of the American Revolution contain only the barest allusions to political events, and save for one or two documents relating to the Treaty of Greenville, there is little of value upon the Anglo-American contest for the Western posts.

Curiously enough it is of Old World events that we get the most interesting information. The letters of Askin's son-in-law, an English army officer, and of a business correspondent, William Robertson, picture, almost dramatically, the England of 1792, secure, "inferentially rich", at first but mildly interested in events across the Channel, then stirred to repugnance at the increasing violence of the Revolution, and, finally, embarking upon a crusade against it. With remarkable political acumen, Robertson, who had travelled in France, saw the futility of attempting to stamp out so tremendous a movement by means of a coalition of quarrelling and mutually jealous sovereigns. The repercussion of these events was felt even in Detroit, for the price of furs fell disastrously, leaving Askin, among others, heavily in debt. The letters of Askin's daughter, Mrs. Meredith, with their amusing fashion notes, supply an equally interesting foot-note to the social history of the period.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South. By Broadus Mitchell, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Economy in Johns Hopkins University. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1928, pp. xi, 331, \$3.00.) This "essay" undertakes first to disclose "the main facts in the life of William Gregg", who was born in Western Virginia,

in 1800, of Scotch-Irish Quaker ancestry; who amassed capital as a jeweler, and became "the father of Southern cotton manufacture"; "and second, to record in some detail the operations during Gregg's lifetime of the Graniteville Factory" which in 1846 he built in South Carolina. Dr. Mitchell, a pioneer recorder of Southern economic history, realizes his double ambition. He shows Gregg as practical mechanic and as author of *Essays on Domestic Industry* on which his fame rests no less than on Graniteville. He reveals him as a humanitarian who tirelessly worked to make the industry the stepping-stone for Southern poor whites from ignorance and sloth to education and thrift. Obviously, Dr. Mitchell loves his subject, but though only gently critical does not eulogize him. Since, however, Gregg labored for love, hewed out a path to successful cotton manufacture, and unquestionably set a standard for social betterment, I do not see why Dr. Mitchell calls him a "tragic figure". What if Gregg did "oppose an economic system built up on agriculture"? In maintaining that the ante-bellum Southerner "would not, could not, act upon" Gregg's example, his biographer takes a stand which further research may quash.

Dr. Mitchell's English is straightforward, but his chapter headings sometimes mislead and his essay rambles. Thus in Planks versus Railroads, he trails into Southern commercial conventions, thence to Gregg's diary. In the first seventeen pages of the Declared Protectionist he practically ignores the tariff which he treats in pages 149-151. I wish he had linked industrial and political themes, and thus thrown more light on South Carolinian and Southern history. He fails to do this for the period both before and after 1860. He sees Gregg's spontaneous acceptance of secession as typical Confederate loyalty. Might not the Southern manufacturer, an American nationalist in 1845, have become a Southern nationalist after the Wilmot Proviso? Study of the sales-books might shed light by revealing where Gregg found his best markets. The real weakness is the scanty documentary material for Graniteville and Dr. Mitchell's neglect to use the ledgers, journals, and letter-books. If that type of record was destroyed he does not deplore it. Though thin and too hastily written, the book embodies material which contributes to the specialist in Southern history and ultimately to American history. Except for the finely typed notes, the format is excellent. I miss a bibliography of sources. It is to be hoped that in the near future Dr. Mitchell will edit Gregg's papers.

KATHLEEN BRUCE.

American Policies Abroad, Mexico. By J. Fred Rippy, José Vasconcelos, and Guy Stevens. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928; pp. xii, 254, \$1.50.) This little book contains an admirable presentation from three different viewpoints of the relations between Mexico and the United States since the downfall of the Diaz régime.

Dr. Rippy presents the situation from the viewpoint of an advanced liberal, deeply sympathetic with the larger purposes of the Mexican

Revolution. José Vasconcelos, former secretary of public instruction of Mexico, deals with the situation from the view-point of a Mexican statesman, deeply interested in the welfare of the masses of the people. The third of the papers published in this book is by Guy Stevens, director of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico. Mr. Stevens's presentation is frankly from the point of view of the interests of the foreign investor and is very valuable as a clear presentation of what a foreigner considers requisite for the adequate protection of vested rights in Mexico.*

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has done a very real service in the education of public opinion in the United States in publishing this little volume.

The Coming of the Russian Mennonites: an Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier, 1874-1884. By C. Henry Smith, Ph.D., Professor of History in Bluffton College. (Berne, Indiana, Mennonite Book Concern, 1927, pp. 296, \$2.25.) It is enlightening to note how many of America's immigrants have made her their second choice. The Pilgrim fathers tarried a while in another land, and from the seventeenth century until far into the nineteenth, Europeans searched the atlases for some spot they might colonize, which was not under the flag of Great Britain or the United States. That America received the bulk of the great modern exodus was due to circumstances other than the will of the emigrants.

Shortly after 1786, when both the church and state adopted a more vigorous policy, many communities of Prussian Mennonites were convinced that they should look for a new home. Several possibilities, including America, were considered but the inducements offered by Catherine of Russia were so inviting that over six thousand Mennonites left the banks of the Vistula and established themselves on the steppes of Southern Russia. Here for almost a century they lived in peace, developed thriving agricultural communities, and, as a result of isolation, their distinctive political, religious, and social ideas were intensified. But about 1870 it became evident that the Tsar would inaugurate a system of universal military service and abolish the special exemptions upon which the settlements rested. Again emigration was necessary. This time there was no doubt about the advisability of crossing the Atlantic. In 1873 delegates were sent over to spy out the land. They were wooed by representatives of land and railroad companies and state and provincial boards of immigration. An attempt to secure a special grant of land failed in Congress and as the delegates could not agree upon any of the private offers, the migration which began in 1874 was divided, eight thousand settling in Canada and ten thousand in the United States, about half of the latter locating in Kansas.

The history of this migration and settlement is told by Dr. Smith, who secures his information from church and local periodicals, reminiscences, and unpublished letters and diaries. The professional historian

would welcome more foot-notes and specific references. But the book itself is practically a source, and the chapters on Establishing Frontier Homes and Transplanting a Bit of Russia are valuable contributions which will suggest much to the student of the social development of the plains. It is encouraging to read an account of the coming of a European stock, which is not concerned with the problem of what that stock contributed to American civilization but discusses more fundamental matters, such as how lands were secured, wells dug, churches and schools established and transformed, and a peculiar social organization broken down by the forces of American environment. The last chapter is a graphic description of what the "conscientious objector" suffered during the recent war.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

Educational Activities of New England Quakers: a Source Book. By Zora Klain, Ph.D., New Jersey College for Women. (Philadelphia, Westbrook Publishing Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 228.) Dr. Klain has done for the study of Quaker education in New England a similar piece of work to that done for Quaker education in Pennsylvania by Dr. Thomas Woody. He has searched the old Quaker record-books with care and patience and he has presented from original sources the slow but steady growth of Quaker education in the New England colonies, and the great expansion of educational facilities and equipment in the nineteenth century.

The book opens with a brief account of the Quaker "invasion" of New England in the face of a hostile world and of the early and primitive attempts at education in the local Quaker meeting-houses. The author finds that from 1684 onwards the general yearly meeting body of New England had from time to time a committee on education for their entire field. From 1778 the educational vision widened and the interest deepened. One begins to see at this period the shaping influence of that rare educational patron, Moses Brown of Providence. Brown University owes him a great debt of gratitude and the present Moses Brown School rightly looks to him as its founder. The story of the birth and development of the second Quaker boarding school in New England, Oak Grove Seminary at Vassalboro, Maine, is well told.

But by far the most important feature of the book is the history of the small colonial schools in widely sundered monthly meetings of New England, in Newport, Smithfield, Portsmouth, Nantucket, Sandwich, and many other regions, and one notes with interest that everywhere the care for the education of girls equals that for the education of boys.

The author has done his work well and those who are seeking for facts about the beginnings of educational methods in the New England colonies will prize this book. It would have been well if he had made a more detailed account of the restraints and limitations of what the Quakers called "guarded education".

RUFUS M. JONES.

Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa. By John A. Hopkins, jr. [Iowa Economic History Series, ed. B. F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1928, pp. xvi, 248, \$2.00.) In making this study "it was desired", runs the author's preface, "to trace the development of the beef enterprise as it was shaped by the economic forces operating in the environment of the young and growing State of Iowa". Such influences were the price and the acreage of corn, the coming of the railways, the contraction of the Western ranges, the boom and the panic of 1907, improvements in forage crops and methods of production, the demands of the World War, depression and recovery following the war, and the rise of the dairying industry.

Chapter I., Antecedents of Beef Production in Iowa, is a well-compressed account of the advance of the cattle frontier across the United States. Seven of the ten chapters portray an historical background on which play the economic influences. The reviewer would have preferred to print one of the best chapters, the one on the influence of transportation, as chapter IV. instead of as chapter IX. Other chapters explain the stocking of the state with cattle, the grazing of herds, the place of beef cattle in farming, the changing methods of finishing cattle, and the financing and the marketing of Iowan beef cattle.

Readers will admire the excellent print, paper, and binding. Eleven charts, well placed, are distinct assets to the text, but the reviewer doubts the value of the seven tables. Embedded in the two hundred and thirty-four notes and references are many pat illustrations which could better have been used to brighten the text. A prosaic topic has been treated with care and faithfulness in a book which will be a substantial addition to the economic history of a state. Newspapers, books, official reports, and census records have been combed. Over seventy of the notes and references relate to about one hundred and fifty interviews. The information which can be obtained from the old settlers, notes the author, is less definite but more descriptive than that available from other sources. Some readers may regard it as less trustworthy also.

LOUIS PELZER.

Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America. By Alfred Hasbrouck, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press; London, P. S. King and Son, 1928, pp. 470, \$6.75.) Despite the title, this work does not cover all of Spanish South America, and makes no claim to do so. It is concerned wholly with the struggle for independence in the northern part of the continent, under the leadership of Simon Bolívar. The book includes fourteen chapters with the following interesting headings: Preliminary to the Scene of Action; Whence the Legionaries Came; Mustering the Vanguard; Early Campaigns on Tropical Shores; A British Contingent and its Prowess; Two Militant Scotchmen on a Venture; The Irish to the Fore; Passing the Andes to Freedom; Struggling on the Plains for Liberty; Fighting on a Mountain-side

for Independence; Liberation Attained; Some of the Legionaries and their Later Fortunes; Soldiers from Many Nations in a Common Cause; What the Legionaries Signified. There are a number of appendixes, chiefly lists of names of legionaries; a classified bibliography showing that the author had access to probably all of the important manuscript and printed material on the subject; a satisfactory index; and a map in black and white showing the military operations in which the legionaries had a part.

The British Isles furnished most of the foreign legionaries, but a considerable number came from Germany, and a scattering from other countries. They included all types, and such extremes as the grotesque and criminal humbug Gregor McGregor and the amazingly gallant Colonel James Rooke. Though never more than a few hundred of foreigners were engaged in any military operation, their presence, because of the small size of the armies on both sides, more than once threw the balance of strength to the revolutionary forces. In one case at least—the decisive battle of Carabobo in Venezuela—victory was largely due to the action of the British battalion. Alien reinforcements also enabled Bolivar to undertake the New Granada campaign, an important link in the chain of events bringing liberation from Spain. Dr. Hasbrouck makes a number of interesting comparisons between the revolution of the Thirteen Colonies of England and the South-American struggle for independence under Bolivar, and the foreign aid given in both instances. Lafayette he likens to General Daniel O'Leary, and Steuben, to Johannes Uslar, commander in South America of the Hanoverian legion.

A few typographical errors crept in. Apparently a slip occurred on page 179, where General Urdaneta is mentioned instead of General Montilla.

The author shows an unusual grasp on the various phases of his subject, for his career as an officer in the United States army familiarized him with the technique of war, the psychology of the soldier, the influence of tropical climate, and the mental characteristics of the Latin-American people. The book is well written, with vivid word pictures of battles and an occasional touch of friendly humor, and makes interesting reading. It deals with a subject before practically untouched, and is one of the best monographs so far produced from the meagrely-tilled field of Latin-American history.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution, 1836, by the Chief Participants. Translated with notes by Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin-American Librarian, University of Texas. (Dallas, P. L. Turner Company, 1928, pp. vii, 391.) This volume is a translation of five controversial booklets published during 1836-1838 by notable participants in the Mexican campaign against the Texan revolutionists. The earliest document, in the order of original publication, is General Vicente Filisola's

Representation to the Supreme Government with Notes on his Operations as General-in-Chief of the Army of Texas. Its purpose was to refute charges and imputations in a report of General José Urrea to the Secretary of War that Filisola, who became commander-in-chief of the Mexican army after the capture of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, was guilty of criminal stupidity if not of cowardice in abandoning the invasion and ordering a retreat from Texas. Its chief historical value lies in its concrete statement of the distribution and numbers of the various Mexican divisions and in its indirect revelation of the deficient commissary equipment of the invading army. The second pamphlet is Santa Anna's *Manifesto relative to his Operations in the Texas Campaign and his Capture*; the third is a satire on Santa Anna's *Manifesto* by Ramón Martínez Caro, who, during the Texas campaign, was Santa Anna's private secretary. The historical value of the *Manifesto* is negligible, but its biographical consequence is considerable. Caro's diatribe is chiefly personal but contributes suggestive commentaries upon various phases of the invasion. The fourth document is General José Urrea's *Diary of the Military Operations which under his Command Campaigned in Texas*. Urrea enjoyed the controversial advantage of saying the last word. His diary is a sober, day-to-day record of operations, into which he wove rejoinders to Santa Anna and Filisola. The fifth pamphlet is José María Tornel's *Relations between Texas, the United States of America, and Mexico*. Tornel had served his country as minister to the United States in 1833 and during the Texas Revolution was Secretary of War. He states his thesis in a sentence and elaborates it through a hundred pages: "For more than fifty years, that is, from the very period of their political infancy, the prevailing thought in the United States of America has been the acquisition of the greater part of the territory that formerly belonged to Spain, particularly that part which today belongs to the Mexican nation."

The aggregate historical value of this collection of controversial tracts is considerable, particularly in revealing enduring traits of Mexican psychology. The translation is well done. The English is precise, clean-cut, and idiomatic, and reads easily and entertainingly. The editorial notes are scant but are written with knowledge and discrimination.

E. C. B.

Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico. By George P. Hammond, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Southern California. (Historical Society of New Mexico Publications in History, vol. II.) (Santa Fe, El Palacio Press, 1927, pp. vii, 228.) The occupation of New Mexico, after a half century of abortive attempts, was Don Juan de Oñate's contribution to the colonization of America by Spain. The story of Oñate's enterprise, which started with high hopes and ended in disillusionment, is the subject of Dr. Hammond's volume, which is published now in book form, after having appeared

serially in the *New Mexico Historical Review*. The study is based in part on materials discovered by the author in Spanish archives. They have not enabled him to remake the story of the New Mexican conquest, or overturn accepted conclusions; but he has been able to fill gaps and supplement here and there.

Although this work is to be commended as an accurate, concise, factual account of the founding of New Mexico, it nevertheless leaves much to be desired. Oñate appears to be the central figure in the story, yet a satisfactory characterization and estimation of the man has been neglected. The conquistador remains, after a reading of the account of the expedition, a vague, intangible character. The division of the subject matter also appears to be disproportionate. Nearly one hundred pages are devoted to preliminaries, whereas the story of the expedition itself is told in an equal number of pages. A description of Spanish provincial government in New Mexico is omitted. The mechanics of administration are never alluded to. There is a like deficiency with respect to economic organization. Dr. Hammond omitted details that are indispensable to a satisfactory description of the implanting of Spanish civilization in New Mexico.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor died September 30 at the age of seventy-four. His great work is the *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* of which twelve volumes have been published, the first in 1886, the twelfth in 1927. But he was a marvel of industry, and he found time to write a life of his master Janssen, to publish additional volumes of the latter's *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, and to bring out a new edition of the whole work, as well as to write a half dozen other volumes. For the first volume of this *Review* (pp. 526-529) Professor George L. Burr contributed a masterly criticism of the third volume of the History of the Popes; in this and the reviews of the succeeding volumes, as they have appeared, will be found an appreciation of Pastor's "abundant erudition", "sane and self-reliant criticism", "excessive caution", "half apologetic flavor", and also of his "ultramontane convictions". Many deserved honors came to Pastor. For over a quarter of a century he has been Director of the Austrian Institute of Historical Studies at Rome. It is hoped that he has left material in manuscript for more volumes of his great work.

François Victor Alphonse Aulard died on October 23 at the age of seventy-nine. Almost half a century ago he began his study of the French Revolution. As a professor he trained many workers in that field; as president of the Société d'Histoire de la Révolution Française and as editor of the *Révolution Française* he directed the publications. His *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* appeared in a fifth edition in 1905. Of the *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* twenty-six volumes were published between 1889 and 1909. He was also the author or editor of many other volumes upon the history of the Revolution. He was frequently engaged in altercations, but now is remembered as the scholar to whom all students of the Revolution are especially indebted.

Thomas F. Moran, for thirty-three years professor of history and economics in Purdue University, died on October 21 at the age of sixty-two. He was the author of well-known books on politics and government.

Dr. Paul van Dyke, director of the American University Union at Paris, has been appointed Harvard exchange professor to the French provincial universities.

Dr. D. M. Fisk, formerly of Columbia, has been made an assistant professor of history at Temple University.

Professor J. Edgar Swain of Muhlenberg College has leave of absence for the second semester, which he will spend in research in France and Germany.

Professor R. S. Catterill of the University of Louisville has been made professor of history in the Florida State College for Women.

In Indiana University Dr. William T. Morgan has been made professor of history.

Dr. Rolf Johannesen, formerly acting professor of history in Indiana University, has been made head of the department of history in the State College for Women at Columbus, Miss.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, of the Minnesota Historical Society, is spending the year in Norway studying the background of Norwegian immigration to America, through the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship.

Professor E. H. Byrne of the University of Wisconsin is to be absent on leave next year to continue his work in the archives at Genoa.

Professor T. W. Riker, of the University of Texas, will have leave of absence during the second semester to work on his book "The Making of Rumania as an International Problem". His place in the University of Texas will be taken by Dr. Clarence Perkins of the University of North Dakota.

GENERAL

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale, 1927-1928* (Revue Historique, July).

For the year 1928-1929 the Social Science Research Council has granted fellowships, as already noted, to A. S. Aiton and F. B. Artz, and, in addition, to Miss Helen M. Allen to work on British Commercial Policy in North America from 1783 to 1793, and to Michael Kraus for an investigation of the Relations between the American Colonies and Europe in the Eighteenth Century. It has also made grants-in-aid to C. L. Grose to work on a Bibliography of English History, 1660 to 1760, to Mark Mohler for an investigation of the Influence of Religious Bodies in the United States on the Development of Public Sentiment for World Peace, and thus of their Influence on National Policy, to F. J. Klingberg for research in Modern English history in the Period between 1815-1867, and to Louise Overacker for a study of the Use of Money in Elections.

The indefatigable Henri Sée has found sufficient leisure in the midst of his multitudinous publications on economic history to meditate at some length on the *Science et Philosophie de l'Histoire* (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. 513).

On November 1, 1928, appeared the first number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*. It is a substantial quarterly, the first issue being made up of 175 pages. A special run of all-rag paper is provided for library subscribers. The Harvard University Press is publishing the *Journal* for the Business Historical Society and the Harvard School of Business. There are six articles, including one on American Treasure and Andalusian Prices, 1503-1660, by Dr. Earl J. Hamilton of

Duke University; one on Recent Work on the Economic History of Ancient Rome by Professor Tenney Frank; and one on Thomas Hancock, Colonial Merchant, by Mr. Edward Edelman. There is a section on "Notes and Documents" to which Professor E. F. Gay, the editor, contributes. New books are listed but not reviewed.

The October *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society contains a brief account of the Illuminated Log of the Good Ship *Crown Point*, making a voyage to East India in the early 'sixties.

The London School of Economics and Political Science plans to publish in 1929 *A London Bibliography of the Social Sciences*, being the subject catalogue of the British Library of Political and Economic Science at the school (a collection which includes 500,000 volumes and 250,000 pamphlets), "the Goldsmiths' Library of Economic Literature at the University of London, the Libraries of the Royal Statistical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute, and certain special collections at University College, London, and elsewhere". An important feature will be the cataloguing under their subjects of nearly all the official publications of all the important countries of the world. The publication will be in four volumes, containing about 5000 pages. The subscription price before May 1 is set at five guineas; after May 1 the price will be raised.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute for Historical Research (November) contains an account of the Oslo Congress, by Professor Pollard, and of the Anglo-American Historical Congress of last July. The series of discussions on the Early Records of the English Parliament is continued by H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, for the English parliaments of Edward II. There is another instalment of the poem on Bishop Gardiner, and there are five summaries of theses, *viz.*: Women in the Textile Industries and Trade of Fifteenth Century England, by Marian K. Dale; Italian Financiers of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries with special reference to Pallavicino and Spinola, by Bertha Hall; the Relation of Church and State with special reference to the growth of religious toleration in England under James I., 1603-1616, by Phyllis Doyle; the Relations of the British Government in India with the Indian States, 1813-1823, by M. S. Mehta; the History of the General Strike in Britain, by Alfred Plummer.

The *Historical Outlook* for October contains an illustrated article by F. H. Hodder on Some Early Political Cartoons, and E. E. Robinson contributes a survey of the teaching of American History in English Schools and Universities; with a few noteworthy exceptions the general conditions were summed up by an English scholar, "American history and American history books are non-existent". The November number contains an article on Land Speculation and the Mexican War, by W. W. Ware.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for October W. M. Brewer writes on John B. Russwurm, "the first negro to receive a degree from an

American college"; R. W. Logan, on the Operation of the Mandate System in Africa; J. H. Johnston, on the Mohammedan Slave Trade; L. J. Greene, on Slave-holding New England and its Awakening. This number also contains the annual report of the director, and nine deeds of emancipation from Petersburg, Va., in which free negroes free other negroes from slavery.

In a pamphlet entitled *Historische Belletristik* are gathered a group of reviews of such works as the writings of Emil Ludwig and W. Hegemann, by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, W. Mommsen, H. Delbrück, and others, originally published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 54); the reviews are severely critical.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October contains the following articles: Status of Roman Catholicism in Canada (from 1759 to 1774), by W. R. Riddell; the Religious Issue in National Politics, by E. J. Byrne, tracing the prejudices in politics against the "papists" from the earliest colonial days to the present time; and Spanish Rule in the Netherlands under Philip II., by Sr. M. Constance. There is also a note on the history of the Capuchins (1528-1928) of which the first mission in this country was established early in the seventeenth century.

The July number of *Agricultural History* contains a paper by Edmund C. Burnett on the Continental Congress and Agricultural Supplies, and the second part of Miss Ellen C. Semple's study of Ancient Mediterranean Agriculture.

Current History has in the September issue a debate upon the question, Was Germany Responsible for the World War, written in the light of new evidence published since the close of the war. From the French point of view Henry de Jouvenel adopts the thesis: the War due to a German-Austrian Plot to Dominate the Balkans, while the thesis of Friederich Rosen, sustaining the German side, is: Germany the Victim of Allied Plans of Conquest and Secret Diplomacy. The October number offers a debate on Robert E. Lee: Is his Military Genius Fact or Fiction? The negative, the Confederate Leader's Failure due to Weakness of Character, is argued by Elbridge Colby; the affirmative, Lee's Achievement in Spite of Tremendous Handicaps, by Douglas S. Freeman. This issue contains also an autobiographical sketch of Stephen Raditch, the Story of my Political Life, with an introduction by Charles A. Beard on the Last Years of Stephen Raditch. The November issue has a survey, political, economic, and military, of the Ten Years after the Armistice. Political aspects are treated in three articles: J. T. Shotwell discourses upon the Effects on American Foreign Policy, H. Wickham Steed upon the Changed International Situation, and David Hunter Miller upon the Execution of the Peace Treaties. The economic phase is discussed by Bernard M. Baruch under the topic, the Consequences of the War to Industry. On the military side Gen. Tasker H. Bliss discusses the strategy of the Allies, Col. E. Requin that of the French Command, and Gen. H. J. von Kuhl that of the Central Powers.

In 1921 Dr. Isaiah Bowman published the first edition of the *New World* which was praised highly in this journal (XXVII. 568-570). Now appears a fourth edition, greatly enlarged and with more maps (257 in all), but without the photographs of the first edition. Possibly the most striking proof of the complete revision to which the book has been subjected is to be found in the bibliography (29 pages, listing only the principal references used) which contains many titles of books published since the first edition of this work. Without actually counting the titles, old and new, it seems probable that the new, that is, published since 1921, out-number the old. Although the volume has been so greatly enlarged the price is reduced (Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1928, v, 803, \$4.80).

In *An Outline History of the World* (Oxford University Press, 1928), H. A. Davies has accomplished a remarkable task. In about 120,000 words he has written an interesting and well-proportioned survey. It is intended primarily for a text-book but it will meet the need of "general readers". Social and economic history is given greater prominence than political. Scores of illustrations, 18 maps, and rather frequent quotations from sources or secondary works enhance the value of the little volume. Of course there are mistakes, but in general the work is well done.

Erik Nordenskiöld's study of the development of biology and the great figures connected with it has been translated into English by Leonard B. Eyre under the title *History of Biology*, and published by Knopf.

The West Publishing Company of St. Paul announces the publication of *A Panorama of the World's Legal Systems*, by J. H. Wigmore, in three volumes, with five hundred illustrations. It describes sixteen principal legal systems, past and present, both pictorially and by a concise narrative.

The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation, by Denis Rolleston Gwynn, is published in New York by Longmans.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Mario Govi, *L'Oggetto e il Compito della Storia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, May); Sir William Ellis, *The Influence of Engineering on Civilization* (Scientific Monthly, November); Capt. George L. Caldwell, *A History of Cavalry Horses* (Cavalry Journal, October); Dumas Malone, *A Challenge to Patriots* (Virginia Quarterly Review, October); G. Dupont-Ferrier, *De Quelques Problèmes Historiques Relatifs aux "Etats Provinciaux"* (Journal des Savants, August-October); A. M. Schlesinger, *Social History and American Literature* (Yale Review, Autumn); Michel Lhéritier, *Régions Historiques: Europe Centrale, Orient Méditerranéen et Question d'Orient* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLV.); H. R. Hall, *The Caucasian Relations of the Peoples of the Sea* (Klio, XXII. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Beginning with January, 1929, the Biblioteca d'Arte Editrice (Rome) plans to publish a monthly bulletin with the title "Acta Romana", giving an account of the activities of the twenty-four institutes, schools, and academies representing twelve nations, which carry on work at Rome in archaeology and history, and including a bibliography of writings by members of the institutes and other scholars working at Rome.

The Cambridge University Press expected to publish before the end of 1928 the eighth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which begins the Roman part of the work.

In place of the antiquated edition of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* by H. Peters, the historian has now available a new, critical text prepared by the skilful hand of E. Hohl (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927, 2 vols., pp. xvi, 305, 304).

In *The Roman Legions* H. M. D. Parker begins with the reformation of Marius and traces the development to the accession of Septimius Severus (Oxford, Clarendon, 1928).

Ernst Stein has written a *Geschichte des Spätromischen Reiches*, vol. I. of which covers the period *Vom Römischen zum Byzantinischen Staate*, 284-476 (Vienna, Seidel, pp. xxii, 592).

An enlightening book has been written on *Die Schweiz in Römischer Zeit* by Felix Stähelin, making accessible a great mass of scattered material (Basel, Schwabe, 1927, pp. 549).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Franz Cumont, *Une Nouvelle Histoire du Monde Antique* [Rostovtzeff's History of the Ancient World] (Journal des Savants, August-October); J. H. Breasted, *A Laboratory for the Investigation of Early Man* (Scribner's Magazine, November); R. Hennig, *Die Anfänge des Kulturellen und Handelsverkehrs in der Mittelmeerwelt* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1); E. Drioton, *La Chronologie Égyptienne* (Journal des Savants, May); P. Bosch-Gimpera, *Fragen der Chronologie der Phönizischen Kolonisation in Spanien* (Klio, XXII. 3); Hans Treidler, *Das Ionische Meer im Altertum* (ibid., 1-2); Franz Tritsch, *Die Stadtbildungen des Altertums und die Griechische Polis* (ibid.); J. Carcopino, *Les Origines de l'Hercule Romain*, I., concl. (Journal des Savants, April, May); Tenney Frank, *Recent Work on the Economic History of Ancient Rome* (Journal of Economic and Business History, November); Capt. B. H. L. Hart, *Hannibal and Rome* (Atlantic, October); Ludwig Schmidt, *Zur Kimber- und Teutonenfrage* (Klio, XXII. 1-2); Aimé Perpillou, *La Question de Droit entre César et le Sénat, Mars 59-Janvier 49* (Revue Historique, July); H. Dessau, *Monmsen und das Monumentum Ancyranum* (Klio, XXII. 3); J. Bayet, *Les Cultes Italiens à Délos* (Journal des Savants, June); Germain Morin, *A Travers les Manuscrits de Bâle; Notices et Extraits des Plus Anciens Manuscrits Latins* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Neue Studien zu Berossos* (Klio, XXII. 1-2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Geuthner (Paris) has issued *L'Administration Civile de l'Égypte Byzantine* by Germaine Rouillard (with a preface by Charles Diehl).

The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena has been translated by Elizabeth Dawes and published by Kegan Paul. A life of Anna Comnena by Naomi Mitchison is published by Gerald Howe.

Christo M. Macri is the author of a volume entitled *Des Byzantins et des Étrangers dans Constantinople au Moyen Age* (Paris, Guillon, 1928, pp. 120).

Edgar Prestage has edited a volume on *Chivalry*, containing nine lectures delivered at the University of London by Gollancz, Hearnshaw, and other scholars (London, Kegan Paul).

Johannes Bühler's *Ordensritter und Kirchenfürsten, nach Zeitgenössischen Quellen* in the series "Deutsche Vergangenheit" is valuable for the history of the Teutonic Knights (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag).

The Collegio S. Bonaventurae at Quaracchi, which brought out a critical and definitive edition of the works of St. Bonaventura (11 vols., folio, 1882 to 1902) and has issued two volumes of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales (1924, 1928), as well as ten volumes of the *Analecta Franciscana*, twenty volumes of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, a critical edition of the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, and other works, has undertaken a critical edition of the works of Blessed John Duns Scotus. The Ministers Provincial in this country have been active in securing the funds to make possible the completion of this work begun in 1927. The indefatigable friars also have ready the first volume of the *Sinica Franciscana*, containing the letters written by the Franciscan missionaries in China during the Middle Ages.

Longmans, Green, and Company publish an English translation by the Rev. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., of *Thomas Aquinas, his Personality and Thought*, by Martin Grabmann, of which a fifth edition has appeared in German.

Der Heilige Dominikus by Heribert Christian Scheeben (Freiburg i.B., Herder, 1927, pp. 459) is an attempt to furnish the first critical biography of its subject; unfortunately it must be used with caution.

A translation of the *Dialogue on Miracles* by Caesarius of Heisterbach is announced for the early part of the year by Routledge (London) in the Broadway Medieval Library which is edited by G. G. Coulton and Eileen Powers. In this series the first two volumes are: *The Unconquered Knight: a Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño*, by Gutierre Diaz de Gamez, translated by Joan Evans; and *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, by Johannes Herolt, translated by C. Swinton Bland. For later publication are announced the *Goodman of Paris* (*Le Ménagier de Paris*); the *Autobiography of Ousâma* (of this, another

translation by Dr. P. K. Hitti is already in press in the series, Records of Civilization, Columbia University); *Anecdotes from English MSS. Sermons*, translated by G. R. Owst; and *Anecdotes of Thomas of Chantimpré*, translated by B. A. Lees.

The fourth volume (1368-1377) of *Histoire de Charles V.* by R. Delachenal has been published by Auguste Picard (Paris, 1928).

The second volume of Ludwig Mohler's *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann; Funde und Forschungen* (the first volume of which appeared in 1923) is taken up with the cardinal's chief work, *In Calumniatorem Platonis Libri IV.*, the Greek text of which is now printed in complete form for the first time (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1927, pp. viii, 636); it is a publication of the Görresgesellschaft.

An able study of Medieval taxation in a restricted area is to be found in *Königszins, Königsgerecht, Königsgastung im Altsächsischen Freidingsrechte* by Heinrich Freiherr von Minnigerode (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1928, pp. 124):

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carlo Rostan, *Il Cristianesimo del IV. Secolo; il Primo Appello al Braccio Secolare* (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-September); E. Caspar, *Kleine Beiträge zur Aelteren Papstgeschichte*, IV. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2); Camille Jullian, *Les Précurseurs de Clovis* (Revue de Paris, August 15); *Les Ascendants de Clovis* (*ibid.*, September 15); Alexander Haggerty Krappe, *La Légende du Roi Théodoric* (Moyen Age, May-August); P. W. Finsterwalder, *Wege und Ziele der Irischen und Angelsächsischen Mission im Fränkischen Reich* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2); Marcel Baudot, *La Question du Pseudo-Frédégaire* (Moyen Age, May-August); R. Vári, *Die Sogenannte 'Inedita Tacita Leonis'* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVII. 3-4); A. Brackmann, *Die Politische Wirkung der Kluniagensischen Bewegung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1); W. A. Phillips, *The Papal Monarchy* (Edinburgh Review, July); Clémens Bauer, *Die Epochen der Papstfinanz* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVIII. 3); P. Kehr, *Rom und Venedig bis ins XII. Jahrhundert* (Quellen und Forschungen, XIX.); Franz Martin, *Zwei Salzburger Briefsammlungen des 12. Jahrhunderts; das Sogen.: Briefbuch Eberhards I.* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLII. 4); Franz Dölger, *Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur Byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVII. 3-4); C. H. Haskins, *The "Alchemy" ascribed to Michael Scot* (Isis, June); Helen Robbins, *A Comparison of the Effects of the Black Death on the Economic Organization of France and England* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Karl Schönenberger, *Das Bistum Basel während des Grossen Schismas, 1378-1415* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.); Stéphane Gsell, *L'Architecture Musulmane en Occident* (Journal des Savants, June).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

All who have used R. B. Mowat's *History of European Diplomacy* (two volumes of which have already been reviewed in this journal, XXVIII. 740; XXXIII. 134) will welcome the news that he has now completed the work by a volume covering the period between the middle of the fifteenth century and the point at which his earlier published volumes began (London, Arnold).

The Houghton Mifflin Company has now brought out in a single volume the *Economic History of Europe*, by M. M. Knight, H. E. Barnes, and Felix Flugel, of which the separate parts were reviewed in this journal, XXXII. 856 and XXXIII. 858.

The intellectual and religious development of Martin Luther to 1518, by Robert H. Fife, jr., is published by Macmillan under the title *Young Luther*.

Die Schweizergarde in Rom und die Schweizer in Päpstlichen Diensten, pt. I., by Robert Durrer, covers their dramatic career to the year 1527 (Lucerne, Räder, 1927, pp. xiii, 432).

The Dial Press announces the publication of a *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* by J. W. Allen.

In the series Classics of International Law the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published through the American Branch of the Oxford University Press *De Officio Hominis et Civis juxta Legem Naturalem Libri Duo*, by Samuel von Pufendorf, in two volumes (New York, 1927). Vol. I. contains a photographic reproduction of the edition of 1682, with an introduction by Walther Schücking, vol. II. a translation of the text—the first into English—by F. G. Moore, a translation of Schücking's introduction, and an index.

The Naval War College has published through the Government Printing Office *International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes*. The first "situation" concerns the doctrine of continuous voyages and is illustrated with materials from 1674 to 1920.

James Fenimore Cooper's *Gleanings in Europe* provoked bitter criticism when first published and then was forgotten. The five volumes are not included in the sets of his "complete" works. Consequently the Oxford University Press has done a real service by publishing the first, *Gleanings in Europe (France)*, edited by R. E. Spiller (New York, 1928, pp. xxxiv, 395). In this Cooper, who went abroad in 1826, records his impressions and comments on the society and events of the day. There is a modicum of grist for a student of social history.

The volume by Heinrich Schrörs on *Die Kölner Wirren, 1837: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte*, a fateful episode in European history, has been praised as an important product of German historiography (Berlin, Dümmler, 1927, pp. xx, 634).

Count Egon Caesar Corti's continuation of the history of the great European banking house has been translated by Brian and Beatrix Lunn under the title *Reign of the House of Rothschild* (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation).

As is well known to every student of recent history, Benno von Siebert, former secretary of the Russian embassy in London, published in 1921 a collection of documents dealing with Entente policy during the five years before the war. This source of first importance has been reissued as *Graf Benckendorffs Diplomatischer Schriftwechsel*, since Benckendorff as Russian ambassador to Great Britain for many years either wrote or received most of the despatches. More than a hundred new documents have been added and the whole rearranged in chronological order (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1928, 3 vols., I. [1907-1910], pp. xv, 416; II. [1911-1912], pp. xvi, 564; III. [1913-1914], pp. xii, 335).

The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe, by Agnes Headlam-Morley, is a comparative study of post-war frames of government (Oxford University Press).

In the *Pragmatic Revolt in Politics: Syndicalism, Fascism, and the Constitutional State* (New York, Macmillan, 1928, pp. xvii, 540), W. Y. Elliott has produced a valuable and stimulating study. He is willing "to set all the problems of politics in their historical, their economic, and their cultural environments—instead of trying to work out a 'science of Politics' based on abstractions". His aim is "simply to run a thread of unity through the chief modern theories and experiments which are in revolt against political rationalism". His work can not be neglected with impunity by students of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Brandi, *Karl V.* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); Georg Buchwald, *Lutherana: Notizen aus Rechnungsbüchern des Thüringischen Staatsarchivs zu Weimar* (Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, XXV. 1-2); E. A. Beller, *Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627-1629* (English Historical Review, October); André Paul, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots et Wallons dans le Palatinat du Rhin* (Revue Historique, March-April); Paul Marmottan, *Lucchèsini, Ambassadeur de Prusse à Paris, 1800-1801*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 3); J. Dontenville, *Napoléon, les Alliés et la Paix, 1813-1814*, I., concl. (Nouvelle Revue, September 1, 15); Vittorio Adami, *Dell'Intervento Francese in Italia nel 1848* (Nuova Rivista Storica, March); Friedrich Ley, *Frankreich und die Deutsche Revolution, 1848-1849* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); Jean Luvlès, *Englands Stellung zur Rheinlandfrage während des 19. Jahrhunderts seit dem Wiener Kongress* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, VI. 6); *Unterredungen der Russischen Botschafter Saburow und Orlow mit Bismarck 1879* (Kriegsschuldfrage, September); Edmond Toutain, *Origines de l'Alliance Russe* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 4); Graf Max Montgelas, *Die Englische "Garantie" an Frankreich, April-Oktobre 1905*

(Kriegsschuldfrage, October); W. L. Langer, *Russia, the Straits Question, and the Origins of the Balkan League, 1908-1912* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Veracissimus, *I Documenti Diplomatici Inglesi e la Conferenza di Algeiras* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Émile Bourgeois, *Le Problème Anglo-Allemand en 1912; Impulsions Impériales; Hésitations Britanniques* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September).

WORLD WAR

The firm of Payot announces a description of *Les Deux Batailles de la Marne, 6-11 Septembre 1914, 15-18 Juillet 1918* by Marshals Joffre and Foch, the former German Crown Prince, and General Ludendorff (Paris, 1928, pp. 192).

Heinemann (London) announces the first volume of the *Official History of the Gallipoli Campaign*, covering the period from the outbreak of the war to the middle of May, 1915.

Vol. IV. of the *Official History of the Great War*, by Brig.-Gen. Sir James E. Edmonds, covers the second half of 1915 (London, Macmillan, 1928).

Vol. IV. of *Naval Operations*, by Sir Henry Newbolt, in the History of the Great War based on Official Documents, includes the period from June, 1916, to April, 1917 (London, Longmans).

The Murmansk Venture is a full account by Maj.-Gen. Sir C. Maynard, who was in command (Hodder and Stoughton, 1928).

Italian policy in the Balkans during the period of the recent wars is set forth with authority by Alexandre de Bosdari, former minister to Bulgaria and to Greece, in a volume entitled *Delle Guerre Balcaniche, della Grande Guerra, e di Alcuni Fatti Precedenti ad esse* (Milan, Mondadori, 1928).

Among recent publications in the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War* in the French series is *Salaires et Tarifs; Conventions Collectives et Grèves; la Politique du Ministère de l'Armement et du Ministère du Travail* by William Oualid and Charles Picquenard (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1928, pp. xii, 560).

Reimar of Berlin is the publisher of Alfred von Wegerer's *Die Widerlegung der Versailler Kriegsschuldthese*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Emil Daniels, *Zur Entstehung des Weltkriegs* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); Viceadmiral Alexander Meurer, "Holland in Not" *im 17. Jahrhundert und Deutschlands Lage zu Beginn des Weltkrieges; ein Geschichtlicher Vergleich* (ibid., October); *Bulgarischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch 1914* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); M. E. Durham, *Fresh Light on Serbia and the War* (Contemporary Review, September); *Die Amerikanischen Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch und zu den Ersten Vermittlungsvor-*

schlägen, concl. (Kriegsschuldfrage, September); *Bethmanns Kriegspläne* (Der Krieg, October); *Bethmann und Moltke* (*ibid.*, November); Henry O. Swindler, *The So-Called Lost Battalion* (American Mercury, November); Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, *Military Lessons of the Great War* (Foreign Affairs, October); Alfred von Wegerer, *Die Verfasser des "Rapport" zur Kriegsschuldfrage* (Kriegsschuldfrage, September).

GREAT BRITAIN

The Historical Association of Great Britain has published (London, Bell, 1928) the annual *Bulletin of Historical Literature* no. 17 (for 1927), a pamphlet of 72 pages. As usual, it lists under the appropriate headings both books and articles, frequently with brief but excellent comment.

As a reference volume to accompany a course in English literature can be recommended *What to Read in English Literature*, by J. R. Crawford (New York, Putnam, 1928, pp. xxi, 388). For each period, subject, or author there is a brief statement and a well-selected bibliography. Some chroniclers and historians are included, generally with satisfactory comment. The use of this book will increase the interest and value of the course in history.

Scholars who are cognizant of the value of the Pipe Rolls will be glad to learn that the Pipe Roll Society has under consideration the reproduction of the back-volumes that are out of print. The Society has hit upon a method by which the volumes can be reproduced at about half what it would cost to reprint them. Before undertaking the work the secretary wishes to learn how large an edition will be needed. Further information may be had from A. E. Stamp, Esq., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2, or Professor F. M. Stenton, Whitley Park Farm, Reading, England.

In the *English Historical Review* for October there is a critical estimate of J. H. Round by Professor Tait, and a cordial appreciation of H. W. C. Davis by Professor Powicke.

The *Mariner's Mirror* for October commemorates the bicentenary of the birth of Captain Cook by publishing some hitherto unpublished accounts of his death, and Bligh's notes on Cook's last voyage, as well as a portrait and other pictures connected with this voyage. The other articles are R. C. Anderson's the Royalists at Sea in 1649; L. G. C. Laughton's Gunnery, Frigates and the Line of Battle; and H. Harries's Nautical Time.

No. 3 completes the second volume of the *Cambridge Historical Journal*. L. F. Salzman writes on the Legal Status of Markets (in England, especially in the thirteenth century); Z. N. Brooke, on the Effect of Becket's Murder on Papal Authority in England, with an appendix showing that over one-half of Alexander III.'s decretals were addressed to England;

William Miller, on Recent Works on Greece, especially by the Greeks themselves. J. R. M. Russell contributes a short note on Lord John Russell's Despatch of Oct. 16, 1839, on the Tenure of Crown Offices in the Colonies; and D. L. Burn discusses Canada and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. In the Notes and Communications Ethel M. Hampson furnishes material for judging the effects of the Law of Settlement and Removal in Cambridgeshire, 1662-1834; E. R. Adair discusses the Law of Nations and the Common Law of England in a Study of 7 Anne Cap. 12; Harold Temperley publishes Lord Granville's Unpublished Memorandum on Foreign Policy, 1852. There is also a list of the subjects of the theses on which twenty-two Cambridge students are working.

Acton Griscom has prepared an edition of *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle*, which is published by Longmans.

R. B. Darlington has edited and the Royal Historical Society has published *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, "to which are added the extant abridgments of this work and the miracles and translation of St. Wulfstan". Here for the first time are printed the full text of the life and also of the miracles and translation. The introduction discusses the historical importance of the *Vita* and its bearing upon contemporary literature (London, 1928, pp. lii, 204).

English Ecclesiastical Studies: being Some Essays in Research in Medieval History is a collection of the studies by Rose Graham and is published by the S. P. C. K. (London).

To the April number of *Speculum* Elizabeth C. Wright contributed an article on "Common Law in Thirteenth-Century English Royal Forests". She has now, to fulfill the requirements for a thesis, reprinted the article and added an appendix of 46 pages containing material for this thesis which was omitted from the article (Philadelphia, 1928).

Thomas Stapleton's life of More was published at Douay in 1588 and has been used extensively by later writers, but is now translated into English, for the first time, by Father Philip E. Hallett under the title, *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* (London, Burns Oates).

The American Geographical Society announces the publication of *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, by G. B. Parks, with thirty-five half-tone reproductions and an introduction by J. A. Williamson.

The Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of Foreign Voyagers with other Matters relating thereto contained in the "Navigations", edited by Ernest Rhys, is the title of volumes IX. and X. of Hakluyt's Voyages (Dutton).

Five Deans, by Sidney Dark, is a study of five of the outstanding personalities in the Church of England, one from each of the last five centuries (Harcourt).

Witchcraft in Old and New England, by George Lyman Kittridge, is published by the Harvard University Press.

A Study of Elizabethan Ship Money, 1588-1603, by Ada H. Lewis (Philadelphia, 1928, pp. 116), is a doctoral dissertation which may be highly commended for its inclusiveness and excellence.

English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, by J. R. Tanner, is published in New York by the Macmillan Company.

Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1662-1679, edited by John Tanner, is to be published by Harcourt, Brace.

A Noble Rake, the Life of Charles, Fourth Lord Mohun, being a study in the historical background of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, by R. S. Forsythe, is of value to students of the period because it contains a large amount of unusual material. The notes and appendixes are almost if not quite as extensive as the text itself and correct many errors made by former writers. The biographical notes "deal exclusively with persons almost or wholly forgotten at present"; the whole is made readily accessible by an index of twenty-six pages (Harvard University Press, pp. xviii, 310).

For the *Trial of King Charles I.*, J. G. Muddiman drew largely from the newsletters and newsbooks of the day and consequently has new material to present (London, Hodge, 1928).

The Harvard University Press announces the publication on February 15 of a *Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell*, by W. C. Abbott.

A recent addition to the Seafarers' Library, published by Longmans, is a reprint of the famous *Cruising Voyage Round the World*, by Captain Woodes Rogers, with introduction and notes by G. E. Manwaring. This voyage lasted over three years, 1708-1711. At Juan Fernandez Alexander Selkirk was rescued and shipped as mate. The account in this book of Selkirk's adventures forms the basis for Robinson Crusoe.

In the Reprint series published by Heffer, Cambridge, England, no. 1 is *Parliamentary Logic*, by the Rt. Hon. William Gerard Hamilton [Single Speech Hamilton], with a ten-page introduction and notes by C. S. Kenny (1927, pp. xiv, 88). This book was first published in 1808 and was described as "the wickedest book in the English language". No. 2, *The Statesman*, is an ironical treatise on the art of succeeding, by Henry Taylor, Esq., with an excellent introduction of thirty pages by Harold J. Laski (1927, pp. xlv, 191). This treatise was published in 1832, but has attracted little attention. Both books are now reprinted for the first time in English, although *Parliamentary Logic* has been published twice in a German translation and once in French. Both works are well worth reading.

Volume VII. of James Greig's edition of the *Farington Diary* covering the period from June 10, 1811, to Dec. 18, 1814, is from the press of Doubleday, Doran (New York).

The Cambridge University Press has published the inaugural lecture of the summer meeting at Cambridge, England, delivered by Harold Temperley, who took as his subject "The Victorian Age in Politics, War, and Diplomacy".

The life of the wife of Lord Beaconsfield, *Mary Ann Disraeli*, by James Sykes, is published by Appleton.

Gladstone and Palmerston, being the correspondence of Lord Palmerston with Mr. Gladstone, 1851-1865, edited with an introduction and commentary, by Philip Guedalla, has been published by Gollancz (London).

Lord Reading, by C. J. C. Street, is an account of Reading's career as a lawyer, member of Parliament, and Viceroy of India (New York, Stokes).

Vol. III. of the *Life of Lord Curzon*, by the Rt. Hon. Earl of Ronaldshay, has been published by Benn (London).

Memoirs and Reflections, 1852-1927, by the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, supplements his *Fifty Years of Parliament*. The second volume is mainly concerned with the war and adds something to our knowledge of conditions in England (London, Cassell, 2 vols., 1928).

The Oxford University Press announces the publication of the *Collected Papers of Sir Paul Vinogradoff*, with a memoir by H. A. L. Fisher.

Lord Morley's *Memorandum on Resignation, July, 1914* (New York, Macmillan, pp. 39), published by his nephew, with an introduction by Mr. F. W. Hirst, is a powerful picture of the author's mental anguish at the prospect of England's entry into a European war on behalf of France (not of Belgium) as a consequence of past policy—a course which his conscience did not permit him to sanction by remaining in the Cabinet. His very careful record of the split in the Cabinet is all the more valuable since so little authentic material has been published showing how Sir Edward Grey's group managed eventually to swing a Cabinet, nearly equally divided at first, into approval of war, in spite of the resignation of two men of such influence as Mr. John Burns and Lord Morley. The complete Memorandum, without Mr. Hirst's introduction, was also published in *The New Republic* of October 10, 1928.

The first instalment of Lord Sandhurst's diary, *From Day to Day, 1914-1915*, has been published by Arnold (London).

Sir J. A. R. Marriott has written a very useful little book *How England is Governed* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 112). It is clear and interesting and has an adequate index. It is intended as an introduction to Marriott's *English Political Constitutions and Mechanism of the Modern State*, but can be read with profit without reference to the larger works.

To the *Bulletin* of the Board of Celtic Studies for May (vol. IV., pt. II.) E. A. Lewis contributed a transcript, from the *Rotulus* in the Public Record Office, of the Proceedings of the Small Hundred Court of the

Commote of Ardudwy in the County of Merioneth from Oct. 8, 1325, to Sept. 18, 1326 (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board).

Vol. III. of the *History of Durham*, in the Victoria History of the Counties of England, edited by William Page, has been published by the St. Catherine Press (London).

Articles in the March number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* are: Some New Documentary Evidence concerning the Foundation of Melbourne, edited by A. W. Greig; Early Days in South-Western Victoria, by Miss Grace Tyers; and the Aboriginal Protectorate of Port Philip, a report of an expedition to the aboriginal tribes of the western interior, March to August, 1841, by the Chief Protector, George Augustus Robinson, with an introduction by A. S. Kenyon.

In the Smith College Studies in History, volume XIII., nos. 1 to 3, October, 1927–April, 1928, is a very well-written account of *Captain Hobson and the New Zealand Company*, a study in colonial administration, by J. C. Beaglehole.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, William III., Jan. 1–Dec. 31, 1697 (1927); *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. XXI., pt. 2, June, 1586–March, 1587 (1927).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. L. Kingsford, *Beginnings of English Maritime Enterprise*, concl. (*History*, October); Ann Deeley, *Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century* (*English Historical Review*, October); Hugh Gunn, *Captain James Cook, R. N.: the Greatest of Navigators and Ocean Explorers* (*United Empire*, October); W. T. Laprade, *The Power of the English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October).

FRANCE

General reviews: Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (*Revue Historique*, March–April); H. Prentout, *Rapport sur le Mouvement Historique en Normandie* (*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, XXXVII.).

Professor Charles Guignebert's lectures which he delivered to American scholars at the Sorbonne in 1919 have been translated by F. G. Richmond and published by Macmillan, in two volumes, with the title *A Short History of the French People*.

Longmans has published an English translation by C. B. Chase of Louis Bertrand's *Louis XIV., the Sun King* (New York, 1928, pp. ix, 366). The distinguished novelist believed that previous writers had done abominable injustice to his hero, whom he himself regarded as "the great Frenchman of all times". His work reads like a romance instead of serious history, but Bertrand insisted upon its historical veracity and re-

proached previous historians for their biased and inaccurate accounts. For an historian's criticism of Bertrand see G. Pagès in *Revue Historique*, CLII, 66.

Vol. V. of Marcel Marion's notable *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* bears the subtitle *Les Gouvernements de Suffrage Restreint et les Gouvernements de Suffrage Universel à Tendances Conservatrices*, covering the years 1819-1875 (Paris, Rousseau, 1928, pp. 600).

Students of the distribution of land among the various classes of French society prior to the Revolution will find in the March-April number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne* a discriminating review by M. G. Lefebvre of the present state of researches. At the close he gives a statistical table compiled from the results of those who have investigated the situation in different regions. He finds that scholars have neglected too much the element of cultivation as distinguished from ownership. The fact that the *domaine proche* of the lords was actually farmed by peasants as renters explains why the idea of an agrarian revolution accompanied by expropriation of the larger holders of land had few partisans in Revolutionary France. A plan of this kind would dispossess too many humble renters. Of course, when the church lands were put on the market, peasants did not resist the temptation to buy, but there was no pronounced movement in favor of expropriation of the lords. Their lands were seized only if they emigrated.

One of France's great colonial soldiers, *Le Maréchal de Saint-Arnaud*, is to have a biography by Maurice Quatrelles l'Épine; vol. I. deals with his youth and the conquest of Algeria, 1798-1850 (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 504).

We are glad to be able to state that the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, which was compelled for financial reasons to suspend publication in December, 1926, is to continue its work. With the January, 1929, issue it becomes a monthly instead of as formerly a bi-monthly publication. Each issue will contain sixty-four pages. The annual subscription (124 francs for the United States) may be sent to M. Édouard Driault, 3, Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles.

There is always interest in a new book by Louis Madelin, whose latest publication is *Les Hommes de la Révolution* (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 324).

The *Hand Book of Napoleon Bonaparte*, by I. L. Sjöström, contains a chronological list of the principal events in his career, five descriptions of his personal appearance by actual observers, about four hundred notes on persons, places, and events connected with his career, and a map to illustrate his activities (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1928, pp. 145).

The church's attitude is voiced by the Abbé G. Constant in his history of *L'Église de France sous le Consulat et l'Empire, 1800-1814* (Paris, Gabalda, 1928, pp. xxix, 396).

For the collection *Figures du Passé*, Ferdinand Bac has written *La Princesse Mathilde, sa Vie et ses Amis* (Paris, Hachette, 1928). This Mathilde (1820-1904) was the daughter of Jerome Bonaparte. The larger portion of the book is concerned with her life at Paris, and her friends, who included Merimée, Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Flaubert, and other men of letters.

The Third Republic, by Raymond Recouly, has been translated by G. F. Buckley and is published by Heinemann (London). This work is a part of the *National History of France* of which Funck-Brentano is the editor. A large part of the volume is devoted to the foreign and colonial policy of the republic.

M. Raymond Poincaré continues his memoirs, *Au Service de la France* with vol. V., *L'Invasion* (Paris, Plon, 1928).

A regional study, doubtless affording materials for history of a larger sort, is Alfred Coville's *Recherches sur l'Histoire de Lyon du V^e Siècle au IX^e Siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1928, pp. 560).

The French Foreign and Colonial Policies since the War, by Parker T. Moon, will be included in the Columbia University series of Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France, which will also contain William F. Ogburn's *Development of French Industry, 1918-1928*; Lindsay Rogers's *French Government and its Functioning since the War*; and Robert M. Haig's *History of French Public Finance since the War*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lucien Febvre, *L'École Géographique Française et son Effort de Synthèse* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XLV.); J. Calmette, *Louis XI.* (*Journal des Savants*, July); S. Solente, *Les Manuscrits des Dupuy à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, July-December, 1927); Maximin Deloche, *Les Vraies Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); J. J. Jusserand, *Le Maréchal d'Estrades et ses Critiques* (*Revue Historique*, July); G. Charvin, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint Maur* [composée par Dom Martene] (*Archives de la France Monastique*, XXXI.); Maurice Besson, *La Police des Noirs sous Louis XVI. en France* (*Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, July); Albert Mathiez, *La Constitution de 1793* (*Revue de Paris*, July 15); G. Lenôtre, *Georges Cadoudal*, I.-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1-November 1); Albert Mathiez, *Le Premier Comité de Salut Public et la Guerre* (*Revue Historique*, July); Jean Lhéritier, *Robespierre ou le "Saint" de la Démocratie* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); Caulaincourt, *Mémoires: en Traineau avec l'Empereur [1812] I.—concl.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 15, August 15, September 1, 15); Édouard Driault, *Napoléon et les Juifs* [review] (*Revue Historique*, July); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Histoire d'un Historien; Amédée Thierry*, I., II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 15, November 1); Comtesse des Garets, *La Mort du Prince Impérial* (*Revue de Paris*, October 15); Robert Dreyfus, *M. Thiers et la Révolution du 4 Septembre* (*ibid.*, Sep-

tember 1); Gabriel Hanotaux, *L'Oeuvre Coloniale de la Troisième République* (*ibid.*, August 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The Società Ligure di Storia Patria has published two new volumes, LV. and LVI. of the *Atti* of the society. Volume LV., entitled *La Moneta Genovese in Confronto con le Altre Valute Mediterranee nei Secoli XII. e XIII.*, is by Pier Francesco Casaretto, who died before the completion of the work, which has been completed with copious and valuable comment by Francesco Poggi, the secretary of the society. Volume LVI., entitled *Iscrizioni Genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli*, contains two studies: *Inscriptions Latines des Colonies Génoises en Crimée (Théodosie, Soudak, Balaklava)* by Elena Skrzinska of Leningrad, who began her studies in this field with Professor A. A. Vasiliev, now of the University of Wisconsin, and *Le Lapidî Genovesi delle Mura di Galata* by Ettore Rossi; both illustrated with many cuts, preceded by an introduction by Luigi Volpicella, director of the Genoese archives; these studies are of archaeological importance and of great interest to students of the history of Genoese colonial activity in the Black Sea region.

To the Landmarks of History series Ferdinand Schevill has contributed the *First Century of Italian Humanism* (New York, Crofts, 1928, pp. 88).

The third volume of the Cavour Papers, *Il Carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861*, has been published by Zanichelli (Bologna).

My Autobiography, by Benito Mussolini (New York, Scribner), has a foreword by Richard Washburn Child.

The Princeton University Press announces the publication of the *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III. of Aragon*, by Bernat Desclot, translated by F. L. Critchlow.

An *Histoire du Portugal* has been written by Théodoric Legrand on the same lines as Ballester's *Histoire de l'Espagne*, noticed in the last number of this journal. The book covers the period from the eleventh century to the founding of the republic in 1910; it contains an adequate bibliography, of especial value inasmuch as there has been hitherto no modern bibliography in this field (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 175).

The *Chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara*, edited by Edgar Prestage, contains an excellent translation of some of the best passages of each author. It is hard to explain why the vivid dramatic descriptions of Lopes were so long neglected, why no trustworthy edition of any part of his chronicle was published until 1915 (Watford, Voss and Michael, 1928).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Antonio Fradeletto, *Venezia Antica e Italia Moderna* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Annibale

Gabrielli, *Intorno a Cola di Rienzo: le Lettere e la "Vita"* (ibid., June 1); Baldo Peroni, *La Politica Scolastica dei Principi Riformatori in Italia* (Nuova Rivista Storica, May); Michele Scherillo, *Una Gran Dama del Rinascimento: Elisabetta Gonzaga Duchessa di Urbino* (Nuova Antologia, August 1); Louise Murat-Rasponi, *À la Cour du Roi Murat* (Revue de Paris, October 1); *La Fin du Royaume de Murat* (ibid., October 15); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie*, III.; *L'Oeuvre Militaire* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 4); Aldo Ferrari, *Fatti e Figure della Terza Italia: il Trasformismo, 1881-1892* (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-September); Paul Herre, *Giolitti* (Kriegsschuldfrage, August).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

In *Herrschergestalten des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Karl Hampe has brought together in popular form a number of studies, some of which have been previously published (Leipzig, Quelle, 1927, pp. 399).

The book on *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* by Ernst Kantorowicz (Berlin, Bondi, 1927, pp. 651) is pronounced a learned and very exhaustive monograph on the great Hohenstaufen.

Pt. I., vol. VI., of *Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, by Edmund E. Stengel, *Avignon und Rhens, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Kampfes um das Recht am Reich in der Ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* is announced to be in preparation. Pt. II. by K. Heldmann, *Das Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, was published in May, 1928 (Weimar, Böhlau).

The interesting relations between Hohenzollern and Hapsburg at the beginning of the eighteenth century are described by Dr. Arnold Berney in his *König Friedrich I. und das Haus Hapsburg, 1701-1707* (Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1928).

Hugh Quigley and R. T. Clark have brought out, through Dodd, Mead, a study of the adjustment and reorganization of Germany's political and economic situation since the Treaty of Versailles, entitled, *Republican Germany*.

Danzig, Polen und der Völkerbund (Berlin, Georg Stilke), by Hans Adolf Harder, is a scholarly and well-documented study of the vicissitudes of the German city of Danzig since 1919. Writing with the aid of the Hamburg Foreign Policy Institute and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the author shows how Danzig, nominally under the League of Nations and subject in some respects to Poland, has in reality been subjected to considerable Polish pressure.

"Orbis" of Prague has issued a valuable bibliographical aid: *Publikace o Československu v Cizích Jazycích* (Publications on Czecho-

slovakia in Foreign Languages). While the lists are gathered uncritically, yet the trivial is much outweighed by the serious and important (pp. 146).

Jaroslav Papoušek's *Czechoslovak Nation's Struggle for Independence* (Prague, "Orbis", 1928) gives briefly a study of the events of 1914-1918, supplementing in certain points the greater works of Beneš and Masaryk.

"Orbis" (Prague, 1928) has just published *The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Rise of the Czechoslovak State*, by Dr. Jan Opočenský, which is invaluable for a study of the details of this transition and an understanding of the foundations of Czechoslovakia.

A hitherto unpublished correspondence of the great Austrian chancellor is contained in *Metternich in Neuer Beleuchtung und sein Geheimer Briefwechsel mit dem Bayerischen Staatsminister Wrede*, by Victor Bibl (Vienna, Seidel, 1928, pp. 439).

Professor Joseph Redlich's *Biography of Francis Joseph of Austria* has been translated and was announced for publication by Macmillan before the end of 1928.

A comprehensive picture of life in a Medieval Swiss town is given by Paul Aeschbacher in an article of over 120 pages entitled "Die Stadt Nidau im Mittelalter" (*Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XXIX. 2); with the addition of a second part it will be published as a monograph under the title *Die Landvogtei Nidau*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Guido Manacorda, *Il Paganesimo degli Antichi Germani* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1); F. Blanke, *Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission, 1206-1274* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLVII. 1); L. Quidde, *Die Deutschen Reichstagsakten: Aeltere Reihe* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIX. 1); Arnold Berney, *Der Reichstag zu Regensburg, 1702-1704* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 3); Wilhelm Mommsen, *Zur Beurteilung der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVIII. 3); Hans von Dallwitz, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen*, I. (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, October); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, III., IV. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, June 1); Kurt Jagow, *Der Potsdamer Kronrat* (*Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, August); A. Soulangé-Bodin, *Mar de Bade, Dernier Chancelier de Guillaume II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1); Edgar A. Mowrer, *Germany after Ten Years* (*Harper's Magazine*, December); Gerhard Ritter, *Die Neue Ranke-Ausgabe* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIX. 1); Oskar von Wertheimer, *Der Schriftsteller Emil Ludwig* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, VI. 2-3); Gustav Peters, *Die Entstehung der Tschechoslowakei: Kritische Betrachtungen zu Beneš' "Der Weltkrieg und unsere Revolution"* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, July); F. Clément-Simon, *La Résurrection d'un Peuple: la Tchécoslovaquie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1); Eduard von Wertheimer, *Der Kampf um Metternich* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, June); E. Kittel, *Metternichs Politische Grundanschauungen* (*Historische Vier-*

teljahrschrift, XXIV. 3); *Baron Philipp von Neumann, Austrian Diplomatist, 1819-1850* (Century, August); Karl Schwarber, *Die Schweizerische Geschichtschreibung im 18. Jahrhundert und der Nationale Gedanke* (Basler Zeitschrift, XXVI.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Yale University Press has published in its series Economic and Social History of the World War, *The Netherlands and the World War: Studies in the War History of a Neutral*, vol. III., *The Effect of the War upon the Colonies*, by J. H. C. Alting, formerly member of the Council of Netherlands India, and W. de C. Buning, trade commissioner for the Netherlands East Indies. This volume is devoted mainly to the Netherlands East Indies, and, as the names of the authors suggest, is a valuable survey. To the relatively less important Netherlands West Indies only half a dozen pages are given.

The late Henri Vuilleumier, who for fifty-five years taught Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis at the University of Lausanne, concerned himself likewise with the history of his church. A substantial result of his labors is seen in the *Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le Régime Bernois*, vol. I., *L'Age de la Réforme* (Lausanne, Imprimerie de la Concorde, 1927, pp. xxvi, 781). Three more volumes will follow.

A. Laveille's life of Cardinal Mercier has been translated into English by Arthur Livingstone and published by the Century Company.

Noteworthy article in periodical: P. Geyl, *Einheit und Entzweiung in den Niederlanden* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Gunnar Höst, *Histoire de Norvège* (Revue Historique, July); bibliography of works on Norwegian history published in 1926 (*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1928, 28, 3); Karl Völker, *Zur Kirchengeschichte Polens* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 2).

The *Historisk Tidsskrift* is publishing as a supplement *Scandia, Tidskrift för Historisk Forskning*; the first number appeared in February, 1928, and contained among others an interesting article by Lauritz Weibull on "Stockholms Blodbad" (Oslo, Gyldendal, 1928).

A brilliant volume of *Mélanges*, containing twenty-nine studies in Danish history, covering all periods from ancient to modern, appears under the title *Festskrift til Kristian Erslev, den 28 Decbr. 1927, fra Danske Historikere* (Copenhagen, Hagerup, pp. 701).

La Politique Russe d'avant Guerre et la Fin de l'Empire des Tsars, 1904-1917, Mémoires du Baron M. de Taube, is important for its account of the relations between Germany and Russia, and for its character sketches of important persons, notably Sazonov and Izvolski. The author

had exceptional opportunities and claimed to be impartial, even in his discussion of the problem of war guilt (Paris, Leroux).

For those interested in Russian history and able to read the Russian language, a very valuable tool is afforded in the bibliography published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas, under the title *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Sowjet-Russland, 1917-1927* (Berlin, Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1928, pp. 192). Most of the several thousand titles are unknown outside of Russia; they are here given in Russian and in German.

La Campagne Polono-Russe de 1920 has been told from the Polish side by General L. Sikorski, former premier and chief of staff of the Polish army; the French translation is by Commandant Larcher (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 420).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Richard Lodge, *Treaty of Abo and the Swedish Succession* (English Historical Review, October); Jacques de Coussange, *Encore le Journal de Fersen* (Mercure de France, June 1); S. A. Pervushin, *Cyclical Fluctuations in Agriculture and Industry in Russia, 1869-1926* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, August); Sasonows Irrtum (Der Krieg, September); Boris Cederholm, *Dans les Prisons de l'U. R. S. S., 1924-1926*, I.-III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1, 15, November 1).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General reviews: Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque, 1925-1926* (Revue Historique, March-April); see also Miller (Cambridge Historical Journal, no. 3).

A thoughtful and able study has been made of *Krieg und Verwaltung in Serbien und Mazedonien, 1916-1918*, by Paul Kirch (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. 179).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Nationalist Crusade in Syria, by Elizabeth P. MacCallum (New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1928, pp. xiii, 299), is a "tentative account" of the rebellion in Syria, 1925-1927. It would be possible to indicate some points on which fuller information could have been given, which might have influenced the opinions of a reader; but this book is probably as accurate and impartial a statement as can be made with the material accessible at present.

The Columbia University Press announces among its forthcoming publications a work by Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*.

Turks and Afghans is the title of the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, published by the Cambridge University Press, and covers the period from the first invasions of the Moslems to the establishment of Babur at Delhi.

General Jullian is author of *Souvenirs de l'Expédition de Chine, 1900-1902* (Paris, Peyronnet, 1928).

Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary, Sun-Yat-Sen, giving an account of the Chinese Revolution and an analysis of the character of the Chinese people, has been published in Philadelphia by McKay.

China's Millions, by Anna L. Strong, is a history of the events in China in 1927 when the Nationalist party split into conservative and radical groups (New York, Howard-McCann).

In November Allen and Unwin published *Japan under Tai-sho-Tenno, 1912-1926*, by A. Morgan Young, long time editor of the *Japan Chronicle*.

Japan and the United States, 1853-1921, by Payson J. Treat (see *Review*, XXVIII. 336), has been revised and continued to 1928 (Stanford University Press, 1928, pp. ix, 307). Two chapters are added: the Washington Conference and After, and the Japanese in America; also three maps, which were especially prepared for Treat's *The Far East*, have been included. The author states, "in revising these pages seven years after they were written, I find that I need make few changes in the opinions then expressed". Japan by her acts has justified his favorable forecast.

Volume X. of the Yale Historical Publications and Edited Texts is the *Documents of Iriki*, edited by K. Asakawa.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Friedrich Rosen, *Die Entstehung des Afghanischen Staates* (Preussische Jahrbücher, May); Henri Valentino, *Le Voyage d'un Pèlerin Chinois dans l'Inde des Bouddhas* (Nouvelle Revue, June 1-November 1); Elias Hurwicz, *Das Problem der Mandschurei* (Europäische Gespräche, September).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November, 1928, vol. XXXII., no. 11, contains a list of references for the history of Egypt from the Muhammadan invasion to the present time, and includes over 800 titles of material in the Library.

In November Constable published *Arabia of the Wahhabis* in which H. St. J. Philby recounts the events of the last period of his mission to Ibn-Sa'oud in 1918.

Tournier (Tunis) and Vuibert (Paris) have issued *Annales Tripolitaines* by L.-Charles Féraud with an introduction by Augustin Bernard (1928).

André Lebon, author of several monographs on French colonial history, now offers an account of *La Pacification de Madagascar, 1896-1898*, with thirteen unpublished letters from General Gallieni to the Minister of the Colonies (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 308).

State and Federal Corrupt-Practices Legislation, by Earl R. Sikes (Duke University Press, 1928), is a valuable doctoral dissertation in which the author makes a survey of the legislation which has been enacted and of the construction placed on the statutes by judicial interpretation.

Bulletin No. 21 of the Carnegie Foundation, *The Present Day Law Schools in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1928), gives in the introduction a brief historical review of the requirements for legal training in the United States from colonial days to the present time.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has brought out a volume by John G. Hervey on the *Legal Effects of Recognition in the International Law as Interpreted by the Courts of the United States*.

Messrs. Kegan Paul (London) announce in the series History of Civilization the *American Indian Frontier*, by W. Christie Macleod, giving the history of the frontier from the Indian angle.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Joutel's *Journal Historique du Dernier Voyage de M. de la Salle* is published in an edition annotated by E. Netgé (Paris, Genet, 1928, 2 vols.).

A biography of Cotton Mather from the psychological point of view, by R. P. and L. S. Boas, has been published by Harper under the title, *Cotton Mather, Keeper of the Puritan Conscience*.

Forgotten Ladies, by Richardson L. Wright, contains the portraits of Deborah Sampson, Maria Monk, Sarah J. Hale, and others (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Robert W. Neeser, author of the *Statistical and Chronological History of the United States Navy* (see XIV. 831), and of the *Letters and Papers relating to the Cruises of Gustavus Conyngham* (see XXI. 156), was recently elected to the Académie de Marine, and chose for his initial communication "Les Croisières du Capitaine Conyngham". This interesting paper has now been published by the Académie, in vol. VII., pp. 327-357.

The Military Journal of George Ewing (1754-1824), a Soldier of Valley Forge, has been edited and privately published by Thomas Ewing (Yonkers, N. Y., 1928, pp. 54). The editorial work on this interesting journal has been done with great care, and three maps have been added to illustrate the text.

The Making of the Constitution, by Charles Warren (Boston, Little, Brown), contains contemporary material relating to the making of our Constitution, together with the political history of each important clause.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has published a new edition of Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, with additions and revisions to 1928, by C. K. Bolton (Boston, 1928, pp. xviii, 586, 543). In the body of the

work there are few changes from the preceding edition (reviewed XXII. 677-679) except for a considerable number of corrections. The appendix is expanded to include the platforms and candidates of the various parties for 1920, 1924, and 1928.

The tenth edition of D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the United States* has been brought out by Longmans.

The American Whaleman, by E. P. Hohman, is a study of life and labor in the whaling industry, compiled from hitherto unused sources (Longmans).

Jefferson, Friend of France, by Meade Minnigerode, is announced by Putnam.

A history of American railroads from their beginnings down to the present development, by John W. Starr, jr., is published by Dodd under the title *One Hundred Years of American Railroadng*.

The larger part of vol. III. of *Studies and Records of the Norwegian-American Historical Association* (Northfield, Minn., 1928, pp. 133) is composed of interesting letters written between 1838 and 1864, setting forth the advantages and disadvantages of emigration to the United States. There are also three articles, one a plea for the preservation of church records, by J. M. Rohne, the second an account of the experiences of Ole S. Gjerset, who settled in Minnesota in 1871, by Knut Gjerset, and the last a survey of Icelandic communities in America, by Thorstina Jackson.

Frank A. Golder has written the story of 500 Mormons who enlisted in the army during the Mexican War, from material taken from the diary of Henry Standage, which the Century Company has published under the title the *March of the Mormon Battalion*.

A lecture delivered at Oxford last May by George Haven Putnam has been published by the Clarendon Press under the title *Abraham Lincoln, the Great Captain, Personal Reminiscences by a Veteran of the Civil War*.

A collection of despatches, written for the *Paris Temps* by Georges E. B. Clemenceau, has been edited by Fernand Baldensperger and translated by Margaret MacVeagh under the title *American Reconstruction, 1865-1870* (New York, Dial Press).

An Outline History of the Missouri Pacific, by John L. Kerr, is published in New York by the New York Railway Research Society.

The International Publishers announce the publication of a study of the *Molly Maguires*, by Anthony Birnba.

Paxson's *Recent History of the United States* (Boston, Houghton, 1928, pp. xi, 665, xvi) is both "a revised and enlarged edition" of the original work published in 1921 (reviewed XXVII. 594). Chapters are added for the period from the Civil War to 1877, and in the last chapters

additions have been inserted to bring the story down to 1928. The material is rearranged into fewer chapters, and in some cases a changed emphasis has been given. The bibliographies also have been brought up to date.

The Life of Isaiah V. Williamson, Philadelphia merchant and philanthropist, is by the late John Wanamaker (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Robert H. Fuller has written a life of James Fisk, jr., entitled *Jubilee Jim* (Macmillan).

Charles W. Eliot, Puritan Liberal, by Henry H. Saunderson, is an interpretation of the life of the late president of Harvard from its spiritual background (Harper).

The Chicago University Press announces, among its winter publications, the life of the first president of the university, *William Rainey Harper*, by Thomas W. Goodspeed.

McGraw-Hill Company announce the publication of a three-volume edition of Victor Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States*, previously published by the Carnegie Institution in two volumes (1916, 1927), both of which are now out of print. The new edition will contain one or two additional chapters on manufactures during the war.

William Allen White has published a series of character studies of the presidents of the United States from Harrison to Coolidge under the title *Masks in a Pageant* (Macmillan).

The Life of John W. Weeks, by Charles G. Washburn, published by Houghton Mifflin, has an introduction by Calvin Coolidge.

John A. Russell has brought out through the Stratford Press a biography of *Joseph Warren Fordney*, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and author of the Fordney tariff (Boston).

Long Lance is an interesting account of the life and customs of the Blackfeet Indians in the Far Northwest. The author, Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, relates the experiences of his boyhood when his tribe was still composed of "fighting Nomads", having their first contacts with the whites. No one could have been better fitted for the undertaking, and his book is a distinct contribution to our knowledge (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928, pp. 278).

Adolf Hasenclever's article on *Theodore Roosevelt und die Marokkokrisis von 1904-1906: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Beziehungen vor dem Weltkrieg*, which appeared in the *Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, 1928, heft 2/3, has been reprinted in a manuscript of 62 pages.

A second edition of a *Brief History of Relations between United States and Nicaragua, 1909-1928*, was published by the State Department in September, and may be procured from the superintendent of documents, Washington, for 15 cents.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

With the October number the *New England Quarterly* completes its first volume. It has been successful in obtaining interesting and valuable articles and excellent reviewers. It has made a place for itself, and with each issue the desirability of such a journal is demonstrated anew. The articles in the October number are: Cullen Bryant at Williams College, by Tremaine McDowell; Puritan Names, by D. K. Dodge; pt. II. of Joel Shepard Goes to the War, edited by J. A. Spear; Michael Wigglesworth, a Puritan Artist, by F. O. Matthiessen; Some Account of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, by R. W. Hale; Phippius Maximus [Sir William Phips], by V. F. Barnes; a Blue Bluejacket's Letters Home, 1863-1864, edited by A. M. Schlesinger. This number also contains a bibliography of articles on the history of New England in periodical publications, November, 1927-July, 1928.

The Marine Research Society has brought out *The Sailing Ships of New England*, series three, by George Francis Dow.

The October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by William A. Pew on the Worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Governor of Massachusetts. Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates, by Gardner W. Allen, and Marblehead's Foreign Commerce, 1789-1850, by the late Francis B. C. Bradlee, are continued. A letter of interest is from John Gardiner to Capt. Richard Derby of Salem, dated at the Inner Temple, March 19, 1762, and pertaining in part to some admiralty cases, involving New England vessels, which had just come before the Lords of Appeal.

The May-June serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a valuable article by Professor A. L. Cross on Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law, and one by Dr. Worthington C. Ford on Forged Lincoln Letters. That for October-December has papers by Colonel Charles E. Banks on Scotch Prisoners Deported to England by Cromwell, and on William Bradford and the Pilgrim Quarter in London, the latter partly controversial, with a paper by Professor Samuel E. Morison entitled, Did William Bradford Leave Leyden before the Pilgrims? Mr. Ford adds an interesting note on Washington's Map of the Ohio.

The Henry E. Huntington Library has entered into a coöperative arrangement with the Harvard University Press for the printing of a series of Huntington Library Publications. The first of these will be a reprint of the *Massachusetts General Lawes and Libertyes of 1648*, the unique copy of which is in the Huntington Collection.

Mr. Howard W. Preston has in the October number of the Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections* an article on Rhode Island and the Loyalists. There is also a note on the Relative Importance of Coddington and Clarke from 1637 to 1648.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has in the July number a paper by Peter H. Bryce, M.D., on Sir John Johnson, Baronet (1743-1830), treating in particular Johnson's career as superintendent-general of Indian affairs. Apropos of the sesquicentennial of the battle of Monmouth, which was celebrated at Freehold, New Jersey, June 28, the *Quarterly* prints two articles pertaining to the battle: one, an account of the battle by Dr. Albert Van der Veer as related to him by his grandmother, who was a witness of the contest; the other, a description of Emanuel Leutze's painting, the Battle of Monmouth, written by an unknown author many years ago.

The New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* of October contains a paper by Alexander J. Wall on the Administration of Governor Horatio Seymour during the War of the Rebellion and the Draft Riots in New York City, July 13-17, 1863, with Events leading up to them.

The contents of the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* include an extensive genealogical record, "Jan of Rotterdam" and his Descendants, compiled by Howard S. F. Randolph; the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church Records, contributed, with annotations, by William B. Cook, jr.; the concluding instalment of Mr. Randolph's contribution, the House of Truax; and several continuations.

Aside from continuations two papers principally occupy the pages of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October. They are: Pennsylvania Literature of the Colonial Period, by Nancy H. McCreary, and the English Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania, by Wayland F. Dunaway. There is also a list of Schoolmasters of Colonial Philadelphia, compiled by Robert F. Seybolt. The Hon. William R. Riddell's study, Libel on the Assembly: a Prerevolutionary Episode, is concluded.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains an article by Hon. Albert W. Johnson on the character of George Washington, one by Walter R. Fee on Colonel George Morgan at Fort Pitt, and a further instalment of Percy B. Caley's account of the Life and Adventures of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Duke University Press announces among its future publications the *Southern Frontier*, by Verner W. Crane.

The pages of the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are largely occupied with the Index to Chancery Depositions, 1668-1789 (continued from the June number), by William F. Cregar and Dr. Christopher Johnston. Some Records of Dorchester County are contributed by Louis D. Scisco. In a group of Unpublished Letters are three from Leigh Master, who, in August, 1782, had sailed from New York for New Providence and had been taken by a North Carolina

privateer and landed in South Carolina. The letters are written from Camden in January and February, 1782, to Governor Thomas Sim Lee. In the same group is a letter from two British prisoners of war in Frederick, March 15, 1782; also a petition, May 6, 1782, from Thomas Robertson, a physician.

The Catholic University has published *Political Nativism in Maryland, 1830-1860*, by Sister Mary P. McConville.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C., vol. 29-30, edited by John B. Larner (Washington, 1928), contains the following articles: Colonel William Winston Seaton and his Mayoralty, and Dr. John Frederick May, both by A. C. Clark; Founding of the Old Georgetown Market, and Recollections of our Neighbors in the First Ward in the Early 'Sixties, both by A. K. Parris; Duelling in the District of Columbia, by Myra K. Spaulding; Early Baptists in Washington, D. C., by Lucille W. Wilkinson; the Seaton Mansion, by H. E. Davis; America's Part in the Supreme War Council during the World War, by Lt.-Col. U. S. Grant, 3d; Some Reminiscences of Mrs. John M. Binckley of Early Days in Washington; and a description of the valuable Washingtoniana Collection of the Society, by Katharine K. Patten.

The *Report* of the State Library Board of Virginia has for its chief content the report of the State Librarian for the period July 1, 1927, to June 30, 1928. The librarian, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, makes a general survey of the work done in the library and in its behalf, including the effort to make the library building fireproof, notes the publications of the library (already mentioned in previous issues of this journal), and points out the most notable accessions. Among those of general interest may be mentioned the letter-book of the office of exchange of prisoners, War Department, Confederate States of America, many of the letters in which had not been printed. Especially noteworthy have been the accessions by means of photostats, including numerous parish registers, etc., running back into the seventeenth century, and including also records of Baptists, Friends, and Presbyterians. Many old county records have been acquired in a similar way.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has in the October number an article by Louis K. Koontz of the University of California entitled Washington on the Frontier, emphasizing Washington's recognition of the importance of securing and safeguarding the region between the Potomac and the Lakes for the future development of the English in America. An article on Robert Beverley, the Historian of Virginia, is presumably by Mr. Fairfax Harrison. The other principal contents are continuations hitherto mentioned.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints as the principal content of the October number a body of notes, prepared by Mr. E. G. Swem, librarian, on the four forms of the oldest building of

William and Mary College. The notes are accompanied by a number of drawings and illustrations. Through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., the main building of the college, the foundation of which was laid in August, 1695, is to be rebuilt, and the design of the notes is primarily to afford architectural information concerning that building and the three which have succeeded it.

In the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Dr. Lyon G. Tyler has an article entitled Tyler versus Lincoln, which, in a compressed form, appeared in the periodical *Time*, June 4, 1928. Fact and Fiction in Virginia History is an article from the pen of Dr. John W. Wayland and points out errors, some amusing, some shocking, committed by writers of repute as well as by those of no repute.

The Story of Virginia's First Century, by Mary M. P. Stanard, is from the press of Lippincott.

In the October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Miss Grace King, writing concerning the Preservation of Louisiana History, emphasizes in particular the work in behalf of Louisiana history done by Martin, Gayarré, William Preston Johnston, and Henry P. Dart, with some account of the Louisiana Historical Society and the State Museum. In the same issue G. G. Johnson describes life in the Ante-Bellum Town in North Carolina, and Marguerite B. Hamer writes of Thomas Hughes and his American Rugby. Under the title Twelve North Carolina Counties, 1810-1811, is the first instalment of a group of sketches by various hands of certain counties scattered over the state, which, at the instance of the *Raleigh Star*, were prepared for publication at the time, but have lain nevertheless in manuscript until the present time. Mr. A. R. Newsome writes an introduction for the sketches. Among the Historical Notes are an article entitled Vices of Virginia and Maryland becoming Prevalent in North Carolina, reprinted from the *North Carolina Journal* of May 2, 1796, and a letter from Mrs. Martha Ellen Miller, written from Kinston, December 18, 1862, to her brother John Jameson of Boston. The letter, which is of especial interest for its description of the battle of Kinston, was originally printed in a Boston newspaper.

The *Twelfth Biennial Report* (Dec. 1, 1926, to June 30, 1928) of the North Carolina Historical Commission (*Publications* of the Commission, Bulletin no. 34) is largely occupied with an account of accessions. These include some personal papers of value, some papers of the Civil War and Reconstruction (for instance, some 2000 photostatic copies of applications for pardon, 1865), a large collection of papers of John D. Whitford, relating to the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, 1854-1889, sundry newspapers, maps (photostatic copies), transcripts of English and Spanish records, etc. Particularly noteworthy is the continued flow of eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century county records into the custody of the commission, as also the transfer of large bodies of legislative papers. The commission reports as in press the *North Carolina*

Manual, 1929, compiled and edited by A. R. Newsome; *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, with introduction and notes by William K. Boyd; and the *Diary of Randolph G. Shotwell*, vol. I., edited by J. G. DeR. Hamilton. In preparation are the second volume of the *Shotwell Diary*, the fourth volume of Miss Adelaide L. Fries's *Records of the Moravians*, and a documentary collection on public education in North Carolina since 1840, by M. C. S. Noble.

The *James Sprunt Historical Studies*, vol. XX., no. 2, contains the James A. Graham Papers, 1861-1884 (pp. 324), edited by H. M. Wagstaff, Ph.D. These papers consist of two distinct groups: first, letters from James A. Graham to his parents, written from camp, 1861-1865, with a few letters from his father, William A. Graham, and a few others from and to James A. Graham of a later date; and, secondly, a "Descriptive Book of the Orange Guards" (Company G, 27th Regiment of North Carolina Infantry), of which James A. Graham was the author. The latter is of particular value, as it is the fullest existing record of any military unit of North Carolina. The letters, covering as they do the whole period of the war, are an unusually valuable as well as interesting body of war correspondence.

The contents of the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are all continuations, namely: Mr. Henry A. M. Smith's studies of the Goose Creek settlements; the Laurens and the Garth correspondence, both edited by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell; Inscriptions from the Circular Congregational Churchyard in Charleston, contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber; and Marriage and Death Notices from the *Charleston Courier*, 1806, contributed by Jeannie H. Register.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Edward Langworthy in the Continental Congress, by Edmund C. Burnett, one on the Steamboat Period in Georgia, by John H. Goff, and part II. of the *Reminiscences of Charles Seton Henry Hardee*, edited by Martha G. Waring.

The April number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* contains an account, by John S. Kendall, of George Wilkins Kendall and the Founding of the New Orleans *Picayune*, a Boy's Recollections of the War between the States, by W. O. Hart, and several documentary publications. Among the latter are some declarations pertaining to the wreck of *La Superbe* in the Gulf of Mexico in May, 1745, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; O'Reilly's Ordinance of 1770 concerning Grants of Land, etc. (reprint of translation by Gustavus Schmidt, in *Louisiana Law Journal*, August, 1841); Petition of the Widow Chenal, 1773 (pertaining to the killing of cattle strayed from the petitioner's dairy farm), translated by Laura L. Porteous; some documents pertaining to public education in New Orleans in 1800, translated by Laura L. Porteous, with an introduction by Mr. Dart; and further

instalments of the documents concerning Bienville's lands, of the Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, and of the index to the Spanish Judicial Records.

WESTERN STATES

In the September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* George R. Poage reviews the College Career of William Jennings Bryan, James B. Hedges writes concerning the Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads, Thomas P. Martin has a study of the Upper Mississippi Valley in Anglo-American Anti-Slavery and Free Trade Relations, 1837-1842, and Beverley W. Bond, jr., using the title an American Experiment in Colonial Government, examines certain aspects of the Ordinance of 1787 and the beginnings of government under it. To the section of Documents Arthur P. Whitaker contributes two letters, with an extended introduction to them, relating to Harry Innes and the Spanish Intrigue, 1794-1795. One letter is from Innes to Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, February 14, 1794, the other from Carondelet to James Wilkinson, July 16, 1795. An account of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in April is given by Arthur H. Hirsch. In the December number Dr. Solon J. Buck has a warmly appreciative sketch of Clarence Walworth Alvord, Historian. Other articles are: Saint Tammany in Ohio: a Study in Frontier Politics, by William T. Utter; a Revaluation of the Period before the Civil War: Railroads, by R. R. Russel; the Sub-Treasury: a Forgotten Plan for the Relief of Agriculture, by John D. Hicks; and Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency of the Upper Platte and Arkansas, by LeRoy R. Hafen. There is also a note by William Allen Pusey on the Location of Martin's Station, Virginia.

Mr. John A. Coffin has in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* the first part of an enlightening study of the Senatorial Career of Albert J. Beveridge, with a sketch of his life prior to his election to the Senate; and Mrs. Fanny Frazee Hamilton writes an interesting sketch of her father, Ephraim Samuel Frazee (1824-1896), minister and man of affairs. In the section of Documents is a group of letters, "written by Democrats who were loyal to Stephen A. Douglas in the period of his contest with President Buchanan", addressed to John G. Davis, sometime member of Congress from Indiana. It is submitted, with all due respect and becoming humility, that this number of the *Magazine*, particularly the Beveridge article, carries more than its permissible quota of typographical errors.

Recollections of the Civil War, by Colonel Oran Perry, has been published as vol. V., extra no. 3, of the *Indiana History Bulletin* (July, 1928). The September number of the *Bulletin* contains a reprint (from *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I. 133-135) of James Wilkinson's report of the battle of Ode Towne, near Logansport (1791). The October number has an account of the midyear tour and meeting of the Indiana Historical Society.

The *Indiana University Studies*, vol. XV., no. 79 (June, 1928), is a monographic study (pp. 138) of the *Geography of American Notables*, by Stephen Sargent Visser, Ph.D., of Indiana University, and is described on the title-page as "a statistical study of birthplaces, training, distribution: an effort to evaluate various environmental factors". Two groups of individuals constitute the principal basis of this study, those included in *American Men of Science* and *Who's Who in America*. In the forefront of the author's mind are two questions: "Where do our leaders come from?" and "What conditions are conducive to their development?" and he offers this geographical study as a help toward answering those questions. States are compared as birthplaces of the people studied, and also in respect of various conditions "sometimes considered as having an important bearing on the production of notables"; the relative sizes of the birthplaces of eminent people, their education and distribution, the occupations of their fathers—these are some of the phases studied. Some particular studies are devoted to the notables of Indiana. The author's conclusions, which can not even be summarized here, are set down as "tentative".

The Indiana Library and Historical Department has published a *Bibliography of the Laws of Indiana, 1788-1927, beginning with the Northwest Territory* (Indianapolis, 1928).

The Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, vol. VIII., no. 6, is a monograph by Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan on *The Northern Boundary of Indiana*. No. 7 of the same volume is a study, by Daniel W. Snapp, of *Evansville's Channels of Trade and the Secession Movement, 1850-1865*. Prior to the Civil War Evansville had built up a thriving trade with the South, mainly river traffic, trade connections which were severed by the outbreak of the war, although later restored by the victories of the Union armies. Meanwhile there were efforts to build up trade connections to the north and east by means of the Wabash and Erie canal (utterly disappointing in its results) and railroads. On the political side the author takes pains to point out that, while Evansville, as other parts of southern Indiana, had many Southern sympathizers, the region was upon the whole loyal to the state and to the Union.

Among the articles in the July number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society are: the Journal of a Pioneer Missionary, the Rev. Lemuel Foster, edited by Matthew Spinka, Ph.D.; President Lincoln's War Problem, by Brig.-Gen. John M. Palmer (reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1927); some remarks by Earl W. Wiley on the Discovery of Record of Lincoln's Chicago Speech of October 27, 1854, together with the newspaper report of the speech; an undelivered Fourth of July Oration of James R. Doolittle (prepared for delivery at the World's Fair, Chicago, July 4, 1893), contributed by Duane Mowry; accounts, by Paul B. Corr, of Northwest Territory celebrations; and other articles of local interest.

A particularly noteworthy article in the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* is New Light on Old Cahokia, by Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. The Death of Father Jacques Marquette is a translation, by Leonard J. Fencil, S.J., of St. Louis University, of the account, in Latin by an unknown hand, of Father Marquette's death, first published by Rochemonteix in the third volume of his *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII^e Siècle*.

A *Centennial History of Illinois College*, by President Charles A. Rammelkamp, has been published by the Yale University Press.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society has in the September number an article by Rexford Newcomb on Gideon Shryock, Pioneer Greek Revivalist of the Middle West. Shryock was the designer of the capitol building at Frankfort and many other notable examples of Greek architecture. This number of the *Register* contains the concluding instalment of the McAfee Papers; Montgomery County tax lists, marriage and death records; an article on the Blue Licks Monument and its dedication (August 19, 1928); etc.

Among the contents of the October number of *The History Quarterly* are: an article by L. J. Kinkead, entitled How the Parents of George Rogers Clark came to Kentucky in 1784-1785; some genealogical notes, by George M. Alves, concerning the Alves family, descendants of that James Hogg (the name of his sons was changed to Alves) who was an associate of Richard Henderson; some accounts of the recent celebrations of Blue Licks and Harrodsburg anniversaries; and a letter from George Washington to Charles Morgan of Kentucky, January 17, 1795, concerning Washington's Kentucky land holdings. The printed text of the Washington letter has "Washington City" for Washington C[oun]ty.

Dr. Samuel C. Williams, author of *The Lost State of Franklin* and editor of the reprint of the *Memoirs of Henry Timberlake*, has now edited a volume of the *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800*, which the Watauga Press of Johnson City, Tenn., has published.

In the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for January, 1926 ("issued October, 1928"), Judge Robert Ewing, continuing his studies of General Robert E. Lee, discourses upon General Lee's Inspiration to the Industrial Rehabilitation of the South, exemplified in the Development of Southern Iron Interests. Under the title James Buchanan, the Court, and the Dred Scott Case, Dr. Philip Auchampaugh discusses in particular Buchanan's desire that the decision in the case antedate his inaugural, and introduces some correspondence on the subject between Buchanan and two of the judges. An article of particular local interest is William Cobb, Host of Governor William Blount, by Rev. P. L. Cobb.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published a valuable study by Sister Mary Rosalita on *Education in Detroit Prior to 1850* (Lansing, 1928, pp. 364), in which she discusses the origin of the early schools,

parochial, private, semi-public, and public. Her researches during several years have unearthed a mass of facts which she has woven together skillfully. There are numerous illustrations, including a reproduction of the Act of 1817 establishing a catholepistemiad, composed of thirteen didaxiim or professorships, of which the didaxia of catholepistemia, universal science, was to be president.

The *Michigan History Magazine*, "Autumn Number", contains the first instalment of a study by William A. Spill, entitled *University of Michigan: Beginnings*; an article by William L. Jenks on the Earl of Selkirk in Michigan Courts; one by John G. Van Deusen on the Court Martial of General William Hull; and one by Fred Dustin on Some Indian Place-Names around Saginaw.

The Detroit Historical Society has undertaken the organization of a museum of material illustrative of the history of Detroit and its vicinity, supplementing the work of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. Contributions are invited.

The item in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for September is a biography of Robert Rogers (1731-1793), by M. M. Quaife. That in the issue for November is an account by Mr. Quaife of "The Iron Ship", a small side-wheel steamer now riding in the harbor of Erie, which was constructed in pursuance of the fortification act of 1841, built in sections at Pittsburgh in 1842-1844, transported overland to Erie, assembled and launched in 1844. This was the *Michigan*, and "to the obsolete hulk of the ancient 'Iron Ship' clings a wealth of historic associations".

In the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Thomas P. Christensen has an article on Danish Settlement in Wisconsin, Mrs. W. F. Pett writes concerning a Forgotten Village (La Pointe), and the editor, Dr. Schafer, tells the story of his Trailing a Trail Artist of 1849. The quest, which began with the discovery of a group of drawings sketched in 1849 on the California trail between Fort Leavenworth and Soda Springs, was in pursuit of the identity of the artist.

The September number of *Minnesota History* contains an address by William Anderson, entitled *Local Government and Local History*; a paper by John D. Hicks on the Birth of the Populist Party (an event, let it be said, accompanied by the clamor of the nurses and the wrangling of the midwives); a survey, by Mary E. Wheelhouse, of the Unpublished Sources for the History of Central Minnesota; an account of the State Historical Convention at Brainerd (June 13-14); and an account of a journey by steamboat up the Mississippi from La Crosse to St. Paul, from a letter of George T. Borrett, an English traveller, written in September, 1864. The latter is reprinted from *Letters from Canada and the United States* (London, 1865).

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently acquired several large lots of transcripts and photostats of material relating to the early history

of the state and the Northwest. These include selections from the American Fur Company papers through 1842 and from the papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions through 1844. Other notable accessions include transcripts of diaries, 1854-1862, of Mitchell Y. Jackson, a pioneer farmer in the state, papers of Harvey H. Johnson, pioneer railroad promoter of southern Minnesota, and papers of Robert P. Lewis, St. Paul real estate dealer and pension agent. The society has just published the first volume of a two-volume work entitled *Minnesota in the War with Germany*, by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel; it is expected that the second volume will appear in 1929.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an article by Charles Roll on Political Trends in Iowa History, and the first instalment of a paper by John M. Pfiffner on the City Manager Plan in Iowa.

To the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* David C. Mott contributes, with suitable introduction, portions of Audubon's diary of his journey up the Missouri River in 1843, to which is given the title John J. Audubon and his Visit to Iowa; J. L. E. Peck, a sketch of George Worth Schee (1847-1926), noted for his efforts to place flags on school houses in Iowa; and C. C. Stiles, a further analysis of Iowa Public Archives.

In the September number of the *Palimpsest* is found an account of the visit of a party of Indians to Boston in 1837, with the speech of Governor Everett, who received them, and the responses of the principal chiefs and warriors. In the October number an article by J. A. Swisher, entitled a Convention Stampeded, gives some account of the Republican state convention at Des Moines in 1875. In the November number Pauline Graham tells the story of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, followed by Owen Brown's account of the escape of himself and companions, and Thomas Teakle recounts the foiling of efforts at rendition in the case of Barclay Coppoc.

A conference on the history of the Trans-Mississippi West will be held at the University of Colorado, June 18 to 21. In the mornings there will be various round-table discussions; in the evenings groups of formal papers will be presented. The attendance of a number of the leading scholars in the field has already been assured. A fuller announcement of this important gathering will be given in the April number.

The October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a Diary of a Journey from Missouri to California in 1849, kept by Bennett C. Clark, one of a party of twenty-four young men who journeyed to the land of gold in search of sudden wealth. Actually the diary comes to an end when the party had reached the western boundary of the present Nevada. It is edited by Ralph P. Bieber. In an article entitled When a Missourian Forced a Special Session of Congress Walter B. Stevens

recounts an incident related by David R. Francis, culminating in the refusal of President Cleveland, at the very moment when President-elect McKinley entered the White House, to sign the sundry civil appropriation bill. The Development of Missouri's State Administrative Organization is described by Isidor Loeb. There are two groups of letters in this number of the *Review*, one of them being some letters of Joseph Shriver, a young civil engineer engaged in surveying the National Road from Indianapolis to Jefferson City (1828-1829), the other a group of war-time letters (1861-1864), written by Mrs. Margaret J. Hays, wife of Col. Upton Hays, to her mother. Among the Historical Notes is a letter from Thomas H. Benton, May 1, 1840, addressed to a committee in Indianapolis.

The Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, October issue, has an article on Flanders Callaway, a Frontier Type, by Charles W. Bryan, jr.; some Advertisements in the *Missouri Gazette*, 1808-1811, selected by Isaac H. Lionberger; "A Walk in the Streets of St. Louis in 1845", taken from the *St. Louis Business Directory* for 1847; and the Diary of James Kennerly, 1823-1826, edited, with an introduction, by Edgar B. Wesley. Kennerly, who was a substantial citizen of St. Louis, went to Fort Atkinson in 1823 as a sutler, and his diary pertains chiefly to that business. Following the diary is a genealogy of the Kennerlys of Virginia, compiled by Stella M. Drumm.

The Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis expected to publish before Christmas a *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, in two volumes. This includes the various stages of development in the work of the church in the Upper Mississippi Valley from 1673 to date.

The University of California Press has brought out as vol. XXIII., no. 9 of its Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, *Native Culture of the Southwest*, by A. L. Kroeber.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* has in the October number an article by W. C. Holden on West Texas Drouths, and the Journal of Ammon Underwood, 1834-1838, edited by James K. Greer. The journal recounts the departure of Underwood, a young man, from his home in Massachusetts, his voyage from Boston to New Orleans, thence to Brazoria, his experiences for a time in the mercantile business, then the war and his service in the Texan army, and later his return to business.

There has appeared, as one of the *Frankfurter Geographische Hefte*, a monograph by Max Hannemann on *Die Seehäfen von Texas, ihre Geographischen Grundlagen, ihre Entwicklung, und Bedeutung* (Frankfort a. M., 1928, pp. 270).

The issue of vols. V. and VI. of the *Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar*, president of the republic of Texas, 1838-1841, edited by Miss Harriet Smither, completes the publications of these papers (Austin, Texas State Library).

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* has in the July number an article by Allen L. Truax on Manuel Lisa and his North Dakota Trading Post, and the Journal of William H. Clandening, recording a journey across the plains in 1863-1865.

Among the contents of the September number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are: the Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians as told to and by John H. Seger, with a curious preface and a less curious foot-note; a list of the Early Post Offices of Oklahoma, contributed by Grant Foreman; an article by A. H. Murchison, entitled Intermarried Whites in the Cherokee Nation between the Years 1865 and 1887, consisting principally of transcripts of laws on the subject (several of them prior to the removal to the present Oklahoma) and reports of such marriages made by the clerks of the district courts in 1887; a series of reports of agents, missionaries, and trustees of schools (principally 1843), pertaining to the first schools in the Choctaw Nation, drawn by J. Y. Bryce from the *President's Message* (1845); and some letters of the two Boudinots, contributed with an introduction, by Edward Everett Dale. From Elias Boudinot are two letters, written to his brother: from Boston and Washington in 1832 and 1835, respectively. From Elias Cornelius Boudinot, his son, sometime in the Confederate military service, then a delegate to the Confederate Congress, and after the war a member of a Cherokee delegation in Washington, are ten letters, with a single exception written to his uncle Stand Watie, a Confederate colonel.

Among the articles in the August number of the *Colorado Magazine* are: Early Years of the Telephone in Colorado, by Howard T. Vaille; the Last Years of James P. Beckwourth (in continuation of the biography by T. D. Bonner), by LeRoy R. Hafen; Early History of Costilla County, by Edmond C. van Diest; and Experiences on the Platte River Route in the 'Sixties, by Frank M. Case. The October number includes: a Sketch of Delta County History, by Olivia S. Ferguson; the Old South Park Railroad, by Albert B. Sanford; the Cattle Roundup, by Eugene Williams; and the Death and the Last Will of Kit Carson, by Albert W. Thompson.

The New Mexico Historical Society has come into possession of the only known copy of the *Apologia* of Presbyter Antonio J. Martínez, supposed to be the first book printed in New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1838), and the *New Mexico Historical Review* prints in the October number an English translation of the booklet, by Cecil V. Romero. In the same number Lansing B. Bloom presents, under the title a Glimpse of New Mexico in 1620, the original and translation of a document pertaining to the government of New Mexico, found in the Archivo General de Indias. Another document printed in original and in translation (by F. M. Gallaher) is Parte Oficial de la Accion de Armas Temascalitos, dated December 25, 26, 1846. Of Confederate attempts to set up a civil government in New Mexico but little is known, but on the basis of some recently discovered

records in the county court house at Las Cruces Edward D. Tittmann is enabled to give some account of Confederate Courts in New Mexico. From some other documents in the same repository Mr. Tittmann tells the story of Richard Campbell, probate judge and actual lawgiver in Doña Ana County in the period just prior to the Civil War. John P. Clum tells the story of Ez-kim-in-zin, Apache chief.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* prints in the October number, from the manuscript in the Public Archives of Canada, the "Journal of the Rocky Mountain Fort, Fall 1799", the diary of an unknown trader, extending from October, 1799, to April, 1800. The Journal is edited by Marion O'Neil, who furnishes a suitable introduction. The same number has an article by William S. Lewis on the Camel Pack Trains in the Mining Camps of the West, while James W. Watt's Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps during the 'Sixties are continued. In the section of Documents is a list of vessels trading on the northwest coast of America, 1804-1814, contributed by George Verne Blue.

An article in the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, entitled "Historical Review, Champoege, the Plymouth Rock of the Northwest", by Peter H. D'Arcy, appears, according to a foot-note by the editor of the *Quarterly*, to have been prepared for use by a Senate committee which had under consideration a joint resolution authorizing the erection at Champoege of a memorial to commemorate the winning of the Oregon Country. This may explain why the author appears not to have been concerned for the strict accuracy of all his statements or disturbed by the doubts and queries that have gathered about the whole Champoege affair. This issue of the *Quarterly* contains also an article by Leslie M. Scott on the Oregonian Newspaper in Oregon History (the article is concerned chiefly with the newspaper bearing the name *The Oregonian*); the address of John W. Biggs at the dedication (July 22, 1928) of the John Devine monument on the Joaquin Miller trail, with introductory remarks by Lewis A. McArthur; some letters (1849-1861) of Roselle Putnam, daughter of Jesse Applegate, with notes by Sheba Hargreaves; a reprint of a section of Capt. James Cook's Journal, recording his approach to Oregon (February and March, 1778), with notes by T. C. Elliott; a similar reprint of the record made by John Meares ten years later, for which Mr. Elliott also furnishes an introduction and notes; and the second instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne* by Henry Bridgman Brewer, with notes by John M. Canse.

CANADA

In the *Canadian Historical Review*, September, John S. Ewart replies to the paper by A. B. Keith in the June number on Recent Changes in Canada's Constitutional Status; Nellis M. Crouse describes the location of Fort Maurepas; and George W. Brown, the St. Lawrence in the Boundary

Settlement of 1783 (read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester, December, 1926). For the section of "Notes and Documents" Louis D. Scisco contributes the last of a series of important documents dealing with the early settlement of Newfoundland.

The first volume of the fifth edition of the well-known *Histoire du Canada*, by F.-X. Garneau, was reviewed by C. W. Colby in these columns in 1914 (vol. XIX., 382-384). Now appears the seventh edition, vol. I. (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. lviii, 609). The first three editions were published during the life of the author, the fourth by his son, and the last three by his grandson. It is a monumental work of which any family might well be proud.

A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada, by A. G. Dorland (Toronto, Macmillan, 1928), is said to be a very accurate and satisfactory account.

Ralph Flenley has translated a *History of Montreal, 1640-1672*, by Dollier de Casson. The author was a priest who had formerly been captain of cavalry under Turenne and went to Canada in 1666. The French original and translation are printed side by side (London, Dent, 1928).

The History of Trade-Union Organisation in Canada, by Harold A. Logan, is published by the University of Chicago Press.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

A group of specialists has undertaken the preparation of a series of bibliographical guides to cover every phase of Hispanic-American civilization and culture. As yet no attempt has been made to estimate the number of volumes, as the work will probably not be completed for ten or fifteen years. It is planned to append, for each title, critical notes in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The managing editor is Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, who desires to secure coöperation from all who are competent, either in this country or abroad. He may be addressed at the University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.

The first volume of the "Collection des Textes relatifs aux Anciennes Civilisations du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale" entitled *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* (Relation de las Cosas de Yucatan), with Spanish text by Diego de Landa and French translation by Jean Genet, has been published (Paris, Genet, 1928). Vol. II., entitled, *Rapport contre les Idolâtres du Yucatan*, by Sanchez de Aguilar, has been announced for publication before the end of 1928. The other volumes which have been announced are: III., *Relation d'un Voyage aux Indes Occidentales*, by Thomas Gage; IV., *Le Livre du Conseil*; V., *Description de la Ville de Mexico avant et depuis l'Arrivée des Conquérans Espagnols*, by Antonio de Leon y Gama.

The Mexican government has published an index of important state papers relating to Mexico to be found in the Archivo de Indias of Seville,

Indice de Documentos de Nueva España Existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, vol. I., 428 pages. This index was prepared by the eminent Mexican historian, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, and will be invaluable to the student of the colonial history of Mexico. The Mexican government is to be congratulated in having made available this publication which is to be followed by further volumes prepared by the same historian (Mexico City, 1928).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico has recently published three important volumes. *Las Relaciones entre Mexico y el Vaticano* (*Archivo Historico Diplomatico Mexicano*) is a compilation of documents with introduction and notes by Joaquin Ramirez Cabañas, indispensable to everyone interested in the present situation in Mexico, especially to those seeking documentary material on the conflict that has raged between church and state for so many years. The documents herein published bring the story down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter, formal negotiations between the Mexican government and the Vatican ceased, except during the brief period of the empire. The documents of the imperial period are not reprinted in this volume. The volume contains an excellent foreword by Dr. Cabañas, which includes an excellent commentary on the policy of the Mexican government during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The monograph, *La Insubsistencia de una Convencion de Reclamaciones* (*Archivo Historico Diplomatico Mexicano*), with an introduction by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, contains a reprint of the documents relating to the Mexican-Spanish Claims Convention of 1853. The terms of this convention became the occasion of a long and bitter controversy between Spain and Mexico and finally led to the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The documents contained in this volume throw considerable light on the antecedents of the Spanish intervention in Mexico in 1853. *Don Juan Prim y su Labor Diplomatica en Mexico*, with an introduction by Genara Estrada, contains the speeches delivered by General Prim in the Spanish Senate, defending his policy as Commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Force to Mexico in 1862. An interesting preface by the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Dr. Estrada, explains the policy of General Prim and the great service that he rendered to Mexico because of his opposition to the intervention policy which finally led to the establishment of the empire under Maximilian. This volume is a valuable contribution to a significant period in the history of Mexico (Mexico City, Publicaciones de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928).

The *Mexican Agrarian Revolution* by Frank Tannenbaum is to be published by Macmillan.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published *Matanzas en la Independencia de Cuba*, by Carlos M. Trelles. This important paper is accompanied by an elaborate appendix of documents and six pages of bibliography (Havana, 1928, pp. 193).

1928, 5); Clyde Eagleton, *A Defense of the Non-Voter* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Jessie Bernard, *Political Leadership among North American Indians* (American Journal of Sociology, September); William C. Macleod, *Economic Aspects of Indigenous American Slavery* (American Anthropologist, October-December); J. L. Coontz, *Lighthouses of Colonial Times* (Daughters of American Revolution Magazine, November); Herbert B. Stimpson, *Charles Gordon: Jacobite and Loyalist* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Anon., *Early Artillery Organization* (Coast Artillery Journal, November); Ludovic de Contenson, *La Capitulation de Yorktown et le Comte de Grasse* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 4); Barbé-Marbois, *Chez les Peaux-Rouges Onéidas* [1784], I. (Nouvelle Revue, November 1); Benjamin F. Wright, jr., *The Philosopher of Jeffersonian Democracy* [John Taylor of Caroline] (American Political Science Review, November); Allan Westcott, *Commodore Jesse D. Elliott: a Stormy Petrel of the Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, September); Georges Danglade, *La Doctrine de Monroe* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Garrigó y Salido, *Génesis y Evolución de la Doctrina de Monroe* (Anales de la Academia de la Historia, Havana, 1925); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy* [the Brooklyn] (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, September); George and Philip Welsh, *Civil War Letters*. (Yale Review, Autumn); Lieut.-Col. W. W. Edwards, *The Invincible Raider* [Gen. N. B. Forrest] (Cavalry Journal, October); Brig.-Gen. E. S. Godfrey, *Some Reminiscences, including the Washita Battle, November 27, 1868* (*ibid.*); P. F. Fenton, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Venezuela, 1880-1915* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); W. G. Rice, *Grover Cleveland* (Century, October); M. W. Watkins, *The Sherman Act: its Design and its Effect* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); W. E. Dodd, *Our Ingrowing Habit of Lawlessness* (Century, October); John D. Black, *McNary-Haugen Movement* (Economic Review, September); Anon., *Coast Forts in Colonial Connecticut* (Coast Artillery Journal, September); Rear-Admiral W. D. Leahy, U. S. N., *Early History of the Washington Navy Yard* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, October); Benjamin Brawley, *The Southern Tradition* (North American Review, September); Philip G. Davidson, *Industrialism in the Ante-Bellum South* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); G. T. Starnes, *Sixty Years of Branch Banking in Virginia* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Frances Scarborough, *Old Spanish Missions in Texas, IV.: Nuestra Señora de la Purissima Concepción de Acuña* (Southwest Review, Autumn); Ralph H. Brown, *Monte Vista: Sixty Years of a Colorado Community* (Geographical Review, October); J. J. O'Gorman, *The Franciscans in New Mexico* (Ecclesiastical Review, August); Elizabeth H. West, *The Right of Asylum in New Mexico in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); Helen D. Fisher, *The First Smith of California* [Jedediah Smith] (American Mercury, November); Dr. Manuel Solano, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Anales de la Academia de la Historia de

Cuba, VIII., 1926); P. R. Fossum, *The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Controversy* (Hispanic American Historical Review, August); Alejandro E. Bunge, *Seventy Years of Argentine Immigration* (Bulletin of the Pan American Union, October).

ANNOUNCEMENT

Just as the final page-proof is being read comes the announcement that the prize of \$2500, in addition to book royalties, offered by Little, Brown, and Company, has been awarded to Professor Ulrich B. Phillips for his book, to be published in May, *Life and Labor in the Old South*. The judges who awarded this prize were James Truslow Adams, Worthington C. Ford, and Allen Nevins.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. James H. Breasted, president of the American Historical Association, is director of the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago.

Dr. Thad W. Riker is a professor of modern European history in the University of Texas.

Dr. Julian P. Bretz is a professor of American history in Cornell University.

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson occupies the chair of American history in the Library of Congress and is chief of the Division of Manuscripts.

Dr. Dexter Perkins, secretary of the American Historical Association, is a professor of American history in the University of Rochester.

Miss Elizabeth H. West is the librarian of the Texas Technological College at Lubbock.

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT INDIANAPOLIS

AFTER an interval of eighteen years the Association met for the second time at Indianapolis, on December 28 to 31, 1928. In 1910 "the number of members registered was unusually large, 290"; in 1928 almost twice as many—541—attended. At the former meeting three allied societies met with us; at the latter six other societies met concurrently, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Conference of Historical Societies, Agricultural History Society, American Catholic Historical Association, American Oriental Society—Middle West Branch, and the Bibliographical Society of America. On each occasion the generous hospitality of the citizens added greatly to the success of the meeting. At the latter the delightful reception and excellent musicale at the John Herron Art Institute was especially appreciated. The smoker at the Columbia Club, where Mr. Meredith Nicholson spoke interestingly on the history of Indianapolis, gave an opportunity to meet some of the citizens, as did the Tea at the Propylaeum. Four of the clubs were generous in opening their doors to the members. The meeting was very successful, and the credit of this is due primarily to the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which Mr. J. W. Fesler was chairman and E. A. Rice was secretary, and to the Committee on the Programme, with its capable chairman, Dr. Coleman.

The number of sessions for the presentation of papers increased over eighteen years ago by more than two-thirds and the number of papers read by about one-half. There was relatively less attention to diplomatic history than has been the case in recent years and more papers on social and economic topics. Special features were the recognition given to prehistory, Oriental history, and the sessions devoted to the American Revolution. An innovation at the first Indianapolis meeting, when for all the papers presented at the session for Ancient history outlines were distributed in advance, was followed this year for two sessions. In one on the history of the South the

discussion centred on the paper by Professor Phillips, printed in the October number of this *Review*; in the session on the Manor the discussion was on Professor Neilson's paper, for which outlines had been distributed. The general opinion seemed to be that such discussions were especially worth while. Of a similar nature was the meeting at which Professor F. M. Anderson presented a paper entitled, "Who Wrote the 'Diary of a Public Man', Amos Kendall, Henry Wikoff, or X?", and a discussion was participated in by Professor Ramsdell of Texas, Professor Kull of Rutgers, and Professor Randall of Illinois, all of whom had previously studied the question and formed an opinion.

At the meeting in 1910 the Association petitioned Congress to take "such steps as may be necessary to erect in the City of Washington a National Archive depository". At the 1928 meeting the Association listened to a report from Mr. L. A. Simon, the architect, on the Archive Building for which Congress had appropriated the money. There has been some delay. Whether the petition was at all effective may be questioned, but certainly there can be no question of the part played by Dr. Jameson, chairman of our Archives Committee, in the development and consummation of the plans which will, it is believed, result in an Archive Building of which we shall all be proud. At each of the meetings a paper on the Dred Scott Decision was presented, in 1910 by Professor Corwin of Princeton, in 1928 by Professor Hodder of Kansas. It is interesting also to compare the financial status of the Association at the two periods. In 1910 we were proud when the Treasurer reported total assets of \$22,585; in 1928 the total assets were \$194,900, and the contributions from the state of Indiana, paid or pledged, four times the total of eighteen years before. A marked change in the later meeting was in the number of luncheons (8) and dinners (4) accompanied by a discussion of professional topics. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Professor Oliver, of the University of Pittsburgh, gave an historical introduction to the Extravaganza "Heaven on Earth or the New Lights of Harmony" by Peter Puffem (1925), and Mrs. Carl H. Lieber read the Extravaganza, a satire on New Harmony, of which a copy, possibly unique, was recently discovered in a second-hand book-store. At a dinner on Saturday evening over which President Breasted presided, Professor Fox of Columbia gave an address, replete with interest and humor, on the Disposal of Refuse Ideas.

In connection with this summary of the meeting it has been decided to include the report of the Secretary, and the memorial of our late beloved Secretary, John Spencer Bassett; consequently the space

available for the summary of papers is restricted and justice can not be done to the scores of papers which were read and to the discussions which followed.

The meeting gave ample evidence that historians are feeling their responsibility and possibly are becoming more practical. Coöperation and coördination of effort were frequently stressed, notably in the presidential address, "The New Crusade", with its statement of the organization and plans of the Oriental Institute. Before delivering his address President Breasted announced that the Justin Winsor Prize for 1928 had been awarded to Professor Fred Albert Shannon for his book, *Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*.

At the meeting devoted to the Public Archives Mr. Godard epitomized the legislation in 1928. Virginia has passed an act which provides for assembling in the State Library at Richmond photostat copies of all the early records throughout the commonwealth. Miss Nute of the Minnesota Historical Society in Some Conclusions from a Resurvey of the Minnesota Archives indicated the improvements made possible by the advance of archival knowledge and economy. There was a general discussion followed by a vote endorsing House bill HR5626 for printing the United States censuses, 1800 to 1840, and by a motion approving the bill before Congress for the printing of the Territorial Papers.

At the luncheon conference on the Library of Congress Dr. Tyler Dennett presided, and, in introducing Dr. Jameson, said that historical writers are too prone to go abroad for vacation studies and researches. Too few of them realize how worth their while it is to come to Washington, and explore the treasures of historical material which are to be found in the several governmental repositories. Dr. Jameson then gave a statement about some of the material in the Library of Congress and the opportunities for workers.

In the joint session with the Bibliographical Society it was announced that the work on the completion of Sabin was continuing; and that the next meeting would be at Washington, in May, with the subject, Latin-American bibliography. Mr. Pellett's paper on a Bibliography of Water Transportation was a model of bibliographical process, and described the prospect of a printed volume in 1930. Mr. W. H. Bonner unravelled the tangled skein of the successive appearances of Dampier's voyages in various editions and the interest aroused in travels thereby, and the influence on Defoe and other writers. Mr. C. D. Abbott described the revived interest in Christopher Smart and in his writings, giving a brief description of his life

and characterization of his work, preliminary to a complete bibliography.

At the conference of Historical Societies Mr. W. C. Ford read a delightful paper on Historical Societies, Living and Dead. His discussion of what historical societies had done and what they might do should be pondered by every curator. In particular he made a suggestion for the photostating of newspapers in a reduced size, with an example of what he had done with the Boston *Transcript*. This method would make possible the preservation at a comparatively slight cost of the more important newspapers and the housing problem would be much simplified.

Practical questions concerning teaching received much attention. In the session on History and other Social Studies in the Schools Professor Krey, chairman of our committee, read a paper on Thirty Years after the Committee of Seven, which is printed in the *Historical Outlook* for February. At the joint luncheon of the Committee on History and other Social Studies with the National Council for Social Studies, Professor Randall of Illinois read a paper on the Interrelationships of Social and Constitutional History. He pointed out the importance of exploring legal records for the light they throw upon social conditions, and suggested that this is an undeveloped field in which many valuable dissertations could be prepared. Mr. Strevey, at the session of the National Council for Social Studies, reported the results of an experiment made at the University of Chicago High School by Dr. H. C. Hill on the Correlation of Modern European and American History.

The luncheon conference on the Problem of Freshman History Instruction was attended by about one hundred, and there was intense interest manifested in the subject. The chairman, Mr. Noyes, discussed the desirability of having a section devoted to the problems of the first year. This was followed by four brief talks: Professor Tryon of Chicago, discussing Organization and Methods, stated that the work of the first two years had become part of the secondary school system and that the methods of instruction would have to conform to those used in the earlier part of the secondary field; that the methods of instruction in the lower schools were excellent and that those in the first two college years were very much in need of improvement. Professor G. D. Andrews, of Iowa, outlined some of the experiments with collateral work which had been made at Iowa. Professor Krey, on Correlation of High School and Freshman History Work, suggested that the previous record of students in the high schools furnishes a basis for greater differential treatment in the first year course. Professor Heald, of Rutgers, summarized the results

of his investigation as secretary of a committee on the orientation course. He emphasized the great variety of such courses now existing but pointed out that at least sixty per cent. of them were under the direction of teachers of history. The session did not close until about 4:30. At the session on College and Research the two papers presented by Professor Nichols of Pennsylvania and Professor Shannon of the Kansas State Agricultural College should provide the committee with a programme which, though vast, is worth trying out. Professor Nichols emphasized the importance of local history, and developed a plan for a survey of the possibilities for research in the several states, which should contain an analysis of what has been done and a statement of what most needs to be done, and especially a guide to the source materials. For carrying on this survey and for utilizing the information gathered by it he thought that universities might (as some have done) serve as centres for stimulating and mobilizing the energies for potential work scattered among the smaller institutions and numerous historical societies. Professor Shannon developed the plan, suggesting that the country might be divided into spheres of influence. He prefaced his suggestions with a carefully prepared statistical survey of the university and college teachers of history throughout the country, whom he estimates to number over 3000, of whom less than 1000 have received the degree of doctor of philosophy and many of these in some field other than history.

The meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, held conjointly with the meetings of the Historical Association, afforded an opportunity for interesting and fruitful contacts between historians, Orientalists, and philologists. Professor J. M. P. Smith of Chicago, in the Unique Element in Hebrew Thought, dealt with the idea of "divine selection" or the "chosen people". This idea was common to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews, but in the case of the first three it was purely selfish in character, and expressed nationalistic ambitions. In the case of the Hebrews political disaster and national suffering worked to produce a different, more ethical conception of divine selection, which, as interpreted by the prophets, became a divine mission to teach and lead the world. The paper by President Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, on the Historical Beginnings of Judaism, took sharp issue with the view upheld by Eduard Meyer and his followers, according to which Judaism, as distinct from the earlier national religion of Israel, had its origin in the return of Ezra, and pointed out that the origins of Judaism were much earlier. The elements of legalism and ritualism, upon which Meyer has laid such emphasis, are only incidental features of Judaism and not its fundamental charac-

teristics. The third paper, by Professor Buckler of Oberlin, traced in outline the relations of the Persian and Mogul empires from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and related the vicissitudes of Mogul vassaldom and independence. Professor Solomon Zeitlin, of Dropsie College, presented an account, after Josephus, of the Jewish Revolution of 65-70, and indicated certain features and incidents of that movement, which were, he thought, analogous to events and phases of the French and Russian revolutions.

In the session on Ancient History Professor West of Cincinnati read a paper on the Serpent Column and the Non-Tributary Members of the Delian League, which furnished a very interesting example of method and threw light on the history of the league. Professor Caldwell of Michigan in discussing the Age of Pericles refuted the theory that the glorious Athenian age was founded by a small leisure class. "Political life was organized, not on the basis of supporting a citizen class in idleness, but of making it possible for all to take part in government." Professor Laistner of Cornell read a paper on the Influence of Isocrates's Political Doctrines on some Fourth Century Men of Affairs, which was in part a criticism of Professor Barker's interpretation in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

In the session on the Far East Professor MacNair of Chicago in discussing the Ming Dynasty Background of Chinese Foreign Problems said: "The period was marked by the extension of Chinese overlordship . . . by the arrival of the first Europeans by sea, and the beginnings of those contacts of religion and commerce which broadened so greatly under their Manchu successors. Chinese superiority and complacency in dealing with foreigners were products of Ming policy." Professor Hail of Wooster College read a paper on Li Hung Chang and Chino-Japanese Relations, 1871-1879, based upon a study of the papers of the great viceroy. This was the period in which many of the precedents which determined the later relations between the two countries were laid down. What Chinese Historians are doing in their Own History, by Mr. Hummel, of the Library of Congress, is a stimulating paper on the studies of a group of Chinese scholars. As a result of their examination of early records every Western history of China will have to be revised. This critical spirit is no new phenomenon but was very active a full century ago.

Medieval history received even more attention than usual. At the dinner of the members of the Mediaeval Academy Professor Emerton gave a delightful talk on a Reconsideration of the Middle Ages. At the session on the Manor, Professor Neilson of Mt. Holyoke made a "plea" for the study of local variations in the form and organization of the agrarian unit in different parts of England. Dr.

Ault, of Boston University, discussed one of Miss Neilson's points: "Are we sometimes able to discover village life under the crust of manorialism?" He answered, emphatically, Yes, and illustrated his answer from the by-laws of two different types of villages. Miss Muhlfeld of Hunter College spoke of the light thrown upon three of Miss Neilson's points by the records of the Manor of Wye in Kent. At Wye Miss Muhlfeld showed that the yoke did not consist of contiguous blocks of land and that they were of very unequal size, varying from 28 to 101 acres; but the servile yokes owed approximately equal rents and revenues.

In an account of the Place of Legal History in Medieval Studies Professor Plucknett of Harvard called attention to the fact that the value of investigations in legal history has long been recognized by historians of the Continental schools, while this field of research has been unduly neglected by English and American investigators. The paper supports the belief that a study of law will, instead of being the study of mere formalism, enable the historian to learn much of man as a social human being. The Correspondence of Gregory VII., presented by Professor Emerton of Harvard, dealt with the problem of discovering, collecting, and editing papal documents of this type and the need of new editions of scientific worth. Professor Emerton explained how the dominant character of Hildebrand is reflected in the correspondence. In a paper entitled Dr. Coulton, Interpreter of the Middle Ages, Professor A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College expressed the opinion that Dr. Coulton's dark pictures of many sides of Medieval life are to be accounted for by his attempt to counteract the roseate view presented, according to Dr. Coulton, by most of the English writers.

The members of the association interested in the field of modern European history had a luncheon at which Professor Fay of Smith College presided. The informal committee appointed at the Rochester meeting to investigate the question of establishing a modern European history review made its final report. Professor Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, editor of the new journal, announced that the first number would appear in March and transmitted the request of the University of Chicago Press for the formation of a simple organization of men and women interested in modern European history, that could be responsible for the management and control of the publication. The luncheon group authorized the presiding officer to appoint a committee to draft plans for such an organization. Professor Fay appointed C. P. Higby of Wisconsin, W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania, E. M. Carroll of Duke, F. C. Palm of California, and Judith Williams of Wellesley, to serve on the committee.

At the session on modern European history Professor Riker of Texas read an interesting summary of the difficult conditions under which Alexander John Couza founded Rumania. In a paper on French Dreams of Colonial Empire under the Directory and Consulate C. L. Lokke of Columbia attempted to show the coöperation of Talleyrand and Napoleon in substituting Egypt for the West Indies as a field of colonization. Professor Wendell of Long Island University explained the origin and misuse of the Protégé System of Morocco.

At the English history session F. G. Marcham of Cornell, whose subject was the Value of Private Correspondence in the Study of Elizabethan and Early Stuart Social History, stated that little use had been made of these private letters except by students of literature, whereas they contain rich material for the study of social customs, and fill gaps and correct inaccuracies in data gathered from contemporary literature. The paper by Professor Nef of Chicago on the Relation of the English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth Century to the Growing Economic and Political Power of the Town Merchant, gave an illuminating description of the amount of capital invested in the coal trade of the period, which was so great that it could, in the long run, be carried on only by the participation of the wealthy merchants, who were thus able to secure financial control of the industry. Professor Morgan of Indiana, in his paper on the Last Tory Ministry of Queen Anne and the Coup d'État of 1714, described the events leading to the disaster that overtook Oxford, Bolingbroke, and their party. Dr. T. P. Martin of the Library of Congress, in a paper on Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Relations, pictured the great concern shown at an early date by British opponents of slavery in conditions in America and emphasized the connection between that concern and certain British economic interests.

The session on American prehistory, presided over by Professor Guthe of Michigan, represented an effort to demonstrate the important relations between history, archaeology, and anthropology, and the mutual dependence of those disciplines in many types of investigation. One can not help wondering why American prehistory, which so engrosses the interest of many European scholars, has received so little attention on the programmes of the Association. Professor Herskovitz of Northwestern University spoke on the methods of establishing chronology in prehistory. The data for determining it are furnished by geology, palaeontology, and archaeology, and on the basis of such data it has been possible to establish recognized time-series. Professor F.-C. Cole of Chicago expounded the hypothesis of culture areas. He pointed out that in Central America

the sharp physiographic and climatic contrasts provide ideal conditions for contact between many different cultures. To these were added other important contacts due to cultural haunts, north and south, over this highway between the continents. Out of these developed a high degree of civilization. Valuable contributions to the discussion were made by the chairman and by Professor Olmstead, who described some of the important conclusions that the comparative study of archaeological and other data had made possible as to the chronology of the Mediterranean region.

At the luncheon for the Commemoration of the Revolution in the West, Mr. Charles Moore, who presided, pointed out that the association is national, not local, in character. The movement for a memorial to George Rogers Clark was outlined by Mr. Coleman, who called attention to the fact that, while an appropriation had been obtained from Congress in behalf of the commemoration, it was a definite part of the plan that the states of the Old Northwest should join in the commemoration. The parts which the states were taking in the commemoration were set forth by C. J. Richards, J. A. James, and Mrs. Backus, while A. C. Cole of the Mississippi Valley Historical Commission spoke of the functions of that committee as limited essentially to the promotion of coördination among the several groups. Professor James declared that the best statement of the significance of Clark's conquest of the Northwest was to be found in Dr. Jame-son's representation to the Committee of Congress.

At the luncheon on Colonial and Revolutionary history the need for more work was stressed by Professor Morison. The opportunities and needs of the study of the legal history of the period were discussed by Professor Greene and Mr. R. B. Morris, of the agricultural by Professor Craven, of the military by Professor Carter. The advisability of taking the imperial point of view in New England history was pointed out by Professor Viola F. Barnes. The study of the period from 1690 to 1760, she said, "may well suggest that William of Orange was more responsible than George III. for the loss of the colonies".

At the session on the Revolution, Dr. R. G. Adams of the Clements Library spoke of the new information for the surrender of Burgoyne. Professor Rife of Hamline University, in *Ethan Allen: an Interpretation*, discussed Allen's opportunism. The evidence is conclusive that in 1782 he ardently hoped that Vermont would become a British province. His mercurial character, however, should be interpreted with due regard to his frontier background. Professor Bonham of Hamilton College in discussing the religious side of Joseph Brant characterized him as an "altruistic Indian". Finding

Kirkland the main obstacle to carrying the Six Nations into the British service Brant sought to discredit him by asserting that his doctrines and forms of worship were false and disloyal. Brant's work among the Iroquois after the Revolution and his religious publications were described. Professor Abbey, of the Florida State College for Women, traced the Spanish projects for the re-occupation of the Floridas during the American Revolution and brought out the various causes which made the attempts a failure.

At the session on the Frontier Professor Parish, of California, in his paper John Stuart and the Cartography of the Indian Boundary Line, offered interesting additions to knowledge on the subject from manuscript maps and survey notes, hitherto unused. Mr. Wesley, University City High School, St. Louis, pointed out the importance of the Indian agent as the channel of the diplomatic and economic dealings of the American government with the Indians, 1815-1825, and as the adviser of frontier commanders. Professor Pelzer of Iowa in his paper, Losses and Profits on Western Cattle Ranges, sketched the history of certain corporate enterprises founded on the promise of great profits from the Western ranges; he established the miscalculations and the rapidly changing frontier conditions of the West that wrecked them.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Professor James read a paper on Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West. He showed that Pollock, through his integrity, experience, and wide knowledge, was in a position to further the American cause with the Spaniards. He was able to advance some \$300,000 to the state of Virginia and to the Continental Congress but almost bankrupted himself. Without Pollock the work of Clark in the Mississippi Valley would have been virtually impossible. Professor Roll, Indiana State Normal School, in Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Lincoln in 1860,¹ showed that Indiana with thirteen electoral votes and the Northwest with fifty-eight were of great importance to Republican success. Indiana was essentially a conservative state. In the convention the leadership of H. S. Lane, an admirer of Clay, was important; as neither Seward nor Chase found much support in the state its delegation was uninstructed. Lincoln, as was pointed out by Mr. W. C. Ford in discussing the paper, was a candidate who was at once conservative and available; therefore he ultimately secured the unpledged delegation of the state. The paper on James H. Lane by Professor W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, showed that Lane came to Kansas in 1855 from a Democratic state and that he speedily became a radical. In his first

¹ To be published in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

activities. Lane was affiliated with the Douglas wing of the Democratic party so that his change later to a strong advocate of Kansas as a free state was probably caused by desire for a seat in the United States Senate. Robinson the Republican leader was more conservative; so Lane must become radical in order to gain his point.

In discussing Professor Phillips's paper, "The Central Theme of Southern History", Professor Craven of Chicago said: "it was not until Northern radicals, using the opposition to slavery for political purposes, forced the South to evolve a defensive mechanism that the fear of Africanization was brought into use by the Southern radical. War and Reconstruction made negro domination a real danger and produced the cementing factor for a solid South." Professor Cole of Wisconsin stressed the climate as a central theme.

Professor Hamilton criticized Phillips's thesis in two respects: he had not differentiated sufficiently between the thought of the cotton belt and that of the Upper South, and he had taken a single phase in the central theme for the whole. Professor Hamilton doubted if the issue of white supremacy would ever have arisen if the negroes at the time of their enfranchisement had divided politically. In the general discussion Professor Knapp of Kentucky thought that Professor Phillips had confined his thesis too closely to one part of the South and that his generalizations were not apt when applied to other parts. Land, said Professor Knapp, is more nearly the basic factor in Southern history as it is in the rest of the country, although in the South another factor, the negro for the cultivation of the land, is of importance. Professor Hodder thought the theme too subtle and too general. Motives moving masses, he declared, are generally complex. Professor Phillips, replying briefly, expressed his gratification that his paper had been successful in drawing out such divergent views upon the subject. It was his reaction, he said, against the statement of Rhodes that slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War that had led him to prepare the paper. On the contrary there was actually a complex of elements—plantation system, climatic conditions, etc., etc., no one of which could be singled out as the cause—and if any factor had been eliminated the results would have been changed.

At the general session on Saturday evening three interesting papers were read. A brief digest could not be satisfactory for any one, and fortunately all will, it is thought, be available soon in published form. Professor Hodder's valuable discussion of the Dred Scott Case will be published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Professor Volwiler's Benjamin Harrison and the Venezuelan Arbitration is a part of his large work on Benjamin Harrison. Professor Shryock's paper on the Origins and Significance of the

Public Health Movement in the United States is an earnest of his work which has been done under the endowment for research in honor of the late Senator Beveridge.

At the West Indian session, Professor Ragatz, of George Washington University, in his *Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750-1833*, showed that non-resident proprietorship was due to three forces, the high prices of tropical produce, inheritance, and the foreclosure of mortgages, each primarily operative in turn. Absentee landlordism was to a large extent responsible for the stagnation and decay into which the sugar islands had fallen by the eve of emancipation. R. D. Hussey's *Spanish Reaction to Foreign Aggressions in the Caribbean to 1680* was an account of French, English, and Dutch depredations, occupation, and seizure. The Drake and Hawkins raid of 1585 caused a great stir of energy on the part of the Spanish government, but the Armada disaster and Philip II.'s death checked this. Spain ultimately found a solution for her problems in making cessions of territory to her three rivals and in joining forces with them to crush the freebooters. Professor Russell's *Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762*, set forth British joy on both sides of the Atlantic at the taking of this key city in the Caribbean and the general dissatisfaction over its return to Spain. Professor Kohlmeier, in his *Commercial Relations of the United States and the Dutch West Indies, 1783-1789*, surveyed the large-scale smuggling trade between the Americans and the British planters, carried on via Holland's Caribbean possessions, following the closing of British West Indian ports to citizens of the United States.

At the Hispanic American session three papers were read and three reports made. The first paper, that of Dr. Belaunde of Miami University, was analyzed by Professor I. J. Cox in the absence of the author. Its central theme was that the resulting nationalities of the Revolution of the American colonies against the mother country were determined by forces and principles established by Spain itself—both ethical and political. In the paper on the Papacy and Spanish-American Independence Professor Mecham of Michigan traced the steps both political and religious leading to the recognition of the independence of the former Spanish colonies by the Vatican.

Professor Williams of Goucher College, in her paper *Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan*, reviewed briefly the political factors involved from the period of the war with Texas until 1848. She showed the overtures made to the United States for aid and annexation, the apathy with which these were received, and the final factor of the rebellion of the Maya Indians which forced Yucatan back into the arms of Mexico.

In his Report on the Proposed Critical Bibliography dealing with Hispanic American History, Professor Wilgus of South Carolina reviewed the plan which has been made part of the agenda proposed by the advisory committee to the Board of Directors of the Pan American Union in the project for a Continental bibliography formulated by the Sixth Pan American Conference in 1928. Dr. T. P. Martin, of the Library of Congress, read a comprehensive report on Transcripts, Facsimiles, and Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the Library of Congress. The library will allow photostat copies of its index to be distributed among investigators and libraries for a modest charge, while the transcripts themselves will be loaned to libraries for the use of investigators. Dr. Robertson, in a report on the Inter-American Historical Series, announced that the University of North Carolina Press had already obtained about 500 subscriptions for the complete work—fifteen or sixteen volumes. Most of the histories to be translated have been chosen; Professor Shepherd has promised to act as editor for the atlas, which will form the last volume of the series. The first volume to be published, it is hoped in 1929, will be the history of Chile by Galdames, translated and edited by Professor Cox.

At the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, Professor Whitaker of Western Reserve University presented a paper entitled the Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture. Spanish agriculture soon gained a firm foothold in America, long outlived the conquest, and remains today the basis of Latin-American agriculture. Spain began the systematic transfer of her agricultural products immediately after the discovery of America. So quickly was this effected that by 1535 Mexico was already exporting wheat to the West Indies. The paper, *Lincoln and Agriculture*, was by Professor Ross of Iowa State College. Lincoln's appointment of an important politician as the first commissioner of agriculture and his support of this individual, against protests, was an inauspicious beginning for federal activity in agriculture. In the homestead, railroad, and college land-grant measures, he made no attempt to safeguard the interests of small holders, and evidently thought of this legislation in connection with winning the war rather than as to its future possibilities. The third paper, by Professor Osgood of Minnesota, the *Cattlemen in the Agricultural History of the Northwest*, showed that the range-cattle industry of the northern section of the high plains was never seriously threatened by an advancing agricultural frontier. Its decline was due to conditions inherent in the business. The cattlemen, unable to devise any system of range control which would prevent overcrowding, eventually were forced to turn to private ownership of land. As

Professor Sioussat was absent a summary of his paper was read. The Breakdown of Royal Land Management in the Southern Provinces was a study of the royal instructions of 1773 and 1774, by which the granting of lands in the royal provinces was first stopped and then placed upon a new basis. The purpose of this procedure was to increase the revenue from quit-rents and sales of land.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

December 29, 1928

It is the duty of the Secretary at the annual business meeting to carry to the members a report from the Council of the Association.

The problem in which our membership will probably take the greatest interest is that of the *Review*. A year ago, Dr. J. F. Jameson's transfer from the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress made necessary his resignation as managing editor of the *Review* to take effect on June 30, 1928. During Dr. Jameson's directorship of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, the editorial expenses of the *Review*, that is, the salary of the editor, the salary of the subeditor, and necessary secretarial and stenographic aid, were provided by the Institution. Dr. Jameson's transfer, therefore, added a considerable sum to the budget of the Association for the publication of the *Review*. The committee on the future of the *Review*, appointed by the Council, felt that time was needed to obtain, through the campaign for the Endowment Fund, or otherwise, the annual income required for editorial expenses. A temporary arrangement for the managing editorship was, therefore, authorized by the Council, and through the generosity of Professor D. C. Munro, this work is being carried forward for the year July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929, with unchanged efficiency. Negotiations are now in progress for a more permanent arrangement beginning with next July. It may be remarked that there is sufficient editorial work connected with the publishing activities of the Association combined with that of the *Review* to demand the full time of an editor. The financial situation at the present moment seems, however, to make necessary an arrangement for only part of the time of the scholar appointed. The committee recommended to the Council, which has given its approval, that an immediate effort be made to raise an endowment for the maintenance of the *Review* producing an annual income of \$10,000, or in lieu of that, a guarantee fund of an equivalent income for a period of years until the endowment can be provided.

I have to report the following figures as to our membership. Of recorded members there are 3537 divided as follows: life, 407; annual, 2740; and institutions, 390, representing a gain of 68 over 1927, and a very striking gain of 52 in life memberships. Acting on the recommendation of the chairman of the committee on membership, the Council at its November meeting reorganized the committee, making it a small committee of 5 and empowering it to appoint committees and subagents to assist it in its work. Professor Nichols remains its chairman. I take this occasion to remind the members of the Association that the work of this committee can never be fully effective unless it receives the support

and enthusiastic interest of every individual in our society. We do not wish to dragoon unwilling victims into membership by the methods of supersalesmanship. But we can all contribute, and especially those of us who are teachers can contribute, to diffusing a wider interest in the work of our body and in enlarging the sphere of its usefulness.

I pass to a discussion of the work of some of the most active and important committees of the Association. The Committee on Endowment has continued its labors during the past year. Mr. Ivy Lee of New York City has generously accepted the chairmanship. In the course of the year a second appeal was made to our members, with the result that contributions have now been received from 23 per cent. of our membership as compared with 19 per cent. last May. The total sum raised is now \$224,017.42.

Amongst other committees one of the most important is the Committee on the Revolving Fund. This committee disposes of a fund of \$25,000, the grant of the Carnegie Corporation, to be used for the publication of meritorious works in the historical field which might not prove tempting to a commercial publisher. Its chairman is Professor E. P. Cheyney. During the last year three works have been approved by the committee and two of the three are now in print. They are Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class in the West Indies*, and Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War*. Heidel's *Day of Yahweh*² will probably appear in February. Two other works have been tentatively accepted and are now undergoing revision by their respective authors.

The activities of this committee deserve especially to be underlined. Here is a means of direct aid to publication in the field of history. Though becoming better known, it is by no means as generally known as it ought to be. I am glad to have this opportunity of recalling it to the attention of our membership. I am glad also to call attention at this point to the fact that, acting on the request of the Ad Interim Committee of the Council, I have prepared for the January issue of the *Review* an article on "Aids to Research and Publication" which, it is hoped, will prove useful to the members of our Association.

Several other committees have in hand useful works of publication for the promotion of historical scholarship. The Committee on Bibliography reports that its *Bibliography of Historical Literature*, long in preparation, will be pushed rapidly to conclusion. Twenty of the twenty-six chapters of this work are already in galley-proof, the twenty-first is in the hands of the publisher, and the remaining five are being advanced toward completion. This enterprise is now under the joint chairmanship of Professor Sidney B. Fay and Professor Henry R. Shipman. The prolonged illness of Professor Dutcher has made necessary his retirement as chairman after a long period of conscientious service.

The Committee on a Bibliography of Modern British History reports that about eighty per cent. of its material is in final form, awaiting only copying for the printer. The only sections still incomplete are those of local history, military and naval history, and the history of culture, and these three sections are now being worked upon by members of the committee. Arrangements are in progress for the signing of the contract with the Oxford Press for the publication of this work. Its completion within the next year is hoped for. The committee's work has dealt, it should be stated, with the Tudor period. The committee has been fortunate in securing the coöperation of a number of British and American

² Now published.

scholars who have revised the sections on which they have specialized knowledge.

The Committee on the Bibliography of Travel reports progress and provision has been made for the continuation of its activities on a scale permitting more rapid execution of the work during the next year.

Attention should also be called to the provision made by the Council with regard to the publication of the *Annual Report* and the *Writings on American History*. At its meeting this morning the Council adopted a report tendered by Professor Stock, which provides for the publication of several of the reports in a single volume, and for the bringing up to date of the *Writings*. Dr. Stock assured the Council that no administrative regulations of the Government Printing Office would stand in the way of this plan. It seems, therefore, as if we were nearer the goal of bringing these publications up to date than we have been at any other time.

The American Historical Association at its maximum effectiveness must concern itself not only with the work of historical research, but also with the teaching of history. I, therefore, report with great pleasure that the Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools has received a substantial grant from the Carnegie Corporation for the carrying on of its investigation. Already enough is known to emphasize the great significance of the task undertaken. The immense growth of our high schools, the prospect that in a future by no means remote virtually every child of high-school age will be attending such a school, creates a problem of large proportions for all teachers, no less for the teacher of the social studies. Moreover, teaching in the schools reacts vitally upon the teaching in the colleges. On the one hand, it is the college which must provide the teachers for such instruction. On the other hand, the curriculum of the high schools can hardly fail to affect the curriculum of the college. The work of the committee ought to be of the very greatest significance to all those who are interested in the teaching of history. The committee will concern itself with three major problems: (1) an attempt to measure the value of the teaching of the social sciences at the present time, on the basis of certain carefully defined tests; (2) the development of a curriculum that shall be cumulative in its character; (3) the problem of the treatment to be accorded that diminishing minority of high school students who intend to go on to the university. It will probably take five years to arrive at definite conclusions, but there can be no doubt of the value of the task.

In closing this account of committee service, I desire to point out that in order to render the work of its committees more effective, the Council now follows the practice of making appointments at the November session. It is hoped that in this way occasion may be found for the fullest personal conference of the members of committees at the time of the annual meeting.

In the course of the last few years the work of the various learned societies dealing with the social studies has been more perfectly coördinated and systematized through the establishment of such federal agencies as the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. The work of these agencies is participated in by our own body and certain aspects of that work deserve to be called very particularly to the attention of our members. I shall not speak here of the fellowships and grants in aid which such bodies provide for the encouragement of research, referring my hearers in this regard to the article in the

January number of the *Review* and to the special publications and bulletins of the organizations in question. But I wish to direct the attention of our members to certain special activities of both. The first of these is the prospective appearance on March 1 of the first number of *Social Science Abstracts*. This periodical, which will be a quarterly in form, will publish abstracts of important books and articles dealing with the social sciences. In connection with the summaries of articles some three thousand periodicals in twenty languages will be regularly examined. At the outset not more than fifteen thousand abstracts a year will be printed. They will naturally vary in length with the importance of the article. They will be cross-referenced and elaborate annual indexes will be published. This ambitious project, by which the learning of the whole world will be easily made more available to scholars, is perhaps the greatest piece of coöperative effort in the field of social sciences that has ever been undertaken. It is an impressive example of what we may do for one another. The scholar has ever been an individualist. We need to realize more fully the possibilities of common and collective effort, of the type that is here involved.

There should also be noted the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences* which is in preparation under the editorship of Professor E. R. A. Seligman. This *Encyclopædia* will consist of fifteen volumes of which the first, expected to appear next September, will be devoted in considerable part to introductory material, including a study in twelve or fifteen chapters of the progress of the social sciences as a reflex of social and political development, from the time of the Greeks to the present. Other divisions of the introductory material will deal with the explanation of the venture, the history of encyclopedia-making, the teaching of the social sciences here and abroad, and an annotated bibliography of epoch-making works in the field of the social sciences.

A project of still greater interest, very near to the hearts of our members, is that of the American Council of Learned Societies for a *Dictionary of American Biography*. It would be superfluous to enter upon any description of this enterprise, one in which, from its very nature, the members of this Association have had from the beginning a very special interest, to which they will largely contribute, and from which they will derive immense advantage.

In addition to its participation in the activities of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Historical Association is represented on the International Committee of Historical Sciences. This body, which represents the first permanent organization of the historical scholarship of the world, will attain an increasing importance as time goes on and may be expected to contribute not only to the advancement of knowledge but, it is to be hoped, to a better understanding among scholars of different nationalities. It is supported in part by contributions from the various national units or governments, but also by a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation of \$6000 per annum for a period of five years, beginning with 1929, which was made in part through the request of our Association. The International Committee sponsored the International Congress at Oslo, described by Dr. Jameson in the January number of the *Review*. It is undertaking various projects of coöperative research of which the most important is the *International Year Book of Historical Bibliography*, a publication which will appear annually, and in which American scholars are now coöperating through a committee of this Association.

The various activities which I have hitherto described are activities of our own Association or of bodies in which our Association is a participating member. The charter of the American Historical Association, however, directs the Secretary to report on the state of history in the nation. In conformity with this direction, I ask your attention to certain other noteworthy aspects of progress of historical science during the past year.

First to be noted is the ambitious programme of transcribing material in foreign archives, which is sponsored by the Library of Congress. Professor Samuel F. Bemis has been entrusted with the supervision of this work. Work has already been carried on at some of the most important of European depositories. At the British Museum, for example, transcripts have been made on a considerable scale, principally of documents in the field of American history before 1783. This work was practically completed in August. Work is now proceeding upon documents since 1783 and upon recently acquired documents. Copious lists of maps are also being made available in the same way. In the Public Record Office work has been going on since February on the correspondence of British ministers in the United States. In the Archives Nationales and the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères arrangements have been made for carrying on similar activities, and a certain amount of material relating to French interest in the War of Independence has already been prepared. A qualified permission has been received from the appropriate authorities to carry on transcribing at Simancas, Seville, and Madrid. By these means an immense amount of material will be made available to American scholars.

The past year has also seen the completion of plans for three new American historical periodicals. The first is the *Journal of Modern History*, published at the University of Chicago Press with Professor Bernadotte Schmitt as editor. The new journal will deal with the period from the Renaissance to the close of the Great War, excluding the United States and Latin America. Its first number appears in March, 1929, and it will hereafter be published as a quarterly. There is also to be noted the appearance of the *New England Quarterly* in January, 1928. This periodical, the subtitle of which is "An Historical Journal of Life and Letters in New England", is edited by Stewart Mitchell and deals with many different aspects of the life of New England, not only in colonial times but also in its later history. The first number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, published at Harvard University, under the editorship of Professor Edwin F. Gay, appeared in November.

Projects such as these attest to the vigorous interest that historical research inspires at the present time. Nor is history the object of interest to scholars alone. It is a striking fact that two of the most successful novels of the past year were historical in their general setting, and that the most striking and successful work of poetry published during the year is in large part historical narrative. The popular interest in biography is very great and much work of this kind has been published during the past year by historians and others. It would be invidious to praise or to blame, yet there can be no impropriety in recalling to your attention the appearance of Beveridge's *Lincoln*. The perusal of this work only intensifies the sense of loss which members of the Association have felt at the passing of this distinguished scholar and man of letters. History in America is permanently the poorer that he did not live to complete his interpreta-

tion of Lincoln. The great drama of a rather commonplace and ordinary politician growing into a great leader under the fire of responsibility and the stress of circumstance has never been better portrayed.

Mr. Beveridge was one of those historians who, without sacrificing research, was aware to the full of his obligation to the reader to present the results of his researches in the best possible literary form. There is in this matter for profound reflection. If propagandist history and nationalistic history prevail over objective science, as at times it seems that they may, it will be because members of the historical gild neglect this elementary and fundamental obligation. Thought and form are both indispensable. Are we always sufficiently mindful of this fact?

In the course of the past year, the hue and cry raised against objective and scientific history by men who spoke in the name of patriotism has much subsided. There are, in the more popular historical pieces of writing, more evidences of iconoclasm than of hero-worship. Nor is it easy when confronted with sentimentality or super-heated nationalism to refrain from inclining the balance too far the other way. Objective history is an ideal easier to be stated than to be realized. It is not too much to hope, however, that the members of our profession will at least aspire to that ideal. The members of our body beyond all question accept this ideal. They believe that the pursuit of truth is their end and an end challenging in itself and useful to society. The history of the past year offers hope that this ideal will prevail.

DEXTER PERKINS.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF F. W. LAFRENTZ AND COMPANY

November 30, 1928.

The American Historical Association,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: We have audited your accounts and records from November 2, 1927, to November 1, 1928, inclusive. Our report, including two Exhibits, is as follows:

EXHIBIT

- A STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS—GENERAL
- B STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS—AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

We verified the cash receipts, as shown by the records, and the cash disbursements were compared with cancelled checks and vouchers on file. They are in agreement with the Treasurer's report. The cash called for by the records of the funds was reconciled with the bank statements. We inspected the securities of the Association, \$194,900.00, par value, as called for by the records, except: \$4,000.00 in the Lorain Telephone Company; \$5,000.00 Commonwealth of Australia; \$5,000.00 Associated Gas and Electric Company, which were in transit, to be exchanged for permanent bonds, according to letter received by us from the Union Trust Company, dated November 28, 1928.

Respectfully submitted,

F. W. LAFRENTZ AND COMPANY,
Certified Public Accountants.

EXHIBIT A

From November 2, 1927, to November 1, 1928

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues.....		\$13,958.39
Endowment Fund (including life membership)...		66,102.38
Profit in exchange of bonds.....		106.88
Bonds redeemed.....		16,650.00
Revertment from John H. Dunning Prize Fund..		50.00
Registration fees.....		322.00
Royalties		68.35
Andrew D. White Fund:		
Royalties	\$1.84	
Interest	67.00	
		<hr/> 68.84
Publications:		
Prize Essays.....	\$21.80	
Papers and Annual Reports.....	30.50	
Writings on American History.....	25.00	
Church History Papers.....	7.00	
		<hr/> 84.30
Grant for Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools from Carnegie Cor- poration of New York.....		10,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the International Committee of Histori- cal Sciences.....		7,000.00
Grant from John D. Rockefeller, jr., for study of racial and linguistic origins.....		5,000.00
Miscellaneous		45.35
John H. Dunning Prize Fund:		
Refund by Executors.....	\$50.00	
Interest	100.00	
		<hr/> 150.00
Interest:		
Endowment Fund.....	\$5,034.50	
George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	305.00	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund.....	1,280.00	
William A. Dunning Fund.....	250.00	
<i>American Historical Review</i> Fund.....	460.00	
Albert J. Beveridge Fund.....	1,040.00	
Littleton-Griswold Fund.....	225.00	
Bank deposits.....	732.09	
		<hr/> 9,326.59
		<hr/> \$128,933.08
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, Novem- ber 2, 1927.....		33,297.48
		<hr/> \$162,230.56

DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary and Treasurer.....		\$4,887.85
Pacific Coast Branch.....		400.00
Committees of Management:		
Nominations	\$69.50	
Membership	76.30	
Programme	486.16	
Local Arrangements.....	259.55	
Executive Council.....	376.91	
Endowment	6,736.15	
Treasurer's contingent fund.....	210.25	
		<hr/> 8,214.82
Historical Activities:		
Committee on Bibliography.....	\$504.82	
Committee on Publications.....	469.09	
Public Archives Commission.....	75.00	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Writings on American History.....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies.....	185.97	
International Committee of Historical Sciences	25.00	
Committee on Carnegie Publication Fund....	125.90	
Committee on Bibliography of Travel.....	116.25	
		<hr/> 1,727.03
Special funds administered by the American Historical Association:		
American Council of Learned Societies:		
John D. Rockefeller, jr., Grant.....		6,048.29 ³
Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools:		
Commonwealth Fund Grant.....	1,732.61	
Carnegie Corporation Grant.....	6,120.24	
		<hr/> 7,852.85
International Committee of Historical Sciences:		
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Grant		6,500.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....		200.00
<i>American Historical Review</i>		8,568.98
Endowment Fund Investments.....		72,637.13
Interest on bonds to date of purchase.....		582.09
		<hr/> \$117,619.04
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 1, 1928.....		44,611.52
		<hr/> \$162,230.56

³ Including amount from grant of the previous year.

EXHIBIT B

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

RECEIPTS

The Macmillan Company, per contract.....	\$2,400.00
Interest on Bank deposits.....	16.25
Profit for year ended July 15, 1928, received from Macmillan Company.....	1,838.25
Sale of reprints.....	33.95
	<hr/>
	\$4,288.45
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 2, 1927	720.84
	<hr/>
	\$5,009.29

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Managing Editor:	
Salary	\$833.32
Petty cash account.....	192.06
	<hr/>
	\$1,025.38
Stationery, printing, and supplies.....	26.75
Binding	2.00
Publications	12.30
Travelling expenses.....	634.44
Contributors to the <i>Review</i> :	
January Number.....	\$467.25
April Number.....	401.50
July Number.....	470.75
October Number.....	374.25
	<hr/>
	1,713.75
Reprints	92.96
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i> for European libraries.....	40.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,547.58
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 1, 1928	1,461.71
	<hr/>
	\$5,009.29

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BUDGET FOR 1929

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS

Annual dues.....	\$14,000.00
Interest on endowment and on bank balances.....	10,000.00
Royalties	100.00
Publications	100.00
Registration fees.....	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Report.....	7,000.00
Miscellaneous	25.00
	<hr/>
	\$31,425.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$5,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch.....	400.00

Committees of Management:

Committee on Nominations.....	75.00
Committee on Membership.....	75.00
Committee on Programme.....	500.00
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	150.00
Executive Council.....	500.00
Committee on Endowment Fund (to be paid from contribution)
Treasurer's contingent fund.....	200.00

Historical Activities:

Committee on Bibliography.....	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History...	500.00
Committee on Publications.....	700.00
Printing Annual Report.....	7,000.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission.....	100.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Public Archives Commission.....	250.00
Writings on American History.....	400.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	220.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges.....	50.00
International Committee of Historical Sciences.....	200.00
Committee on Bibliography of Travel.....	500.00

Prizes:

Justin Winsor Prize, 1928.....	200.00
George Louis Beer Prize, 1928.....	250.00

American Historical Review:

Copies sent to the membership.....	8,500.00
Editorial expenses in excess of receipts.....	5,086.00
	<hr/>
	\$31,606.00

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

BUDGET FOR 1929

RECEIPTS

The Macmillan Company, per contract.....	\$2,400.00
Interest on bank deposits.....	16.00
Profit for year ending July 15, 1929 (estimated from last year's receipts)	1,838.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,254.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Managing Editor.....	\$6,500.00
Petty cash account.....	200.00
Stationery and supplies.....	50.00
Travelling expenses of members of the Board.....	650.00
Contributors to the <i>Review</i>	1,900.00
Subscriptions to the <i>Review</i> for European libraries.....	40.00
<hr/>	
Total expenses.....	9,340.00
Receipts	4,254.00
<hr/>	

Expenses to be paid from the unrestricted income of the Association \$5,086.00

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL

The reports of the Secretary and of the Treasurer record most of the important actions taken by the Council. On November 2 the Ad Interim Committee of the Council voted that there be constituted a Committee on Policy composed of ten members, of which the chairman of the Ad Interim Committee and the Treasurer and Secretary shall be members *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be to consider in what way the resources at the command of the American Historical Association may best be utilized and to what purposes additional funds, as they come in, shall be applied. The committee shall take action more specifically on the following:

1. The disposition of the Beveridge and Griswold funds, and other funds which are or may be in the near future available for historical research and publication.
2. The function of the Association with regard to publication with its present means or such means as are likely to be available.
3. The work of the present committees of the Association which concern themselves with publication and the question as to whether their activities shall be continued.
4. The possibility of the enlargement of the *Review*.
5. The question as to how the funds of the Association have been affected by the activity of other agencies for the promotion of research in the other social sciences.

It was also voted that the committee should be composed as follows: Professor Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, New York, chairman; Dr. J. F. Jameson, Professor F. L. Paxson, Professor J. P. Baxter, 3d, Professor P. J. Treat, Professor Wallace Notestein, Professor R. D. W. Connor, and the *ex officio* members. It is hoped that all members of the Association who have suggestions on any of these subjects will correspond with Professor Fox.

At the business meeting the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented. A report was received from the Pacific Coast Branch, which is able to publish a full account of its meetings much more promptly than the parent society. The report of the Nominating Committee was read, and the persons nominated were elected as printed below.

The Secretary read a telegram from Mr. Ivy Lee, Chairman of the Endowment Committee, regretting his inability to attend the Indianapolis meeting, and expressing his earnest interest in the project of the endowment and his eager desire to coöperate in it.

Professor Harry J. Carman, Secretary of the Endowment Committee, addressed the Association on the subject of the endowment. He stated

that the sum of \$25,000 had been raised during the past year, in addition to the Beveridge and Griswold gifts, and spoke briefly of the plans of the new chairman of the committee, Mr. Ivy Lee, for 1929. Enthusiasm and gratitude were aroused by the announcement of Mr. J. W. Fesler that the friends of the late Senator Beveridge had contributed the balance necessary to complete the fund of \$100,000 in his honor.

The Secretary transmitted to the meeting the recommendation of the Council that the meeting of the Association for 1929 should take place at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, from December 30, 1929, to January 1, 1930. It was voted to approve the recommendation of the Council, and to fix the place and date of meeting as aforementioned.

The Secretary read a report of the deaths which had occurred among the members of the Association for the period December 15, 1927, to December 15, 1928. The Secretary read a memoir prepared by Professor Henry van Dyke upon the late William M. Sloane, formerly a president of the Association.

Professor E. B. Greene moved that the members of the Association express their high sense of the valued services of the late Professor John Spencer Bassett to the Association by a rising vote and that the memoir and record of the vote be transmitted to Mrs. Bassett. Professor Sidney B. Fay read a memoir upon Professor Bassett.

The Secretary announced the appointment of committees for the year 1929.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, James H. Robinson, 173 Riverside Drive, New York.

First Vice-President, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York.

Second Vice-President, Ephraim D. Adams, Stanford University, California.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.⁴

Treasurer, Charles Moore, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

John B. McMaster⁵

Dana C. Munro

J. Franklin Jameson

Henry O. Taylor

Albert Bushnell Hart

James H. Breasted⁵

Frederick J. Turner

James T. Adams

Andrew C. McLaughlin

William L. Clements

George L. Burr

Elizabeth Donnan

Worthington C. Ford

Joseph G. deR. Hamilton

Edward Channing

Samuel E. Morison

Jean Jules Jusserand

Dwight W. Morrow

Charles H. Haskins

Winfred T. Root

Edward P. Cheyney

Payson J. Treat

Charles M. Andrews

⁴ For purposes of routine business the secretary may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

⁵ The names from that of Mr. McMaster to that of Mr. Breasted are those of ex-presidents.

OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH: *President*, Herbert I. Priestley, University of California; *Vice-President*, Frank W. Pitman, Pomona College; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Council*, (the above and) Gilbert G. Benjamin, Robert C. Clark, Henry S. Lucas, John C. Parish.

COMMITTEES:

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, Elizabeth Donnan, Reginald C. McGrane; Newton D. Mereness, Paul C. Phillips, Morgan P. Robinson.

Public Archives Commission: George S. Godard, State Library, Hartford, Conn., chairman; John H. Edmonds, Thomas M. Marshall, Charles W. Ramsdell, James G. Randall.

Committee on National Archives: Charles Moore, 1719 H Street, Washington, D. C., chairman; Tyler Dennett, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Eben Putnam, James B. Wilbur.

Committee on Bibliography: Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J., chairman; William H. Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer. *Subcommittee on International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*: Theodore Collier, Brown University, Providence, R. I., chairman; Frederick E. Brasch, Grace G. Griffin, Jonathan F. Scott.

Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Godfrey Davies, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.

Committee on Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: J. Franklin Jameson, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Worthington C. Ford, Andrew C. McLaughlin, John B. McMaster, Charles Moore, Frederick J. Turner.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman; Dana C. Munro, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., managing editor; Francis A. Christie, Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Sidney B. Fay, J. Franklin Jameson.

Committee on Publications: Leo F. Stock, 3737 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Carnegie Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, James H. Robinson, Henry R. Shipman.

Committee on Historical Research in Colleges: E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; William E. Lunt, Bertha H. Putnam, Fred A. Shannon, Henry M. Wriston.

Committee on International Coöperation: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Sidney B. Fay, Carl R. Fish, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Moore, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools:

August C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; Frank W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, Edmund E. Day, Guy S. Ford, Evarts B. Greene, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, William E. Lingelbach, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner.

Conference of Historical Societies: Albert R. Newsome, president; Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., secretary.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Thomas M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., chairman; Kathleen Bruce, Allan Nevins, William S. Robertson, Wayne E. Stevens.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; Vera L. Brown, Paul B. Jones, William L. Langer, Preserved Smith.

Committee on George L. Beer Prize: Albert H. Lybyer, 808 South Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill., chairman; Parker T. Moon, Franklin C. Palm, Thad W. Riker, Preston W. Slosson.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize: Walter L. Fleming, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., chairman; Ulrich B. Phillips, Earl G. Swem.

Committee on the Jusserand Medal: George C. Sellery, 2021 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis., chairman; Eber M. Carroll, Charles D. Hazen.

Committee on Membership: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; George G. Andrews, Julian P. Bretz, Dumas Malone, Laurence B. Packard.

Committee on Endowment: Ivy Lee, 4 East 66th Street, New York, N. Y., chairman; Harry J. Carman, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., executive secretary; Charles M. Andrews, James P. Baxter, 3d, Marshall S. Brown, Solon J. Buck, Harry A. Cushing, Guy S. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Edward Krehbiel, H. Barrett Learned, Stewart L. Mims, Charles Moore, William A. Morris, Dana C. Munro, Conyers Read, Otto L. Schmidt, Henry M. Wriston.

Committee on Nominations: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, E. Merton Coulter, Louise P. Kellogg, James F. Willard.

Committee on the Programme for the Forty-fourth Annual Meeting: William K. Boyd, Duke University, Durham, N. C., chairman; Viola F. Barnes, Arthur E. R. Boak, Walther I. Brandt, Frederick C. Dietz, Ralph J. Kerner, Charles R. Lingley; and (*ex officio*) Christopher B. Coleman, Dexter Perkins, Oscar C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Robert L. Flowers, Duke University, Durham, N. C., chairman; Robert B. House, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., vice-chairman; William T. Laprade, Duke University, Durham, N. C., secretary.

Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies: Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson.

Delegates in the Social Science Research Council: Guy S. Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences: Carl Becker, Clarence H. Haring, Carlton J. H. Hayes.

Representatives for the Social Science Research Council's Journal of Abstracts: Sidney B. Fay, Joseph C. Green, William L. Langer.

Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Sciences: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.; Paul van Dyke, American University Union, 173 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris VI., France.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

By a tragic accident on January 7, 1928, John Spencer Bassett was suddenly removed from his family, his innumerable friends, and his devoted labors in behalf of history and of the American Historical Association.

Professor Bassett was graduated from Trinity College at Durham in 1888, and received his doctor's degree from Johns Hopkins in 1894. He returned at once to Trinity, and for twelve years enriched his Alma Mater by his inspiring teaching and his fruitful encouragement of historical scholarship, in which he led the way. At a time when the college library was small, he interested his students in preserving and bringing together rare books, newspapers, pamphlets, and manuscripts from the scattered communities of North Carolina. These formed the beginnings of a valuable collection of Southern Americana, some of which began to be published in 1897 in the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*. In 1902 he became the editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, which has continued ever since to make notable contributions to our knowledge of Southern history and social institutions.

In 1906 Professor Bassett went from Trinity to Smith College and became again, in new surroundings, a stimulating influence for historical study and research. To the thousands of young women who enjoyed his lectures on American history since the Civil War he will ever remain one of the most treasured memories of college life. His last class has showed its appreciation of him by establishing a library fund in his memory. His seminar attracted the best advanced students, and produced many excellent monographs which were published in the *Smith College Studies in History*. This was the first scholarly series of its kind at Smith, and it is characteristic of Professor Bassett's encouragement of research and publication that it was primarily owing to him that these studies were established. He founded one of the most delightful college clubs—the Old

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

Letters Club, in which students read and discussed old letters which they rescued from ancestral garrets and which gave interesting and often amusing pictures of the social life of earlier generations in America.

Not only in the college did Professor Bassett make his influence deeply felt. No member of the faculty was more widely known or more universally beloved in the town of Northampton than he. His hospitable home was always open. On Sunday afternoons one was sure to find at his fireside a little group of students, faculty, and townspeople, enjoying good conversation and enlivened by his genial presence. As President Neilson has said of him: "As a citizen he was an extraordinary model of how a man can be in politics and keep pure and sweet; how a man can be in academic life and end keeping his mellowness."

Of his scholarly contributions to history it is unnecessary to speak here. You all know them well—from his masterly *Life of Andrew Jackson* and edition of Jackson's papers to his last work on *The League of Nations*.

But Professor Bassett did more than teach, encourage research, establish historical periodicals and societies, and write scholarly works of his own. He was a most kind, thoughtful, genial friend and wise counsellor, both to his students and his colleagues. One of the most pleasant things which one particularly looked forward to in coming to these Christmas meetings was a chat with him. For years he served this Association devotedly as its Secretary, in spite of the heavy extra burden which it entailed. No one was more active and enthusiastic than he in laboring to build up the Endowment Fund of the Association. Yet all this drudgery for promoting historical scholarship and the welfare of the American Historical Association he always did most cheerfully and unselfishly. To him the Association, with its annual meetings, owes much of its success in recent years. In fact, as one looks at the faces here today, it may be said also, *si monumentum requiris circumspice*.

THE PRESENT STATE OF STUDIES ON THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER IN THE MIDDLE AGES¹

No layman who consults the first volume of M. S. Giuseppi's *Guide to the MSS. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (1923) can fail to be astonished at the immense drift of Medieval documents deposited by the English exchequer. Should he venture so far as to examine specimens of, let us say, the later Medieval Pipe or Memoranda Rolls, he will be still more amazed at their forbidding bulk and technicality. He will cease to suppose that English Medievalists are in any imminent danger of exhausting their manuscript sources, and he will no longer feel surprise that hitherto so comparatively little of this cornucopia has overflowed into print. To the scholar, on the other hand, the English exchequer, which can boast of what is probably the longest and most continuous departmental history in the world, offers an inexhaustibly attractive series of problems, while its virgin mounds of manuscript constitute at once a challenge and a reproach.

Yet relatively scanty as it is, modern knowledge of the Medieval exchequer, its records and processes, has long since passed beyond the limits of a single paper, and it will be impossible here to do much more than indicate very briefly what classes of material may now be found in print and, at rather greater length, refer at least to such of the more recent activities of exchequer specialists as may not yet have penetrated to the bibliographies of the more general historian.

It will save time and space in the first instance to treat as common knowledge the printed sources for this subject included by Mrs. Stenton in the bibliography to her recent chapter on Henry II. in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, volume V. Starting from that point it should be noticed that the Pipe Roll Society is steadily continuing publication of the Pipe Rolls of Richard I. and has now reached the year 1193.² The generosity of American subscribers has further enabled this society to publish the roll for 14 Henry III. (1230-

¹ Prepared for the Oslo Congress, but not read because of the absence of the author.

² Vol. I. of the new series (1925) contains an admirable introduction by Charles Johnson, succinctly describing the whole process of revenue collection, account, and enrollment as it stood in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and adding a brief, but necessary guide to the use of the printed Pipe Roll. A comparison with Miss Mills's equally able work (below) is instructive as to the changes which took place in the course of a century. (Volume for 1194 published since this was written.)

1231),³ which should be compared with the late Dr. Cannon's edition of the roll for 26 Henry III. (1241-1242), and with the important review of that edition by Mr. C. G. Crump in the *English Historical Review*, XXXV. 262-264. No other Pipe Roll subsequent to 1193 has been printed *in extenso*, though one of its official "duplicates",⁴ the Chancellor's Roll for 3 John, was printed by the Record Commission in 1833. County membranes of the Pipe Rolls, however, have been published in fair numbers by local archaeological and antiquarian societies. Of these incomparably the most important, by reason of her masterly introduction and complete and accurate text, is Miss Mills's edition of the Surrey membrane.⁵ The prefatory note to this edition refers to other recent publications of such membranes, many however in summary form, by similar societies, to the list of which may be added the William Salt Archaeological Society (for Staffordshire), the Somerset Record Society, the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, and the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal. All this activity, however, leaves virtually untouched the vast mass of Pipe Rolls⁶ from the end of the twelfth century onwards, in spite of the fact that until well after the close of the Middle Ages they remain one of the most important classes of financial and administrative record. The amount of repetition that they contain from year to year makes it unlikely that they will ever all be published in full, but it is to be hoped that the valuable matter embedded in them to the last may one day be made more accessible to students by a calendar on the lines suggested by Miss Mills in an interesting letter to *History*.⁷

Apart from the Pipe Rolls, there has been no attempt at the systematic publication of the records of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's department of the exchequer. The official card-index at the Public Record Office shows that a few extracts from the Rolls of Foreign Accounts have been printed here and there, and that other extracts from the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda,

³ Ed. C. Robinson, Princeton, 1927.

⁴ Or possibly "parallels". See Crump, *loc. cit.*, but *cf.*, Miss Mabel H. Mills's arguments in her introduction to the *Pipe Roll for 1295*, Surrey membrane, Surrey Record Soc., no. XXI. (1924), and Mr. Crump's review of that volume also, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL. 604.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Excluding the Norman Rolls, published by Stapledon in 1840-1844, to which we must now add certain "Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer, 1199-1204", published by Sidney R. Packard in *Smith College Studies in History*, vol. XII. (Northampton, Mass.). Jenkinson, in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* (1917), p. 262, has provided a key to the Norman Pipe Rolls respectively used and overlooked by, or unknown to, Stapledon.

⁷ XI. 141.

Miscellaneous and Originalia Rolls, are tolerably well distributed through many recent works on English Medieval history. But the sum total of these extracts, mostly very brief, is only a drop in the ocean by comparison with what is left untouched. The same is true of the King's Remembrancer's department, though in this case the fact that the documents concerned are frequently a stage further away from official condensation and enrollment, and by so much the fuller and more interesting, has admittedly produced a somewhat greater activity among editors. Thus King's Remembrancer's "Accounts, Various", mostly originals, have naturally proved much more popular than Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Accounts, and examples may be found scattered through all the best-known periodicals and works of reference of the last fifty years. Besides these, bodies such as the Société Jersiaise have published some of them,⁸ while others are to be found so far afield as in *Diplomatarium Norwegicum*,⁹ *Archivio Storico Italiano*,¹⁰ the *Rôles Gascons*,¹¹ the *Ancestor*,¹² the *Genealogist*,¹³ and in such unexpected works as L. S. Knight's *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600*.¹⁴ The only guide which is at all near to being complete is, however, the Public Record Office index already mentioned.

There has also been some dabbling in the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls. Vernon Harcourt¹⁵ was perhaps the first modern to use them with effect, but Conway Davies¹⁶ and Tout¹⁷ have been preëminent in showing what important matter they can be made to yield.¹⁸ Unlike the Pipe Rolls, there is little or no repetition in these records, which are essentially notes of proceedings in the exchequer during the various stages of account. The insurmountable fact of their great bulk, however, coupled with the admission that there is much dross of merely routine or minor interest mingled

⁸ E.g., in *Bulletins Annuels*, III. 40.

⁹ E.g., vol. XIX.

¹⁰ Emilio Re, *Archivi Inglesi e Storia Italiana* (1913).

¹¹ *Doc. Inéd.*, vol. III.

¹² Vols. I.-II.

¹³ N.S., XVI. 136.

¹⁴ Newtown, 1926.

¹⁵ *His Grace the Steward*, 1907.

¹⁶ *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*, 1918.

¹⁷ E.g., in *Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vols. I.-IV. (1920-1928).

¹⁸ See esp., *ibid.*, III. 364-365 (Peasants' Revolt in London), and cf. IV. 435 n. 3. The notarial instruments of surrender of the Irish chiefs enrolled in K. R. M. R. 18 Ric., II., form the whole basis of E. Curtis's *Richard II. in Ireland, 1394-1395* (1927). Cf., Miss Mills's "Adventus Vicecomitum" in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 481-496, XXXVIII. 331, analyzed below, p. 498.

with the ore which they contain, makes it unlikely that the experiment of publication *in extenso*, once made by the Record Commissioners with an early roll,¹⁹ will ever be repeated. But here too skilled and careful calendaring might effect and reveal much.

The next important class of record in the King's Remembrancer department consists of the subsidy rolls. The subject with which they deal has been exhaustively studied for the reigns of the first three Edwards by Professor Willard,²⁰ and the rolls themselves, which are of considerable value to the genealogist and local historian, have proved favorites with county record societies. All the societies already mentioned as having published Pipe Roll membranes have also published subsidy rolls, and to them may be added the Record Office itself,²¹ the Devon and Cornwall Record Society,²² the Essex,²³ and the Bristol and Gloucestershire²⁴ archaeological societies, the Chetham Society,²⁵ and the Hampshire²⁶ and Sussex²⁷ record societies. In addition we have, besides so excellent a study as Professor Lunt's *Valuation of Norwich*,²⁸ Dr. W. M. Palmer's *Cambridgeshire Subsidy Rolls*,²⁹ Irene J. Churchill's *Kent Records* (1914), and the *Staffordshire Historical Collections*,³⁰ not to mention older instances in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,³¹ the *Ancestor*,³² and the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society.³³ The subsidy rolls consist almost exclusively of lists of names and payments—the information they yield has been conclusively summarized from

¹⁹ I owe this information to Mr. C. H. Jenkinson who was, however, temporarily unable to procure me a copy for inspection, as very few were printed and they are extremely scarce. Transcripts of the two Memoranda Rolls of John and a calendar of some of the early rolls of Henry III. are, however, available in typescript on the shelves of the Literary Search Room at the P.R.O., and a considerable portion of the first K. R. M. R. was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Record Commission, along with some other specimens of exchequer records, in 1833.

²⁰ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 517, XXIX. 317, XXX. 69.

²¹ In *Feudal Aids*. Add the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, published by the Record Commission.

²² *E.g.*, vol. for 1910.

²³ *Trans.*, n.s., vol. XIX., pt. I.

²⁴ *E.g.*, vols. XVIII.–XIX.

²⁵ *E.g.*, vol. XXV.

²⁶ *E.g.*, vol. I. (1891).

²⁷ *E.g.*, vol. X. (1910).

²⁸ Concerned with clerical subsidies only (1926).

²⁹ *Norwich*, 1912.

³⁰ *E.g.*, for 1925.

³¹ Vol. XI. (1839).

³² VII. 262.

³³ Sec. ser., vol. VIII. (1894).

a national point of view by Willard,³⁴ while from that of the local historian they may be held to have received and to be receiving as much attention and publication as they deserve. In this they are probably unique among exchequer records.

Turning to the Exchequer of Receipt we find a more familiar condition of affairs. The archive history of this department has been well sketched by Jenkinson,³⁵ who is himself responsible for unravelling much of the confusion which has prevailed there in the past. The Receipt Rolls themselves are emphatically not worth *verbatim* publication, once their early experimental stage, in which the form is perhaps more interesting than the content,³⁶ is over. This is not to say that they do not contain much valuable information, but merely that the principles upon which they were compiled are extremely misleading to the modern mind and, moreover, render them almost impossible to calendar. They can in short only be made available by a somewhat arbitrary process of selection, or by statistical methods³⁷ which have their own difficulties and dangers. The essential points to realize are that very many of the entries are of a bookkeeping character, and that much revenue never found its way into the Receipt Rolls at all.

There is a close relation between Receipt and Issue Rolls,³⁸ and much, if not all, of what has been said of the former applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the latter class as well. The Issue Rolls are perhaps rather more in the public eye than the Receipt Rolls, owing to F. Devon's well-known translation into English (1835) of the so-called *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*,³⁹ which contains many pic-

³⁴ In the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 517, XXIX. 317, XXX. 69. Cf. his *Survey Taxation Returns, 1290-1332*, Surrey Record Society, no. XVIII.

³⁵ *Manual of Archive Administration* (1922), app. V., pp. 206-223.

³⁶ See *Receipt Roll for Mich. 1185*, ed. Hall (1899), and the fragment printed (with facsimile) by Charles Johnson in *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* (n.s.), vol. I. (1925). Jenkinson prints a list of the early Receipt Rolls of the exchequer (Hen. II. to Hen. III.) in *Archaeologia*, LXXIV, 326-328.

³⁷ See my articles in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 172-180, and *Cambridge Historical Journal*, II. 178, for an attempt to invent and apply methods of this kind to the form rather than the content of the Receipt Rolls of 1349-1399. I have in preparation a similar study of general Receipt Roll marginalia covering the same period. Sir James Ramsay's elaborate calculations unfortunately take the Receipt Roll totals at face value and can not be accepted.

³⁸ Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 321 n.—an important note on the difficulty of interpreting the entries in either series unless they are used to supplement each other.

³⁹ It is not generally realized that the second of the two rolls used by Devon was not that of Brantingham (the treasurer), but belonged to one of the chamberlains, although it is a matter of more common knowledge that this roll really begins in 1369 and should come before the other one, since (a fact first discovered by Ramsay in 1880) the so-called "Exchequer year" of Edward III. begins at

turesque items, and has been freely quoted by historians. Devon also published two volumes of selections from Medieval and early seventeenth-century Issue Rolls, but there is no indication that he followed any principles other than those of popular interest, or really understood those on which such rolls were compiled. The Issue Rolls are, however, used to excellent advantage by Tout in his *Administrative History*.⁴⁰ Whether they can ever be summarized, even by some statistical method, in any useful or intelligible form for the benefit of future students is extremely doubtful: they are, however, of dwindling importance in the fifteenth century, their function being so well fulfilled by an extra column⁴¹ in the Receipt Rolls that they apparently cease entirely in the reign of Edward IV.

We must now turn to the last great class of exchequer records, namely the exchequer Plea Roll, or "record of a common law jurisdiction in the King's Remembrancer's department of the Exchequer". Jenkinson thinks that this roll "was probably in origin no more than a section split off the Memoranda Roll".⁴² It is in independent existence at the present day from at least 43-44 Henry III. (the earliest certain example in the Record Office), and selections from the more important pleadings and enrollments are to be found at the office in separate alphabetical and chronological calendars, starting in each case from 1293. There is, moreover, a volume of select pleas in preparation for the Selden Society, while many of the Jewish 'Plea' Rolls have been separately published by the Jewish Historical Society of England.⁴³

Michaelmas in the middle of his regnal year, and Michaelmas precedes Easter in exchequer reckoning.

⁴⁰ Especially IV. 93 and 315. Our detailed knowledge of the "continual council" in the early years of Richard II. depends almost entirely on this series.

⁴¹ This column gradually comes into existence on the right-hand margin after 1349, and is practically perfect by the end of the century.

⁴² *Manual*, pp. 29, 90 n. Mr. Jenkinson tells me there is an intermediate period during which record of the proceedings is distributed rather loosely between the Memoranda Rolls and the Plea Rolls. See the forthcoming volume of the Selden Society (below).

⁴³ *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vols. I.-II., 1218-1275, ed. J. M. Rigg (1905 and 1910 respectively). A third volume is in preparation. Vol. XV. of the publications of the Selden Society (*Select Pleas, Stars, and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284*) was also edited by Rigg, and is alternatively reckoned as a special volume of the publications of the Jewish Historical Society for 1902. Cf., Jenkinson's list of the special Jewish Receipt Rolls in chronological order in *Transactions* of the same society, VIII. 32-37. Mr. Jenkinson tells me that the lists of the Jewish *Donum* promised at Northampton in 1194 have quite recently been published in full among the *Miscellanies* of this very active body, pt. I., 1925. They were first printed in summary form in Jacobs's *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), pp. 162-164.

This rough enumeration completes the list of the principal exchequer records to be found in print, beyond those mentioned in the bibliography from which we started. It should be remembered, first, that there is now an up-to-date enumeration available in the card-index growing slowly at the Public Record Office, and, secondly, that when all is said and done only an insignificant fraction of these records has ever been published at all. It may be true that large numbers of them are unsuitable for full-length publication, but Pipe Rolls at least, and probably Memoranda Rolls, could be calendared, and until this is done there can be little finality about many such studies on the English exchequer in the Middle Ages as those to which we must now turn.⁴⁴

It is proposed once again, for the sake of brevity, to omit all consideration of such classical studies as those of Dr. Poole and the late Dr. Round, whose recent death is among the heaviest blows suffered by English scholarship for some years. Nor is it necessary to do more than mention either Liebermann's *Einleitung in den Dialogus*, the 1902 edition of that unique document, the Rolls Series *Red Book of the Exchequer*, G. J. Turner's "Sheriff's Farm",⁴⁵ or any but the most recent work of Tout. It will also be necessary to pass over the contributions of Mitchell,⁴⁶ of Conway Davies,⁴⁷ and of Haskins,⁴⁸ and all for the same cause, *viz.*, the not unreasonable assumption that their works are easily accessible and well known to the general historian. Such grave omissions are the more excusable for the recent appearance of Lefebvre's concise résumé of modern work on the exchequer down to 1925.⁴⁹

Until quite recently it was assumed that the history of the exchequer in the twelfth century had been written, by Poole and others, for good and all. The surviving records are comparatively scanty for this period and nearly all in print; there are grave outstanding problems, it is true, but it did not seem that we should come much nearer to solving them than he had already done. G. H. White⁵⁰ and

⁴⁴ Thus the later Pipe Rolls, though at present little understood, apparently act as a sort of index to all the principal exchequer records, besides being compact largely of "cross references from membrane to membrane and accountant to accountant". Jenkinson, *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of London*, sec. ser., XXV. 29-39.

⁴⁵ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, vol. XII. (1898).

⁴⁶ *Studies in Taxation* (1914).

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Norman Institutions* (1918).

⁴⁹ *Édition Française of Stubbs* (Paris, 1927), III. 732-742.

⁵⁰ "Financial Administration under Henry I.", *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. VIII. (1925).

H. G. Richardson⁵¹ have shown us our mistake. The title of White's paper is rather misleading; it is largely genealogical in character, and is concerned far more with men than institutions. He seems, however, to have established a strong presumption against Tout⁵² that two chamberlainships specifically associated with the Treasury, and antecedent to the later chamberlainships of the exchequer, do date back to Henry I.'s reign, and that the "single, dignified Treasurer" postulated by Tout for the close of that reign fills the need felt by the king for "a responsible head of his finances who could be with him at court, or employed elsewhere on royal business", whilst the actual work of the Treasury was done by the chamberlains in question. This leads him, however, to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion, in which he is at odds with all other modern authorities, *vis.*, that, owing to the creation of a separate treasurer, the treasury of Henry I. is no longer to be included in the household. Yet this treasurer is mentioned in the *Constitutio Domus Regis* and is, as we have seen, retained about the court, or sent on royal missions, by the king!

Apart from this, Mr. White has done good service in disentangling the careers and relationships, whether in the service of the Treasury, the Chamber, or an obscure third body, the *Camera Curie*, which he would have us distinguish from the Chamber, of the later Geoffrey de Clinton, of the various Mauduits, and of "that hardened pluralist", William de Pont de l'Arche.

Richardson, like White, and possibly with rather better reason, is not afraid of tilting against established reputations. His notes on the "Exchequer year"⁵³ convict such great names as those of Stubbs, and even Round, among the dead, and Poole and Lyte among the living, of assuming the existence of a special "Exchequer year" in some esoteric sense different from all other years, and even of the further crime of retrospective dating by this hypothetical unit.⁵⁴ Richardson has shown quite conclusively that the supposed existence of a special exchequer chronology is a myth; the exchequer simply used the ordinary regnal year for dating purposes, only the Pipe Rolls naturally look back over the whole year of account, while the later Receipt and Issue Rolls are made up day by day. This practice, though adding to the snares set for the historian in such years as 1307, 1483, and 1485, kills the theory of the "Exchequer year" for

⁵¹ "The Exchequer Year", in *ibid.*, vols. VIII-IX. (1925-1926), "Richard fitz Neal and the Dialogus de Scaccario", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 161-171, 321-340.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, I. 86.

⁵³ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Cf.*, Devon's mistake, above, note 39.

good and all, since in 1307, for example, the two separate departments of the exchequer actually referred their Michaelmas rolls to different regnal years, *viz.*, 35 Edward I. (Pipe Roll) and 1 Edward II. (Receipt and Issue Rolls), respectively. The difficulty is increased by certain changes in the Pipe Roll rule made in each of the three years mentioned; these are, however, satisfactorily explained by Richardson, whose notes constitute a complete guide to the subject. His conclusion is that if the "Exchequer year" means anything at all, it must mean the period between one Michaelmas and the next, and might better be called the "Exchequer period of account".

The solution of this muddle by no means exhausts our debt to Richardson. His studies of "Richard fitz Neal and the *Dialogus de Scaccario*", the whole of which he was kind enough to show me in proof, correct the accepted view of fitz Neal's acquisition of his treasurership,⁵⁵ and discourage the theory that he had "any marked force of character". He was not a great churchman, nor yet a great politician, but neither more nor less than a sufficiently able, if pedantic,⁵⁶ civil servant; the *Dialogus*, in short, is "the only lasting monument to his memory". Richardson follows up this point by a new and extremely interesting criticism of the *Dialogus*, based upon the printed Pipe Rolls and designed to show that it was not finished, as is commonly supposed, by 1179, but that our best existing text⁵⁷ represents an incomplete revision of an earlier manuscript attempted by the author himself in the late 'eighties. It is impossible to trace here all the steps by which Richardson arrives at this important conclusion, but it may be enough to say, not only that they are wholly convincing, but also that they establish on the way certain points subsidiary to the main problem, but possibly of even greater value. Among these may be mentioned a discussion of the eyre system under Henry II., proving clearly that there were no fixed circuits at any time during the reign, and that the years 1176 and 1179 have been quite arbitrarily and unduly stressed by the chroniclers.⁵⁸ There is also an important section on the law of usury in the twelfth century, which makes one more impatient than ever that Richardson's larger studies on this subject should be given to the world. In connection

⁵⁵ Already challenged, but not emended, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, V. 573.

⁵⁶ *E.g.*, in his affection for the "arid and inaccurate" Pipe Roll formula *in perdonis per breve Regis*, Richardson, *loc. cit.*, sect. 3.

⁵⁷ The 1902 edition.

⁵⁸ Almost all Richardson's evidence is drawn from the printed Pipe Rolls, and it is both gratifying to find that exchequer records, once they are easily accessible, can be made with skill and patience to yield such important results, and rather depressing to remember that nobody has attempted to use them in this way before.

with it should be noted that Jenkinson has recently added several new documents to his well-known article on William Cade,⁵⁹ a Christian usurer of this period.

The transition from Christian usurers to usurers of another faith is an easy one, and it is with the reign of Richard I. in any case that we enter most appropriately on the difficult subject of the Jews in England and their relations to the English exchequer up to the expulsion in 1290. Here the standard guide is once more Jenkinson,⁶⁰ who has dealt as faithfully with the so-called "Exchequer of the Jews" as Richardson has done with the "Exchequer year" and, it may be added, with much the same result. It is admitted that Jewish items are entered on separate Receipt Rolls from 1193-1194, but the simple assertion of Gross and of Jacobs⁶¹ that about the same time a separate piece of mechanism was set up under the name of the Jewish exchequer to deal with all Jewish affairs requires much qualification. It is true that special officials were appointed in the time of Richard I. to control the *archae*, or chests in which the Jews were now obliged to deposit all their bonds, but the special body constituted by these officials always remained a part of the exchequer, merely taking over, just as the "Exchequer of Pleas" did, some of the business previously done by the general staff of the exchequer and recorded in the general Memoranda Rolls. The absence of any hard and fast distinction is shown by the fact that memoranda continue to occur in large numbers on the so-called "Plea Roll of the Jews", while Jewish business continues to figure in the general Memoranda Roll, long after the separate rolls have been started. It should be noticed too that the *Scaccarium Judeorum* never touched at all the recording of the actual receipts of cash from which arose the Jewish Receipt Rolls. These, though separate, remained entirely under the control of the ordinary officials of the Receipt.

Apart from this, non-talliage payments from Jews almost certainly appear on both the ordinary Receipt Rolls and the Pipe Rolls but in a disguised form, *viz.*, usually under the head *de debitis diversorum*.⁶² This discovery of Jenkinson's not only clinches his argu-

⁵⁹ In conjunction with Miss M. T. Stead, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 209. Cf. additions by Round, *ibid.*, 522, and Haskins, *ibid.*, 730. For the new material, see *Essays in History Presented to R. L. Poole* (1927), pp. 190-210.

⁶⁰ *Trans.* of the Jewish Hist. Soc. of England, VIII. 19-54. C. Gross was the first to call attention to the subject in his paper read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, no. 6, "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages". Cf. another article of his in the *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. XXV.

⁶¹ *Jews of Angevin England*.

⁶² Only the chance survival of two "particulars of accounts", belonging to a sheriff of 12-13 Edward I., enabled Jenkinson to make this important discovery.

ment but helps to explain the point made by Jacobs for the rival theory, *viz.*, the undisputed fact that frankly Jewish entries in the Pipe Rolls do fall off in number after Richard I. The reason is to be found, however, in the suicidal increase of the severity with which the Jews were squeezed by the government with the help of the new *archae* system in and after this reign, and by the later multiplication of Jewish entries in the ordinary records of the crown under the deceptive *de debitis diversorum* head; not in the creation of a hypothetical "Exchequer of the Jews", most of whose records must be assumed to have mysteriously vanished!

We now enter upon the troubled reign of John, and once more it is Jenkinson who leads the way.⁶³ His paper is remarkable, not only for its comprehensive survey of the existing record evidence, both for Normandy and England, but for the conclusion at which it arrives. The reign is apparently one of administrative confusion, caused by a rapid expansion, itself due as much to the full development of the new forms of action and other new sources of revenue devised by Henry II. as to the notorious rapacity of the new king. This initial confusion is, however, so speedily and systematically attacked that the first years of the thirteenth century witness a remarkable growth in the organizing activities of the exchequer. This is illustrated not only by the great development of what are already in essence the Memoranda Rolls, but also by such brilliant inventions as that of the *tallia dividenda*⁶⁴ in 1206-1207, which has been plausibly associated with the rise of Peter de Rivaux. In this theory there may or may not be an answer to the provocative sentences with which Jenkinson closes his paper. "Behind all the administrative confusion of the reign . . . we seem to see working a single very powerful administrative brain. Was that brain King John's?"

In mentioning the *tallia dividenda* we have been trenching on the able paper in which Miss Mills takes up Jenkinson's work and carries it from 1200 to 1232. But before we come to deal at large with the century whose exchequer history Miss Mills has made her own it should be remembered that we are already indebted to Packard⁶⁵ for some recent work on the period 1199-1204. He has printed for the first time several fragmentary records of the Norman exchequer in its last years, in the hope that from these documents, though on his

⁶³ "Financial Records of the Reign of John" in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* (Royal Hist. Soc., 1917).

⁶⁴ Explained by Miss Mills, "Experiments in Exchequer Procedure", in *Transactions*, Royal Hist. Soc., 4th ser., VIII. 151-170. For the reference to de Rivaux see below, p. 497.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 3 n. 1.

own admission they are of little importance for Normandy, and though "Norman evidence, to be sure, can prove little for England", conclusions of great importance for England may none the less be drawn. Packard himself has hardly attempted to perform this feat of legerdemain, but has confined himself to a reiterated refusal to believe that any good thing, even administrative ability, could come out of the reign of John. However, Packard's reluctance to accept Jenkinson's inferences is unsupported by any shadow of argument, while his rather ungracious accusation of "jumping to conclusions" does not come well from one who almost in the same breath asserts that his documents display exchequer processes of John's reign "which we cannot prove for the earlier period though we may infer them with confidence"!

With Miss Mills we return to the world of scholarship. Her "Experiments in Exchequer Procedure, 1200-1232",⁶⁶ and her still more remarkable "Reforms at the Exchequer, 1232-1242",⁶⁷ have between them revolutionized our knowledge of administrative history in the first half of the thirteenth century. The first of these two papers shows how the exchequer had met the crisis of Henry II.'s death by the invention of new forms of procedure and had passed through an experimental stage under John and during the minority of Henry III. The problem at the time was first and foremost one of congestion, both on the Pipe Roll, and at the Receipt of the Exchequer, owing to the innumerable tallies now required by the sheriffs as the result of Henry II.'s reforms. By 1217 the problem had been solved by the use of a new type of grouped entry on the Roll and by the steady use (since 1207) of the single *tallia dividenda* for the sheriff. More and more debts were left on the Originalia and Estreat Rolls, the Pipe Roll merely containing a short grouped entry in the sheriff's name, while it is also about this time that debts begin to be regularly classified, even on the Estreat Rolls, into t (paid up), p (partially paid), and d (desperate). About Michaelmas, 1223, however, a reaction in favor of individual entries and separate tallies on the old lines set in, and lasted for a full five years. This reaction is associated with Hubert de Burgh, who appears in the new light of an unintelligent "diehard", and its effects are not limited to the summonses. Thus caput 25 of Magna Carta, prohibiting the taking of increment on the farms of the shires, a clause which had been allowed to lapse in the earlier reissues, is now strictly enforced, and the profits fall at once to £220, as against £2500 just before 1215.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ *Transactions* Royal Hist. Soc., 4th ser., vol. X. (1927).

This period of reaction ended, however, in 1228 with the reintroduction of the new grouped entry, while after 1232 enquiries were held into the value of the county profits. The resultant reorganization of the shire accounts (1236-1242) formed the basis for their collection until the middle of the fourteenth century, and constitute the first permanent divergence from the rules laid down in the *Dialogus*. This enquiry and reorganization form the subject of Miss Mills's second paper.

Preparations for the *coup d'état* may be traced back to 1227, but the decisive steps were taken in the summer of 1232, when Peter des Roches's nephew, Peter de Rivaux, received first the custody of the wardrobe, the chamber, and the treasury of the king's household, and then the shrievalty of 21 shires. Miss Mills has shown, however, that de Rivaux hardly attempted to act at all in person, but was "really a chief commissioner appointed to enquire into the state of local finances". The result of the enquiry was postponed two years by the baronial reaction of 1234,⁶⁸ but in the spring of 1236 the Poitevins return, and though de Rivaux now remains in the background, the sweeping change of sheriffs and the fundamental reforms which follow must undoubtedly be attributed to him.⁶⁹ The most striking of these reforms is the removal of ancient demesne from the sheriff *en bloc* for good and all, a deliberate and apparently successful attempt to strike an average for the profits of all the shires in England, and finally in 1241 the fixing of the sheriff's farm at the old figure, coupled with the actual raising of his profits, in spite of the fact that he had now only the issues of the shire and hundred courts, and payments like view of frankpledge, sheriff's aid, and similar customary rents from which to recoup himself. The result is a radical alteration in the position of the sheriff,⁷⁰ who now became "rather a collector of debts due to the crown than a land agent for the king's private estate". The fact that such drastic action was possible explains why shrievalties prior to 1236 had fetched so high a figure, and why after that date men had to be constrained to become sheriffs and demanded, and received, special allowances. Miss Mills concludes

⁶⁸ Caused by *quo warranto* enquiries almost certainly connected with the proposed reform. Miss Cam's article in *History*, XI. 143-148, confirms the implication that *quo warranto* enquiries had been attempted on a large scale long before Edward I.

⁶⁹ Tout (*op. cit.*, I. 216-218, 220-221) apparently suspected something of the kind, but it is Miss Mills's evidence which is really overwhelming.

⁷⁰ It is a pity that Morris's exhaustive *Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (1927) appeared just too soon for him to be able to avail himself of Miss Mills's researches. See Miss Cam's review in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 99.

by pointing out that no further reforms of such importance were executed at the exchequer from this time to that of Bishop Stapledon, nor had they previously been equalled, except by Henry II.

In spite, however, of the great access of revenue which the crown must have obtained by these measures, the finances of the kingdom took a steadily downward trend, and Miss Mills's next article⁷¹ demonstrates the amount of light which can be thrown by the analytical use of the Memoranda Rolls upon the troubled period of the Barons' Wars.

Thus whereas in the years 1243-1258 all sheriffs attended regularly, both at the Exchequer of Receipt and at the Upper Exchequer, seldom missing more than two attendances, hardly any sheriffs attended regularly, and many did not attend at all during the period 1258-1263, while even after that the recovery in the number of attendances down to 1272 is very slow. The amounts paid into the exchequer by the sheriffs tell exactly the same story—a most remarkable drop after 1258 for five years, and then a slow recovery, the arrears of bad debts accumulated during the Barons' Wars proving an overwhelming burden to the exchequer⁷² right down into the fourteenth century. The effect of the study as a whole is to emphasize greatly the amount of administrative dislocation in the years 1258-1263: the Barons' Wars were in short much more serious than used to be supposed. This is confirmed by E. F. Jacob who, using totally different material, supplemented, it is true, by statistics of Miss Mills's, comes to precisely the same conclusion.⁷³

Miss Mills's second article⁷⁴ under the same title covers the whole reign of Edward I. and is more technical in character. She points out that, except for Tout's analysis of exchequer relations with the wardrobe, the exchequer history of this reign is practically untouched, though the records are now beginning to be exceedingly abundant. Madox⁷⁵ uses little but the Memoranda Rolls, whereas a comparative study of Pipe, Receipt, and Memoranda Rolls at the least is required. This Miss Mills proceeds to give us. Her main conclu-

⁷¹ "Adventus Vicecomitum, 1258-1272", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 481.

⁷² Tout (*op. cit.*, I. 297) had already pointed out that there was no treasurer of the exchequer and no resident baron between July and November, 1263. Even seven years later it is clear that there was a considerable financial stringency—cf. a document printed by L. Ehrlich in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 553 ("Exchequer and Wardrobe in 1270"), which states on the authority of treasurer and chamberlains that "since the king's departure" the receipts have amounted to a single penny (or "not a penny"—the difference is hardly material!).

⁷³ *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion*, 1925.

⁷⁴ "Adventus Vicecomitum, 1272-1307", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII. 331.

⁷⁵ *History of the Exchequer* (2d ed., 1769).

sions are that, though the sheriff's process of account became much more complex in this reign than Madox's theoretical description would lead one to suppose,⁷⁶ nothing really abnormal occurs before Michaelmas, 1298. Her tables show, however, that after that date there was a simultaneous and sharp decline both in the number and the value of the payments made at their 'profers' by the sheriffs, although they continue to attend regularly for the purpose at the exchequer. This continued attendance, which is also the case with attendances for audit up to 1307, seems to prove that the profer-lapse from 1298 much more probably indicates a change in the method of payment than a failure to collect and pay in the customary revenue. This hypothesis is confirmed by Miss Mills's examination of the *facta summa* entries in the Memoranda Rolls during the "final view" of the sheriff's account. These entries show that as much revenue as ever is being collected, but that it is being largely spent locally and in advance and, above all, in connection with the wardrobe, so that the accounts are taking much longer to clear at the exchequer, owing to the greater difficulty of proving allowances than of proving payments. The whole enquiry in fact throws an important light on the general development of the process called assignment, which is perhaps the central feature of exchequer technique during the later Middle Ages.

To understand assignment it is advisable to understand the tally. Here again our principal guide is Jenkinson.⁷⁷ The tally as a simple form of receipt for illiterate persons is older than the exchequer itself,⁷⁸ but it is not until it begins to be used for issue purposes that it becomes really interesting. This practice is certainly as old as 16 Edward I.,⁷⁹ but Jenkinson quotes a convenient example from 35 Edward I., when the king's butler was given a tally of receipt made out in the name of the citizens of London, who owed a large sum on account of aids and were instructed by a special explanatory writ to

⁷⁶ Two 'profers', instead of one, become normal, and there is now a fourth stage in the account after the view and sum, *vis.*, the final view, in which the sheriff obtained his allowances and made final payments on the account.

⁷⁷ *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, 2d ser., XXV. 29-39, and XXVI. 36-40. Also two articles in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 367-380 and LXXIV. 289-351, to the second of which are added *inter alia* several plates of tallies, a list of exchequer tallies preserved at the P. R. O., and a tabular transcript and analysis of all private tallies, down to Henry VIII., known to be preserved in the P. R. O. or elsewhere. Cf. Willard's "An Early Exchequer Tally" in *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, vol. VII., no. 2 (1923).

⁷⁸ *Dialogus, ad init.*—"quod autem hodie dicitur ad scaccarium, olim dicebatur ad taleas".

⁷⁹ Tallies were first ordered to be dated, an important consideration, in 19 Edward I. Willard, "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*, p. 5 n.

cash his tally. "About 1320 or very soon after" the practice was fully established, *pro* tallies, as tallies used in this way were coming to be called, even being transferable from one firm or person to another.⁸⁰ It has been pointed out⁸¹ that this practice, together with the parallel one of issuing wardrobe debentures, was tantamount to inflating the currency. It led at once to the forging of debentures⁸² and tallies, a pursuit which now became profitable, to formal provision at the exchequer for the loss of tallies and to important discussions, recorded in the later Year Books of Edward I., about the legal value and admissibility of the tally. It should be noticed, first, that what is new is the use of an ordinary tally of *receipt* for issue—it seems probable that what is known as the tally *contra*, a sort of check payable to bearer, had been in at any rate occasional use long before the reign of Edward I.⁸³ Secondly, it must be borne in mind that the process of assignment by *writ* is as old as Cade. Whatever the methods used the great development of the practice which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ultimately reduced the exchequer to a sort of a clearing-house in which little or no cash was received at all, almost every item of revenue being assigned in advance to the king's creditors by the issue of negotiable tallies of receipt and other instruments. The tendency, however, is not invariable; thus considerable sums were frequently received in cash at the exchequer as late as the reign of Richard II., and there appears to have been less assignment on the whole at that time than in the war years of Edward III.;⁸⁴ it would seem again to be the renewal of the Hundred Years' War⁸⁵ which tipped the scale under the Lancastrians.

However, we are anticipating. Before we leave this subject, it

⁸⁰ Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies" in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 367-380.

⁸¹ E.g., Tout, *op. cit.*, II. 99-101. The whole of this passage is of great value for this subject.

⁸² I hope to publish an example of a forged debenture shortly in the *English Historical Review*. For an attempt to forge a tally see Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies", *loc. cit.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, supplemented by *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, sec. ser., vol. XXV.

⁸⁴ See my article, "Practice of Assignment in the Later Fourteenth Century", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 172-180.

⁸⁵ Willard has shown conclusively (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII. 12) that the reverse is true of a slightly earlier period: thus 1327-1328, when the kingdom was at peace, was a year of assignment, and 1332-1333, when Edward was fighting the Scots, is a year of predominantly cash transactions. But the unprecedented demands of the Hundred Years' War turned most things upside down; cf. Tout, *op. cit.*, vol. III., *passim*. Moreover, Willard himself in his "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*, says that in connection with the taxes on movables "there was a rather steady progress from large cash payments at the exchequer to an assignment basis during the reigns of the three Edwards".

should be noticed that tallies were frequently dishonored, and that it is above all the bookkeeping devices by which the clerks tried to prevent an undue amount of alteration in the Receipt and Issue Rolls which help to make those records so treacherous to the unwary historian.⁸⁶

No mention of assignment would be complete without some further reference to the wardrobe, with whose increased activity under Edward I. its great development should be associated. The first two volumes of Tout's *Chapters in Administrative History* have long been in the hands of every student of the subject, but much new light has since been thrown upon this institution, particularly in its relations with the exchequer, by Charles Johnson in his "System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I."⁸⁷ He makes it clear, for instance, not only that balances due to wardrobe accountants were usually assigned upon some branch of the royal revenues, but also that the wardrobe in action normally paid for its requirements by debentures ultimately cashable at the exchequer.⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that these wardrobe debentures were negotiable instruments, and could be assigned by their holders to other persons for cash.⁸⁹ On their presentation at the exchequer they were debited successively upon a writ of *liberate* for a large amount (*e.g.*, £10,000 or more) in favor of the wardrobe, until the total was reached, when a new writ had to be obtained. The Issue Rolls show these successive payments, totalling up to one big writ, and they are regularly copied out on to a separate roll, called the *Onus Garderobe*, and entered on the receipt side of the wardrobe book as well.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ For a general treatment of this topic see my article, "Some Aspects of English Finance in the Fourteenth Century", *History*, XII. 298, and Miss Broome's criticisms thereon, XIII. 135. Some of the "bookkeeping devices" are explained there and, more fully, by Jenkinson, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, sec. ser., vol. XXV., and Willard, "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. VI. (1923). Two ancient publications of the Soc. Ant. Lond. are of interest in this connection, *viz.*, the *Liber Quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobae Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo* (1787), and *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household* (1790). A wardrobe account of 16-17 Richard II., 1393-1394, has been printed by W. P. Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 497-514.

⁸⁸ See also Jenkinson, in *Archaeologia*, LXXIV. 305, and Tout, *op. cit.*, II. 125-126, for this process.

⁸⁹ I hope to publish shortly two examples kindly furnished to me by J. H. Johnson and Richardson, one from the reign of Edward II. and the other from that of Edward III. Cf. the later cashing or discounting warrants for issue in favor of foreign servants and messengers with which Helming Leget (receiver of the chamber, 1362-1375) was specially concerned (Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 317). The same was almost certainly done with tallies as well.

⁹⁰ It must not be supposed that this was the sole source of wardrobe revenue, a very large proportion of which never passed through the exchequer at all until

We must now turn to the work of Willard who, as is well known, has especially associated himself with an exhaustive study of the taxes on movables round and about the period which we have reached. His early paper on "The English Church and the Lay Taxes of the Fourteenth Century"⁹¹ forms a brief but interesting supplement to the elaborate researches of Lunt,⁹² in which the genesis and evolution of that essentially clerical device, the taxation of movables, is expounded once and for all. Lunt's scholarly treatise—his introduction to the valuation he prints is nothing less—naturally concerns itself almost exclusively with clerical taxation, though he throws a good deal of light en route upon the adoption of the principle for laymen by the lay power. He stops short at the taxation of Nicholas IV. in 1291-1292, but it is just at this point that Willard begins. He shows that this famous valuation included all the revenues of the English church, spiritual and temporal alike, and was accepted by the English crown as a fixed sum⁹³ down to the end of the Middle Ages. But the question of church lands acquired after 1291 remained, and Willard shows that it was settled almost immediately by the taxation of such lands as if they were lay property, under a special direction to the collectors of the lay subsidies, during the reigns of the first two Edwards and in and after that of Richard II. He shows furthermore that the practice was maintained, though without the directing clause, during Edward III.'s reign; in view of it the protests of Wyclif and his sect against the "possessioners" seem to be rather beside the mark.

Turning to the lay subsidies, we find that Willard has amplified his analysis of their yield⁹⁴ in various scattered articles. In 1913 he published his "Sidelights upon the Assessment and Collection of the Medieval Subsidies",⁹⁵ in 1917 he gave us a further paper on their assessment in the period 1290-1332,⁹⁶ and in 1925 he explained at

well on in the reign of Edward III. This proportion was known as the "foreign receipt" of the wardrobe; for its fluctuations see *ibid.*, vols. II.-IV., *passim*. J. H. Johnson, who has supplemented Charles Johnson's study with a similar one on the wardrobe of Edward II., the results of which he was kind enough to show me in manuscript, points out that the distinction was in fact largely illusory during the early fourteenth century, but it remains a real one, though the boundaries are not easy to determine. I understand that this valuable piece of work will shortly appear in print; it contains many other points of exchequer interest, notably in the matter of loans, *prestita*, or cash advances, and the reforms of 1323-1324.

⁹¹ University of Colorado Studies, June, 1907.

⁹² *Valuation of Norwich* (1926).

⁹³ It may therefore have served as a precedent for the similar standardization of the lay subsidies in 1334.

⁹⁴ "The Crown and its Creditors", *loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3d ser., vol. VII.

⁹⁶ Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1917, pp. 281-292.

full length in a most valuable paper⁹⁷ the complex manuscript sources which still await the explorer in this field, and from which his own results had been laboriously derived. Meanwhile his introduction to the *Surrey Taxation Returns, 1290-1332*,⁹⁸ traced the levying of these taxes with the help of illustrations from a specific field, and contained important notes about assignment, the collectors' process of account at the exchequer, and the standardization of the subsidy after 1334. Incidentally this introduction includes a salutary warning of the caution required in using such returns to estimate wealth or population; Willard concludes that they may possibly have a value, relative to each other, for the former purpose, but that their use in calculating population is, owing to the steady decrease in the number of nominal tax-payers, practically nil.

Even when we add his paper on "The Scotch Raids and the Fourteenth Century Taxation of Northern England",⁹⁹ in which he shows how the severity of these raids may be illustrated by the reduction of assessments in the parts affected, principally before but also after 1334, we still do not exhaust our debt to him for a long record of important work carried on thousands of miles from his manuscript sources under what must have been conditions of extreme difficulty. For there is still to be included his recent study on "An Exchequer Reform under Edward I.",¹⁰⁰ of which the writer has unfortunately not yet been able to obtain a copy, not to mention his invaluable guide to the subject of "The Memoranda Rolls and the Remembrancers, 1282-1350",¹⁰¹ which describes all the effects of the Stapledon reforms upon those records and officials, and well fulfills Willard's determination "to set up a few guide-posts"¹⁰² for the direction of the student of administrative history.

The mention of the Stapledon reforms recalls the fact that little or nothing has been said so far of exchequer history in the reign of Edward II. The omission must unfortunately stand, not because nothing is known, but because Tout and Conway Davies¹⁰³ between them have sketched the outlines at least with no uncertain hand, and because consideration of space makes it impossible, and I hope un-

⁹⁷ "Brief Guide to the Records dealing with Taxes upon Movables", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. III., no. 7.

⁹⁸ *Surrey Record Society*, publication no. XVIII.

⁹⁹ *University of Colorado Studies*, June, 1908.

¹⁰⁰ In *The Crusades and other Historical Essays, Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow, New York, 1928.

¹⁰¹ In *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, 1925.

¹⁰² "Brief Guide to Records dealing with Taxes on Movables", *loc. cit.*

¹⁰³ *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*

necessary, to deal with works now many years in print and so familiar as theirs.¹⁰⁴

Tout's third and fourth volumes, on the other hand, have only just appeared and immediately demand attention. Their publication brings us within sight¹⁰⁵ of what will indisputably be the most striking event in the whole field of English Medieval studies since the first appearance of Stubbs's *Constitutional History* more than fifty years ago. But we must not anticipate. In these two volumes Tout reaches 1399, the goal which he had set himself, with a brilliant study of politics and administration at large as well as of the narrower subject which he has made peculiarly his own; only the history of the small seals and the badly needed index are to come. There is much of exchequer interest in these volumes. In the first of them Tout begins by suggesting that a conscientious attempt was made at the exchequer during the minority of Edward III. to carry out the Stapledon-Melton reforms. Thus the chamber accounts were practically all cleared by June, 1330, and the exchequer records of the period, especially the Memoranda Rolls, are very full and good. The Pipe Roll reforms seem to have been adopted by 1340, and ancient debts were removed from the estreat roll and enrolled separately, while arrears of wardrobe and other foreign accounts were cleared off by the end of 1334, the year of the standardized subsidy. At the same time, as we have seen, the use of assignments began to be much extended.

The outbreak of the Hundred Years' War is preluded by the Walton Ordinances of July 12, 1338, which Tout describes as "in intention, if not in effect . . . perhaps the most important administrative act of the reign of Edward III." It is impossible to deal with the measure here;¹⁰⁶ its success, however, as Tout has shown, was both temporary and incomplete. The general aim was to subject both exchequer and chancery to the privy seal, and the exchequer in particular to a further committee of audit appointed by the king. An interesting minor point is the provision that the treasurer should supply the king with a statement of his debts and an estimate of sums

¹⁰⁴ There is more to know, but we must wait for it until Dr. Dorothy M. Broome has published her researches on the fourteenth-century exchequer. She has given us a foretaste of their quality in her "Auditors of the Foreign Accounts of the Exchequer, 1310-1327" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 63-71 and XXXIX, 482), correcting Tout, *op. cit.*, II, 341; her "Exchequer Migrations to York in the 13th and 14th Centuries" in *Essays Presented to Tout*, 1925; and her "Ransom of John II." in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XIV. (1926). All these are used to great effect by Tout in *op. cit.*, vols. III-IV.

¹⁰⁵ A fifth and final volume is promised for 1929.

¹⁰⁶ Printed in full, *ibid.*, III, 143-150.

needed to meet them. Although in general such modern ideas as budgets, estimates, and balances are foreign to the Medieval mind, there was probably nothing new about this suggestion. It should be compared with the second part of a document printed by Miss Mills¹⁰⁷ and apparently dating from the Easter term of 1284. This is an undoubted estimate of actual revenue, but on the other hand it is also no more than a private memorandum drawn up for their own use by the officials of the exchequer. The same is true of the "National Balance-Sheet of 1362-1363"¹⁰⁸ with which it is naturally compared, though it is possible that in the latter case there was some intention of using these rather pessimistic calculations in order to persuade Parliament to grant a subsidy and that they were by so much the more "public" and "official" than those of 1284. There was, however, no provision for budgeting or balancing in any of the normal records of the exchequer, except of course with individual accountants, through the whole of the Middle Ages, and attempts of this kind, though probably not infrequent, were little more than private diversions. In so far as the Walton Ordinance attempts to officialize them it is interesting, but there is no indication that its injunction was ever seriously carried out.¹⁰⁹

We now come to the crisis of 1340-1341, reflected in the exchequer not only by a change of treasurer, but by the appointment of four new barons, a new chancellor of the exchequer, and new remembrancers.¹¹⁰ Apart from the mere fact of these changes that crisis is of little importance there.¹¹¹ All the new barons and the chancellor at least were clerks, though the treasurer was a layman; the king, in short, "had evidently no objection to clerics, when they did not shelter themselves behind the immunities of their order", and,

¹⁰⁷ In *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL. 229.

¹⁰⁸ Published with a commentary by Tout and Miss Broome in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX. 404-419.

¹⁰⁹ Summaries of receipts and issues for 1339-1340 were apparently made, but they were drawn from the receipt and issue rolls of that year and mean very little, owing to the number of purely bookkeeping transactions involved.

¹¹⁰ It should be noticed that from these two volumes by Tout what looks like a practically complete list for the period 1327-1399 of treasurers, barons, chamberlains, and even chancellors of the exchequer, the names in each case often being accompanied by brief biographies, might be compiled. To these might be added more occasional notices of the remembrancers, of at least one writer of the tallies, and sometimes of the tellers of the receipt. Until Miss Broome's lists appear, Tout's work will remain our principal authority for the names and careers of the officials of the Medieval exchequer.

¹¹¹ Yet it was the failure of the exchequer to meet bills of the wardrobe and to export sufficient cash beyond the sea which had caused the whole trouble. Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 106 ff.

adds Tout, in any case anti-clericalism had long since died away in the exchequer, where for generations clerks and laymen had worked harmoniously side by side. Much more important in exchequer history is the long treasurership of Edington, 1345-1356, under whose strong hand the exchequer not only obtained full control of the machinery set up to administer the special war grants, but finally crippled the revived chamber of Edward III. for good and all by the withdrawal of its landed estate, just before Edington's preferment.

The next period of marked exchequer activity is under John Barnet, bishop of Worcester, who became treasurer in February, 1363. It is with him that the "balance-sheet" of 1362-1363 must be associated, and it is to him that we must allocate the credit for a serious attempt to overtake the enormous deficit disclosed. Such an attempt would hardly have been possible but for the large sums available in the ransoms of France¹¹² and Burgundy, and here there was the further difficulty that the king himself appears to have been building up a private war-chest, first in the Tower, and subsequently in the chamber, out of all the payments from this source which he was able to intercept. It was therefore a real triumph for Barnet when a prolonged enquiry in the summer of 1365¹¹³ successfully established the principle that any money contributed by the exchequer to a private store of the king's should be duly entered, if not accounted for, in the records of the department. Meanwhile a persistent attack by the two chamberlains upon the treasurer's clerk in the receipt, Richard Chesterfield, had broken down, while the chief baron had been implicated in an obscure judicial scandal of 1365, and had been punished by deprivation, imprisonment, and a heavy fine. All this activity, taken in conjunction with the overhauling of the chamber finances in 1355-1356, the re-transference to the exchequer in 1360-1361 of great wardrobe accountability from the wardrobe of the household, where it had been lodged as in the old days for nearly ten years, and the reorganization of Queen Philippa's household by its virtual incorporation in the king's in 1363, looks as if it were a whole new system which was on trial; a system which was finally approved by the success of all these measures and by the double subsidy granted in Parliament in 1365. This system no doubt began with Edington, but was certainly carried through by Barnet, very probably with the assistance of William of Wykeham, his friend and only rival in the confidence of the king.

Financial stringency, due to the renewal of the war, brought

¹¹² See Miss Broome's "Ransom of John II.", in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XIV. (1926).

¹¹³ Set out in full in the Memoranda Rolls.

about the crisis of 1371. From the point of view of the exchequer the only real victim was the treasurer, Bishop Brantingham, and the only innovation the retention of a lay treasurer for so long a period as six years. The famous mistake about the number of parishes in England should not be laid at this official's door: it was made only the day after his appointment and was certainly the work of the subordinate staff of the office, which had remained unchanged. The interesting points are, first, that the exchequer discovered its mistake within a month, and secondly, that it "set an early example of the official collection of exact statistics" by asking the delegates to the Winchester council, summoned to reapportion the subsidy, to bring with them a report as to the real number of parishes in their shires.

The early years of Richard II. are marked in exchequer history by the Commons' constant demand for, and unsatisfactory experiments with, special treasurers of war, an office which apparently goes back to the Walton Ordinance¹¹⁴ in theory, though as far as I am aware never put in practice before. After being scrapped by the Commons themselves in 1379 it was revived in 1385 and 1390, and was finally adopted by Henry V. and his successor,¹¹⁵ in whose reigns, however, the post was frequently doubled with the keepership of the wardrobe of the household. Apart from this, there is little to record of the exchequer under Richard II. Officials under the rank of treasurer or chief baron hardly seem to have taken sides with, or to have been singled out for punishment by, either one party or the other in the great crises of the reign. Continuity is the real key-note, new blood being normally limited to the offices just mentioned. Even the fall of Richard II. leaves the exchequer practically unmoved, but for a natural and inevitable change of treasurers—thus of the five barons of 1 Henry IV. only two were new, and one of these had been a king's clerk under Richard. Tout concludes that by the end of the fourteenth century "the exchequer was fossilised by tradition", and with that conclusion we are well into his fourth volume.¹¹⁶

The rest of that volume is devoted to the detailed history of the three wardrobes and the chamber in the fourteenth century. It naturally includes much that is of value concerning their relations with the exchequer, but as it is only of subsidiary value it must be

¹¹⁴ Tout, *op. cit.*, III. 73, 149, Walton Ordinances, *ibid.*, c. VIII.

¹¹⁵ See below, pp. 508–509, and cf. Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 225.

¹¹⁶ Space forbids the use of much interesting detail about the exchequer during the Peasants' Revolt (*ibid.*, III. 369–370), or about the Ricardian chamberlains' practice of combining their exchequer post with other duties (III. 451), etc., etc.

reluctantly passed over here. It is worth noting Tout's general impression of the pedantry and precision of the exchequer at this period, especially in relation to these departments: "exchequer control then, as treasury control now, meant straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."¹¹⁷ By the end of the century it is fair to say that all these departments had been consolidated in effect into a single civil service, of which the chamber formed an insignificant part, so insignificant that Richard II. "did not even try to use it for autocratic purposes". And yet it was precisely the chamber which was destined to be revived.

We now enter on the uncharted sea of fifteenth-century administration. There is not, as far as the writer is aware, any up-to-date attempt in print to deal with the financial and administrative situation under Henry IV.—Wylie's well-known work touches on these subjects, but in such respects it is not a satisfactory guide. A little later we have a solitary article by R. A. Newhall on the "War Finances of Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford, 1417-1424".¹¹⁸ Unfortunately Newhall bases his statistics very largely on the figures given in the Receipt and Issue Rolls; he is alive to some of the defects of this method, but has been unable to avoid them. He has interesting things to say of the "treasurer of war",¹¹⁹ who besides doubling the part of treasurer, or keeper of the wardrobe of the household, seems to have acted in some sort as representative of the exchequer in the field. Newhall thinks that he was also head of the chamber, which, if true, is important, since he has traced several large payments into the chamber during this reign. There is usually a mere record of the sum and the fact that it was conveyed to the king in France; it is, moreover, significant that there is seldom any note of its expenditure or any attempt to earmark it, though both processes do occasionally occur. After the conquest of Normandy troops in the field continue to be paid by the treasurer of war, who (somewhat infrequently) receives large sums for this purpose from the exchequer, but troops in garrison are now paid by Norman officials out of Norman revenues. On Henry V.'s death Bedford became regent of France only, thus completing the severance from the English exchequer, which had become more and more marked as the conquered territories had begun to pay for themselves and field operations had gradually ceased.

Meanwhile, as Tait has pointed out,¹²⁰ the renewal of the war

¹¹⁷ Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 93.

¹¹⁸ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 172-198.

¹¹⁹ Above, p. 507.

¹²⁰ Introduction to *Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1524-1802*, Chetham Society, 1924.

brought about "bold and fruitful" experiments in expansion of direct taxation. On two occasions under Henry IV. levies had been imposed on clear income derived from land above a certain value, while under Henry VI. a graduated income-tax, including income from offices, annuities, rent-charges, and so forth, was imposed. These special war measures were, however, abandoned after 1450, when the old fixed subsidies returned, and it is not till 1489 that we get in the first conjoint tax on both realty and personalty, the earliest of the successful Tudor subsidies.

Whatever we do not know about the way in which successive fifteenth-century governments supplied their needs, we do at least know that those needs were unlimited and that even the special taxes just mentioned were wholly inadequate. Hence it was very common to take refuge in loans. In this connection Miss E. J. Davis and Miss Peake have recently published¹²¹ a most interesting list of loans from the city of London to the government of Henry VI. during the years 1431-1449. These loans, which apparently carried no interest, appear to have been commonly secured upon exchequer tallies of assignment, many of which proved impossible to cash, at any rate for a long time. Hence a fresh loan was commonly in demand before the first had been repaid, and on at least one occasion the city hit upon the idea of making up the sum required by handing back the tallies found uncashable; they were, however, rejected by the Council, which pointed out that they "myght nat ease the kynge oure saide soueraine lord thanne at his saide greet nede". Slightly before this date important help was being given to the government by Cardinal Beaufort, about whose financial relations with Henry V. and Henry VI. we shall be better informed when K. B. McFarlane publishes his researches. Meanwhile the revival of the chamber under Henry V., the strain of the renewed war and of the period of civil strife which followed it, the multiplication of loans and the abuse of assignment, all contributed towards the state of decadence into which the exchequer fell in the fifteenth century and in which we must leave it. More than a hint of what was to befall this proud and ancient office stands revealed in the satirical verses on its condition at the beginning of the century, published by Mrs. Eric George.¹²²

This poem is a description of all the stages through which first a "foreign" and then a sheriff's account must pass in the exchequer, together with an indication of the official to be bribed at each stage and the amount that must be paid. It may be dated approximately to the period 1398-1410 and it reveals an extraordinary degree of

¹²¹ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, IV. 165-172.

¹²² *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 58-67.

"fossilisation", to adopt Tout's expression, and corruption, not only in the Upper Exchequer, but also at the Receipt. No doubt much must be discounted as satirical exaggeration, but there is a certain amount of evidence that these complaints were well founded. Thus in 1406 a Commons' petition for administrative reform specifies the undue taking of gifts and fees by the treasurer and officers of the exchequer, while in 1455 a similar petition, recognizing, however, and accepting certain fees, actually took effect. The resultant act was superseded, however, almost immediately by an ordinance of the council made on July 28, 1456, which enumerated a large number of legitimate gifts and fees, was ordered to be read openly, and was entered on the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll. Mrs. George shows that a comparison of this list with the text of the poem suggests that the gifts and bribes complained of in the latter had now become recognized payments. Sir Julius Caesar (Chancellor and Under-Treasurer in 1606) docketed his manuscript of the poem, which is the one used by Mrs. George, simply as "privileges of the Exchequer", and evidently considered the "extortions" to be identical with the "fees", which of course had become even greater by his time. The fact is that the original salaries of the exchequer officials were relatively small and fixed, so that we have here the process by which they were transmuted into the valuable sinecures of later years, the stock example being the New Year's gifts to the treasurer, which became in time a definite perquisite of the office.

We are straying far beyond the limits of the Middle Ages, but while we are on this unfamiliar territory it may be worth while to note that nearly all the unfortunately rather scanty modern work on the post-Medieval exchequer is of great value to the student of its earlier history. It is only possible to refer here to the work of A. P. Newton,¹²³ Mrs. George,¹²⁴ R. D. Richards,¹²⁵ and W. A. Shaw.¹²⁶ Of these Newton and Richards are not dealing directly with the subject, but their researches are none the less of great exchequer value.

It only remains to mention certain scattered articles which for lack of space we have been obliged to pass over without comment,

¹²³ "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 348, and "A List of the Records of the Greencloth Extant in 1610", *ibid.*, XXXIV. 237-241.

¹²⁴ "Notes on the Origin of the Declared Account", *ibid.*, XXXI. 41-58.

¹²⁵ "The Evolution of Paper Money in England", *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XLI. 361-404.

¹²⁶ Introductions to the several volumes of the P.R.O. *Calendars of Treasury Books, 1660-1689*.

but from which many minor points of interest may be derived. Such are the papers by Miss Sandys on "The London Temple in the Thirteenth Century", and by Mr. Galbraith on "The Tower as an Exchequer Record Office under Edward II.", both in *Essays Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, 1925—Miss Broome's "Exchequer Migrations to York" in the same volume has already been mentioned. Messrs. Sayle and Richardson are at present conducting an enquiry into the origin of the so-called "exchequer series" of Parliament rolls,¹²⁷ but so far their results, though of great interest in the history of Parliament, do not bear at all on that of the exchequer. On the other hand an article entitled "Rolls from a Sheriff's Office of the Fourteenth Century", recently published¹²⁸ by Miss Mills and Jenkinson, links up the exchequer with the county, and even with the hundred, in a most suggestive fashion, and is accompanied by some general inferences about such local organizations and the class which staffed them of remarkable interest and value.

There is one other omission, and a very grave one, to which the writer must confess; he has said nothing about the history and study of the customs. His only excuse must be one of space, coupled with the consideration that, though obviously related to exchequer studies, this is really a subject in itself. We can again do no more than refer to the classic work of Hubert Hall,¹²⁹ which has been recently challenged in some respects and in others superseded by that of N. S. B. Gras.¹³⁰ It might be added in this connection that certain Port Books, of the class used with such effect by Gras, have recently appeared for the first time in print.¹³¹ The whole class had been condemned as valueless by Palgrave and others in 1835,¹³² but they were luckily preserved for all that and are now coming into their own.

If in conclusion the writer may be allowed to state what is the most general impression left upon his own mind by this brief and insufficient survey of the present state of studies on the Medieval exchequer, it is that the complexity of the subject and the richness of the sources can hardly be exaggerated, and that therefore it is as well to keep an open mind as to what may emerge from the application of the intensive processes of modern research to such material within the next few years. We have been taught to believe that the

¹²⁷ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, vol. V., ff.

¹²⁸ In *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 21.

¹²⁹ *History of the Customs-revenue of England*, 2 vols., 1885.

¹³⁰ *The Early English Customs System*, 1918.

¹³¹ *Welsh Port Books, 1550-1603*, ed. E. A. Lewis, Cymmrodorion Rec. Series, XII. (1927).

¹³² Jenkinson, *Manual*, p. 124.

Medieval mind was not as the modern mind in the matter of finance and administration, any more than in the matter of religion. That is, no doubt, true, but it may be exaggerated. Cunningham, Ashley, Sombart saw the Medieval man knowing not credit and innocent of most financial expedients; Tawney has referred to his "casual pawn-broking . . . accompanied of course by larger operations".¹⁸³

When we think of the assignment and the tally, of the wardrobe debenture and the warrant for issue, of the various types of the fictitious loan, and of the uses to which all these and many other devices were put by the English exchequer alone at least as early as the early fourteenth century, and when we remember that that office was by no means the most financially "advanced" institution of its age, it becomes hard to maintain this view. And deploying in support of Medieval subtlety come the big battalions of Postan's Continental learning.¹⁸⁴

ANTHONY B. STEEL.

¹⁸³ *Discourse upon Usury*, ed. R. H. Tawney (1925), p. 87.

¹⁸⁴ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, V. 176-178, and "Credit in Medieval Trade", *Economic History Review*, vol. I., no. 2.

BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION OF THE PEACE WITH AMERICA, 1782

IN a recent discussion of the newspaper as a source comparatively little used by the historian, the question is raised whether the press reflects, guides, or forms public opinion, and the comment made that though the point may be deemed purely academic, yet the writer of history who uses the newspaper as a record must at least attempt to answer it.¹ A cursory examination of British newspapers toward the close of the eighteenth century leads one to the conclusion that while the press of that day was hardly influential enough to form public opinion, it no doubt guided it to a considerable extent, and was certainly an effective mirror of the popular conception of current affairs.

The following excerpts from contemporary newspapers have been chosen to show British public opinion concerning certain aspects of the peace with America, of which the preliminaries were signed November 30, 1782. The files from March 27, the beginning of the Rockingham ministry, through February 24, 1783, when the Earl of Shelburne resigned as Prime Minister, reveal not only what the reading public actually knew of the progress of the peace, from the scarce items of genuine news, but also the various and inconsistent rumors to which it was exposed. News items constitute not over ten per cent. of all the matter printed on the subject. Supplementing both news and rumors were the many individual opinions expressed in the contributed letter, paragraph, and the more rare leading article, all of which may be assumed to be fairly representative of public opinion as a whole.

When it became evident that independence was to be the foremost demand of America, Fox and Shelburne differed as to how much of it Great Britain should grant. The concession recommended by Fox, as Rockingham's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is described as "absolute, unlimited, *unconditional* INDEPENDENCE, without compact, or alliance, or even stipulating for payment of our merchants' debts, or security for the lives and properties of the Loyalists. . . . This was all Congress could have asked . . . it was all France desired when she began the war".² He "strikes at the first

¹ Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*.

² *Morning Herald*, July 9. Frequently the same item is copied from one newspaper to another or appears simultaneously in several papers, so that it is impossible to tell which had it first. The foot-notes cite only one reference for any one item. The year 1782 is to be understood unless otherwise noted.

jewel of the British Crown", writes a True Briton, "he wants to lop off America".³ On the other hand, Shelburne, as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, had another plan, which was, according to the papers of June 12, 1782, to put America on exactly the same footing as Ireland, giving her "a Viceroy, a House of Lords and Commons, without any appellat jurisdiction to the Courts of Great Britain, together with all the advantage resulting from a free commerce".⁴ This legislature shall be "independent of any other legislature upon earth . . . to consist of the King of England, as King of America, and such representation . . . as the Americans themselves shall think proper. . . . She will be, to all intents and purposes, *regal* within herself" and without being in the least under the British Parliament will contribute her share to form a loyal Empire.⁵ Two days later it was said that Shelburne's plan might not be laid before Parliament until it was known "whether our continental brethren will accept the proposition".⁶ Benjamin Franklin's response to it left no uncertainty. "His only reply was—'having thrown off the yoke of the *master*, my countrymen will never be so weak as to be governed by his deputy!'"⁷ Some months later, Shelburne's plan bore fruit in an open letter to his lordship signed "A Friend to his Country" to this effect:⁸ Grant independence similar to Ireland's—not to the Congress which is the ally of France, but to the Loyalists; let them set up a Congress in New York independent of the British Parliament, but acknowledging the king, and subject to a viceroy. Carleton, it is suggested, would fill this office well, with Cornwallis, Arnold, and Tarleton under him. Supply them with money, and continue the operations of the army and navy. Any entanglement with France is thus avoided.

Shelburne's attitude toward independence was of course the more generally popular, the *Morning Herald* of July 5 thus adjuring his opponent: "Mr. Fox should remember that the rights of this country are not to be sported with; and that the great body of the people differ with him on such a measure." It further complains that Fox's parliamentary declaration "has entirely done away with the hopes . . . of coming to terms . . . short of independence, which Lord Shelburne certainly had in contemplation".

Other terms appeared even earlier than Shelburne's, in the *Morning Chronicle* of April 2, proposing that, since American representation in Parliament is not approved by either England or America, an

³ *Morning Chronicle*, July 24.

⁴ *Morn. Her.*, June 12.

⁵ *Morn. Chron.*, June 13.

⁶ *Morn. Her.*, June 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 18.

⁸ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 17.

American legislature be incorporated with the British Parliament. The same paper suggests another idea, that is, the Roman system of giving constitutional rights to colonists who lay down their arms, a civil constitution to be granted to all such. Now is the time to try it, when America is fearful of the designs of France, without men or money, her commerce lost, her forces generally defeated, and her country ruined by war.

On July 9, Shelburne, in his first speech as Prime Minister in the House of Lords, stated that he was still of his former opinion as to the inexpediency of giving independence to America; that when it should be established, "the sun of England might be said to have set";⁹ that he had used every effort to prevent it, but now was obliged to give way. However, he was free to say that he had no doubt the event had been hastened by the rash advice (meaning Fox's) "to acknowledge an independence which might have been destroyed in the bud". The *Morning Herald* of July 13, commenting on Shelburne's about face, says that he "has been converted from his old political system, as Copernicus was from the Ptolemaic—He now sees that the world goes round the sun, not that the sun goes round the world, and though the sun of England may set with American independence, yet he looks to see her rise again in all her pristine glory from the West". Four days later the same paper carps at Shelburne's *double entendre*, saying that no one who heard his speech could "comprehend what part his Lordship intends to take in respect to a jurisdiction over the Colonies".

Fully three months before this "melancholy event", the newspapers were printing letters of protest. On March 29, one who signs himself Senex writes: "nothing but the most urgent extreme of distress should ever induce England to vote America *independent*."¹⁰ By the middle of April, so firm had America's demand become that it is said that the "Commissioners from Congress in Europe cannot ever open a negociation"¹¹ without independence being first admitted. On May 7 the *Morning Herald* consoles itself for the inevitable by saying: "As for us, by giving up that point, we can lose nothing more than a set of refractory disobedient children, whilst Holland, Spain and the other powers now in confederation with these new states, have every thing to fear." A week later, however, we read that the obnoxious demand of the Congress will not be admitted, "as the leaders of the Administration are fully determined to oppose it";¹² a futile determination, however, judging from a paragraph ap-

⁹ Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne* (2d ed., Lond., 1912), II. 163.

¹⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, Apr. 5.

¹¹ *Lond. Chron.*, Apr. 16-18.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 11-14.

pearing June 19: "There is not the least probability that can Congress will come to any terms, even with their *best* present ministry, short of absolute independence!"¹³

On July 2, "A Friend both to Great Britain and America" admits to the *Morning Chronicle* certain arguments in favor of immediate independence, since it seems to be the general opinion that America will get it anyway; independence being offered on the same time reasonable terms are proposed for France, America is urged to accept them or else she would make a sea for herself; in the second place, independence granted at once would save the estates of the Loyalists from confiscation; this can be lost by an immediate offer, while on the other hand the great harm probable in delay, for the longer independence is delayed the more alienated will the Americans become in commerce with Great Britain; the British trade is already being undermined by France and America's progress prohibits the importation of British goods. As independence is offered, the writer doubts not that "the affections of the greatest part of the people of America will return to the British channel". On the fourth of July there appeared in the *Herald* a letter brief and to the point signed Politicus. It proposed only two ways of concluding matters with the Americans: either subdue them or give them independence. It is too late to subdue them, and they already have attained the latter. Delay involves Great Britain in America's quarrels, while independence splits her into factions instead of leaving her united in a common cause against Great Britain. Grant independence, then, and America might have a steady ally". It was thus with Spain at the time when the latter became an independent state.

As to the attitude of the Cabinet, "the word *independence* was not pronounced in the Cabinet of London; Mr. Grenville took care not to make use of it and in his provisions, not only was it not mentioned, but even the United States is not named" and the word "freedom" in place of the objectionable term; the paragrapher adding that the British proposals were likely to be granted, until their agent is empowered to demand clearly.¹⁴ "The chief ground of quarrel in the Cabinet, was the proposed *independence* of America, which, after all, it seems likely to be granted to the Rebel Congress."¹⁵ Three days later it was reported that "the disagreements between the late M

¹³ *Morn. Her.*, June 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, July 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 6.

so far adjusted . . . that Lord Shelburne has declared, he wishes not to remove any one individual; all those . . . in office, therefore, who are ready to support Lord Shelburne's refusal to avow American independency, may, if they please, keep their places".

During the rest of the summer there is very little mention of American independence, which was coming to be considered a foregone conclusion. A correspondent writing to *St. James's Chronicle*, September 3-5, asks: "Why not acknowledge the Independence of that country? they *are* already independent in every Thing but the Farce of British Recognizance." The *Morning Herald* on September 26 admits it, saying that "his Majesty has condescended to give his revolted colonies the title of the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . . quitting all claim to any jurisdiction whatsoever over that new empire"! As justification for the dismemberment of the empire, a correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* offers the following: "heaven dissevered America from England, ab origine, by the great Atlantick Ocean; and all the art, sophistry, and chicanery of cunning or interested men will never be able to join them. Poor, deluded England has spent over 100 millions . . . in the attempt, and happy for her that she has seen her error."¹⁷

There were protesting voices up to the last, however, typified by "A Seaman", writing to Admiral Keppel, that "Every Briton, who endeavours to promote a declaration of American independence is an enemy of his country";¹⁸ and a letter from Lycurgus, asserting that granting unconditional independence to America would be "but to acknowledge ourselves the aggressors and justify her rebellion"¹⁹ and would make America only more stubborn and insolent. The Roman policy, the writer observes, was never to accept, but to dictate, terms of peace. "It is rather paradoxical", comments the *Morning Herald* of September 25, "that the moment rebellion was extinguishing itself should be seized upon . . . to make a formal surrender of all claim of American allegiance and dependence upon Great Britain forever." A letter to Shelburne sarcastically inquires, since independence is said to be granted for the good of Great Britain, then why not give Canada to France and Gibraltar to Spain?²⁰ And only ten days before the peace preliminaries were actually signed between Great Britain and America, the *Morning Chronicle* printed a letter to Shelburne signed "A Briton", imploring him to, "humour the spirit and wish of the nation at large, for one year more at least,

¹⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 11, 1783.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17.

¹⁹ *Morning Post*, Sept. 20.

²⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 5.

or two; use a vigorous exertion during that period, and depend upon it you will succeed beyond all opposition. . . . Let the Tower of London be taken sword in hand before you submit to such a disgraceful ruin as American Independence".²¹ Let Shelburne now try his strength in the House against the Rockinghamites, and Fox, and Burke, says the writer. The unity of the empire must be preserved at all costs.

Very early in the discussion of independence, the question was raised as to its legality. The London *Chronicle* of May 11-14 carries a letter signed A British, and also A real American, Patriot, expressing the opinion that the King, Cabinet, or Parliament may do any act for the good of the state, but can not divide, separate, or alienate the territorial rights of the crown. For the next four months the topic vanishes from the papers almost entirely, to come up again frequently during October and November. A paragraph appeared on October 2, declaring that this is "one of the greatest political subjects ever agitated in this country. . . . The first point it contains is, 'Can the Crown sever the dominions of the Empire?' Should this be determined in the negative . . . then the second point will be, 'Does the act of Parliament which authorizes the Crown to make peace with America, give it authority to declare America independent?'"²²

Lord Shelburne himself effectively cleared up the situation for some of his adherents, who quote him as follows: "'If [said his Lordship] the colonies are to be severed from this country, let the people give away their own inheritance, let this important business come before Parliament, and let the great council of the nation decide upon it; for us, comprising only the Privy Chamber of the Sovereign, to give away the people's dearest rights, is treason against the people.'" ²³ This opinion was soon echoed in the press, namely, that no single person has the power to acknowledge the independence of America. "The whole legislature must concur in creating such a power, and vesting it in the Crown, before the dominions of this country can be alienated."²⁴ Later paragraphers, however, expressed a contrary opinion: "The authority of Parliament . . . doth not extend to the transferring of allegiance of any subject from his rightful and natural Sovereign *to another*";²⁵ and again, "the parliament have no more right to give up America and declare it independ-

²¹ Nov. 20.

²² *Morn. Her.*

²³ *Morn. Post*, Oct. 15.

²⁴ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 18.

²⁵ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 28.

ent . . . than they have to declare, that all the securities in England on mortgage shall be dissolved".²⁶

By November 21, the *Morning Post* considered that it was "generally agreed that the power of the Crown is competent to negotiate conditions of American independency, yet so important concessions cannot be legally made without the joint concurrence of the three branches of the Legislature". That this prerogative of the crown was not very "generally agreed" upon, however, appears from "Queries submitted to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament",²⁷ printed on the very day the preliminaries were signed: the American colonies being settled by British subjects, governed by Parliament, are they not as much a part of the realm as Wales and Middlesex? And if this is so, what law or prerogative authorizes the king to break the unity of empire by dissolving the allegiance of three million people, without the consent of people or Parliament? Further, if the king can dispose of America, has he not the same right to give independence to Scotland and Wales? Does not prudence advise the king to consult the people or Parliament upon this step?

For weeks after the preliminary terms were settled, the controversy raged as to whose prerogative it was to free America. The king "cannot legally alienate any part of his territory, in which his right, though hereditary, is neither real nor personal, but merely official. The avowal of American Independence, in short, is an act for which the Ministry alone, and not the Sovereign, is responsible, and it may be reversed either by them or their successors in office".²⁸ Early in January "A Briton", writing a series of three letters²⁹ on the question, reaches the conclusion that a king of Great Britain can not by virtue merely of his *prerogative* dismember the empire, and then inquires whether he possesses that right under any statute. "The only statute, upon which this question can arise, is the act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled 'An act to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace, or truce, with certain colonies in North America, therein mentioned'." This statute, however, should not be so construed "as to give his Majesty a power to disenfranchise and cut off from the British Government for ever, thirteen provinces, containing 3,000,000 of people", most of whom have been faithful subjects, "when there is not an *expression* or word that can be tortured into such a meaning". At all events, no ministry did take upon itself the responsibility suggested, and the act granting inde-

²⁶ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 29.

²⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 30.

²⁸ *Morn. Her.*, Dec. 28.

²⁹ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 9, 16, 24, 1783.

pendence was not reversed either by the ministry who sponsored it, or by any of "their successors in office".

Assuming that independence was a foregone conclusion, the Cas-sandras of the British nation began, even before the Shelburne administration was well in the saddle, to predict its dire consequences. A letter to Shelburne, signed "Public", declared that separation of America from England would mean the ruin of the latter. Why not treat America as Ireland had been treated, at the same time pursuing the war vigorously against France?⁸⁰ From "A True Briton" Shelburne also received the prediction that emigration to America would "half depopulate this country", and, moreover, America "will have a navy that will one day deprive us of all we possess abroad".⁸¹ Her shipping and her navy, always Great Britain's sensitive point, gave the people much concern. "Lord Shelburne is so sensible that the independence of America will strike at the root of the marine strength of this country", says the *Morning Post* of August 9, "that he has it in contemplation to lay a plan before Parliament for a naval militia, to consist of 50,000 men." One "Portius", writing to Shelburne,⁸² sees the time coming when Britain's "commerce shall fail and her eternal decline commence", unless a stop is put to American independence. "If there really are not resources in this nation . . . to reduce America to her former obedience, let only *three* or *four* of the Provinces be annexed to Great Britain, and the other divided into two distinct Republics, to pursue different interests and different alliances."

The danger of American independence to Great Britain's colonies in the new world gave much concern. History shows how pride of empire affects a nation, says a letter of August 21.⁸³ "*Not content with independence, it aims at conquest*"; and there is no doubt but the first object of American ambition will be the reduction of all our islands." "In less than seven years of peace and independence", writes "Caractacus", "their shipping will increase to such a degree, that the West Indies must become theirs."⁸⁴ Nearly three months later this opinion is expressed again: "If America is given up, it will . . . be impossible that Great Britain should long retain her islands in the West Indies; they are, geographically speaking, appendages of America, and from their situation they must necessarily belong to that continent. What will become of the greatness of

⁸⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, July 8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, July 24.

⁸² *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 11.

⁸³ *Morn. Post*, Aug. 21.

⁸⁴ *Morn. Chron.*, Aug. 9.

Britain? Like Carthage, she will fall, when the commerce on which it is founded, is no more. The independence of America, therefore, must be the downfall of England: are the people then ready to acknowledge that independence, merely to avoid paying taxes a couple of years more?"³⁵ In short, "will it not", says the *Morning Post*, "be a plain confession, that the colonies have all along been right in their contests, and of course that Great Britain has been wrong"?³⁶

If these were foreseen to be the evil consequences of American independence to Great Britain, were the effects on America herself to be altogether favorable? A correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, July 12, proposes the following queries: Who will protect America? Is there any known instance of a country with extensive sea-coasts being respected by other nations? Supposing her coasts protected, how would her commerce overseas fare if a European war continued? Would any European powers offer her the chance to carry on commerce unmolested? What would happen in case she offends some maritime power which would not regard her with affection, like England, but would wage war in the heart of the country? How many years before America can protect herself? What will be the fate of her commerce until she can? Has American oak been tried for ships of war, and have they lasted? Have not American manufactures dwindled during the war? The Americans, moreover, are sure to have internal strife and broils with their Florida neighbors, and "will reap with interest the harvest of their ingratitude".³⁷

Other paragraphers, however, foresee a more rosy future for the "infant republic", with a vision singularly prophetic:

[How it] may in time build its grandeur on the ruin of the five principal maritime powers by seizing on their transmarine possessions, is very easily accounted for. But would their ambition stop there? By no means; masters of the North Sea, they may engross to themselves the profitable fisheries of Newfoundland. In the next place, their vicinity to the coast of Africa, would induce them to usurp the trade of that country from the Europeans; they would soon make their way to the East-Indies; and who knows, but, when they will dare, perhaps, to attempt it, across the isthmus of Panama. . . . These events cannot take place for a great many years hence—granted; but sound politicians should foresee them, and be staggered at the mere probability, though ever so distant.³⁸

That this tremendous expansion of America will be due in large measure to immigration from Great Britain itself, is an opinion held by many. "Emigration from England, Scotland and Ireland to

³⁵ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 29.

³⁶ July 26.

³⁷ Feb. 17, 1783.

³⁸ *Morn. Her.*, May 7.

America will be one of the heaviest blows this country ever received", says the *Morning Herald* of November 7. Troops disbanded there are likely to remain and contribute to the population of that rising empire, says the *Morning Post* of December 10; also it is known that many poor artificers and manufacturers are planning to emigrate. Three days later the *Post* continues this theme, going so far as to say that:

the Independence of America will in a few years overturn the whole system of Europe. As soon as the Thirteen Colonies are established in the form of a separate state, tens of thousands will emigrate from all parts of Europe and repair the losses of the war with a rapid increase of population. The pride of empire will awaken, and conquests will be multiplied on neighboring borders. Halifax [*sic*] and Nova Scotia must soon fall; Canada must follow; the fisheries of Newfoundland will, in time, be engrossed by themselves, and then they will direct their strength against the islands. Florida and all the Spanish possessions on the banks of the Mississippi will fall before them; and as they increase in power, that power will reach the limits of the Southern Ocean, and dispossess the Europeans of every hold upon the great continent of America. Such will be the wise, the blessed effects of separating them from Great Britain; and such the consequences, that in less than a quarter of a century may overturn all the political systems of the old world.

To encourage that general emigration the Congress "have determined", according to a letter from Paris, "to regulate the mode of religious worship on principles of very extreme religious toleration; that the Presbyterian will be declared the established religion of the whole Continent; but that (Paganism and Idolatry excepted) all modes of worship will be permitted".³⁹

As to directing their strength against the islands, as predicted above, the *Morning Herald* thinks "there is little doubt but the Island of Cuba will be the first object of the Americans, should they ever wish to possess themselves of any of the Sugar colonies. Spain may therefore . . . dread the consequences of their independency".⁴⁰ Indeed the example of America will be the strongest inducement among Spain's own colonists "to throw off the Spanish yoke and finish the business . . . they have already begun".⁴¹ Another cause of worry to Spain is her colonies in South America, whither she is anxious to send troops, fearing that the Americans will employ their forces there, as soon as peace is made with England. "All Spanish America must necessarily fall to them. The contest will soon arrive; the free navigation of the Mississippi will speedily bring it on."⁴²

³⁹ Lond. *Chron.*, Feb. 8-11, 1783.

⁴⁰ Dec. 14.

⁴¹ Dec. 24.

⁴² Feb. 7, 1783.

To the public in general, the most serious objection to giving independence to America seems to have been the effects it was expected to have upon British trade.⁴³ Unconditional independence would mean the ruin of trade, says a letter to Shelburne,⁴⁴ while the *Morning Herald* rejoices that independence is to be granted "not *unconditionally*, as Mr. Fox wished it to be done; some regard, at least, is to be paid to the commerce of this country".⁴⁵ An acknowledgment of complete independence "is not only disgraceful in the last degree, but is giving a public *fat* to the ruin of our American merchants, who have debts on that continent to the amount of several millions".⁴⁶ The same paper points out that among the ruinous consequences would be the sacrifice of the West Indies settlements, "which would be so total an annihilation of our trade, as for ever to obscure the greatness of the British Empire".⁴⁷ Again its readers are reminded that ship-building being one of the great trades of North America, ship-builders discharged from British yards, on a peace, will migrate to America, as will also disbanded soldiers, to escape heavy taxes at home, and with them will go the sinews of the wealth and power of England.⁴⁸ On February 10 it announces that "the American trade will be the great object of the commercial endeavours of this country". Two days later it has the news that the "cloathing countries already begin to feel the effects of peace; the demands for woollen cloths coming in quicker than the manufacturers can make them".

That the trade with Florida was well upset, is shown by an advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* of February 3, 1783, headed West Florida, and calling upon merchants and all concerned in lands to meet at the Crown and Anchor tavern, Strand, to discuss "proper measures for security in the present critical situation of their concerns". The same paper reports on the following day that the proprietors of East Florida met and agreed to appeal to the government "relative to the alarming situation of their property".

On the other hand, to a few commentators it seemed distinctly advantageous to British trade that America should be independent. The *Morning Chronicle* for Christmas day, 1782, prints a letter headed "'The Trade of England is forever undone by the loss of our American Colonies.' Vulgar Error": showing that this is a widespread but erroneous notion, for England has grown poor because of her American colonies, not enriched by their trade, which is only a

⁴³ *Morn. Her.*, July 2.

⁴⁴ *Lond. Chron.*, July 18-20.

⁴⁵ *Morn. Her.*, July 27.

⁴⁶ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 24.

⁴⁷ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 21.

⁴⁸ Nov. 7.

drop in the bucket compared with her trade with other nations. It would therefore be wise to acknowledge their independence and thus shake off their attendant expense, and then make a treaty of commerce with them. The colonies could not get a better market than England, which would soon give them unbounded credit and high prices for their products. They are too far away to subjugate, "they don't chuse our government". All England wants is their trade, which they will certainly give; but even if they should not, England can maintain herself as she has for many ages past, for she trades with all the other nations of the globe. Similarly, a letter signed Watts⁴⁹ contradicts Shelburne's early prophecy that the sun of England would set forever upon an independent America which "from its first settlement has not only been defended and protected, but *cloathed*, too, by this Kingdom, for 150 years past. America is the cause of all our wars since the reign of Queen Ann [*sic*] ". England has had America's trade, but while she sent them more than she imported ("a trifle of furs, tobacco, and rice, and some New-England built ships, and some train oil ") much of it has never been and never will be paid for. England has corn and cattle, wool, iron, tin, copper, and lead—products too similar to America's to make trade there profitable. America, to be sure, can furnish masts and yards, pitch and tar, but so can Russia, Sweden, Norway, and all the Baltic states. Therefore, all things considered, Great Britain can manage very well without America's trade. As for America's attitude, meanwhile, although, as "the center of Freedom", she means to allow free trade when it is to her benefit, yet she will "open her filial arms to her dear parent "⁵⁰ so long as the latter will sell her better goods than her neighbors. About the time of the signing of the preliminaries it was reported⁵¹ that certain commercial privileges were to be secured exclusively to Great Britain, by way of affording some sort of compensation for the concessions of the parent state.

One of many rumors to reach the public concerning the general peace negotiations was that Vergennes had proposed the partition of America among the belligerents, whereby Great Britain was to lose the two Floridas and Georgia to Spain, and the Carolinas and Virginia to France. "The scheme was totally rejected by Lord Shelburne, upon the principle not only that the rice and tobacco colonies were the only valuable ones on the continent, but chiefly because he expected England to recover the trade of the whole, notwithstanding their independence", says the London *Chronicle*, December 10-12.

⁴⁹ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 4, 1783.

⁵⁰ *Morn. Post*, Sept. 30.

⁵¹ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 19-21.

At the end of January, 1783, Lord Shelburne was waited upon by a committee of Canadian merchants, complaining that the boundaries fixed upon by the provisional articles:

for the territories of the American Republic, so completely and effectually blocked up the passages from the Indian country to the British garrison of Montreal, that the fur trade must be totally destroyed. . . . Not a single fur could be brought to the British market in Quebec, after the Definitive Treaties were signed, without permission of the governors of the American forts on the banks of the Lake, and in the Back Country, which was all ceded to the Americans.⁵²

The Prime Minister expressed surprise at this news, saying that such consequences of the boundaries agreed upon had not been foreseen, and he promised to bring the matter to the attention of the council. A correspondent in the *Morning Herald* for February 5 is more outspoken, asking: "whether the Quebec traders went into the Indian country for furs, or the Indians brought the furs to Montreal? . . . An imaginary boundary can block up no passage, and . . . the Indians will go to market where they are best treated."

As for French trade relations with America, it was reported October 1⁵³ that since England will so soon have to acknowledge American independence, French merchants have given up the idea of no further credit to America and are executing incompleted orders from that country. It was greatly to be feared that independence would "give France the dominion and commerce of the European Seas, and render Great Britain at least insignificant among nations".⁵⁴ Indeed France's exclusive attitude toward American trade was said to be the principal obstruction in the way of peace, and the present trade between France and the thirteen colonies "interrupted as it is by the war, employs 160 ships and 3,400 seamen; a most alarming fact, for this country"! ⁵⁵

Not France, but Portugal, will profit most from an independent America, in the opinion of the *Morning Herald*, for she can get timber and other such products more quickly than from the Baltic, and pay for them with Madeira wine. But the spectre looms that America may want to seize the Madeira islands, and then "all Europe [will] be too late convinced of the impolicy of suffering a sovereign state to rise beyond the Atlantic".⁵⁶

As a barometer of how closely the news and rumors of the progress of peace negotiations affected the economic life of England, the

⁵² *Morn. Her.*, Feb. 1; *Lond. Chron.*, Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 1783.

⁵³ *Morn. Her.*

⁵⁴ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 30.

⁵⁵ *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 3-5.

⁵⁶ Dec. 31.

fluctuation of the stock market and the tendency of private betting deserve attention. After the death of Rockingham it was "reported on 'Change" that Fox would not leave the Cabinet, and stocks rose half a per cent.⁵⁷ On July 13 we read that "stocks fell one per cent today in consequence of the news from America".⁵⁸ On July 15 the *Morning Post* reports: "All prospect of peace is now so entirely vanished for the present year, that the oldest stock-brokers are generally of opinion that funds will fall more than five per cent." This fall seems a clear indication of lack of confidence in the new ministry. This is expressly stated on July 27: "The immense rise of the funds on the Marquis of Rockingham coming in, and their fall on the Earl of Shelburne taking the lead, writes to all the world the difference of the men in characters too legible to be mistaken!"⁵⁹

The report on August 2 that Lord Hertford had gone to Paris on peace business "gave a temporary elevation to the funds; but the rumour soon lost ground" and "while stockbrokers and jobbers in the Alley are announcing the near approach of peace . . . hostilities appear to be going on with fresh vigour".⁶⁰ This "stock-jobbing gentry" is held responsible for many wild rumors to give hope of an approaching peace, notably reports of the movements of Mr. Fitzherbert, British minister to Brussels and commissioner for the peace settlement. "All the Paris accounts of Mr. Fitzherbert which have lately been published", says the *Morning Post* on September 20, "appear to be Alley fabrications, as we cannot find them in any of the foreign prints, though they are published here as coming from that quarter."

The hopes of the public for peace appear to have fallen very low in October, for an even bet was laid at White's of a thousand guineas, that America would not be independent for ten years to come;⁶¹ again "fifty to one is laid that the independence of America will not be acknowledged by Parliament, but that a most vigorous defensive war will pursue the rebels";⁶² and again on November 15, "considerable betts are laid that the war with America will be reassumed with all possible vigour".⁶³ By the end of November the odds were at least ten to one against a peace, "the proposals on the part of Great Britain being such, that our combined enemies have returned them".⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, July 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Morn. Her.*

⁶⁰ *Morn. Post*, Aug. 21.

⁶¹ Oct. 7.

⁶² *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29.

On the following day, November 30, the preliminaries were signed by America and Great Britain, but it was four days before the public knew it definitely, though suspicions had leaked out. The *Morning Chronicle* of December 3 states that rumors of peace on the previous day had sent stocks up, adding that as Secretary Townshend had promised to let the Bank know immediately, when peace was made, it was not likely that these rumors were true. On this very day, however, the secretary was making good his promise and writing the letter which was printed in the papers of December 4. This was to announce the signing of the provisional articles "between his Majesty's Commissioners and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted and constitute a Treaty of Peace, when Peace shall be concluded between Great Britain and France", and to ask that the news be made public as soon as possible. The immediate effect of Townshend's letter was to send stocks up, then down again, when it was realized that this was not the general peace the public longed for, but merely an announcement of provisional articles, and the bets were three to two that there would be no peace.⁶⁵

All this uncertainty is well summed up in the comment in the *Morning Herald* of November 15: "The whole world is a lottery, and we have but small *chances* in every part. In America we have a small *chance* of conquest—a small *chance* of reconciliation—the Loyalists have a small *chance* of escaping—the garrison at Gibraltar has a small *chance* to be taken—Lord Howe has a small *chance* of fighting the combined fleets—and we have no great *chance* of peace."

The British press expresses very few opinions as to the personnel of the peace commissioners on either their own or the American side, though comments and criticisms upon the ministers responsible for the peace are abundant. The names of the commissioners occur from time to time as news, or rumors of their movements are reported, but there is little in the way of appraisal. The *Morning Post* of November 27, however, says of Richard Oswald: "to a considerable judgment he unites a great experience of American affairs, and can better describe the boundaries of the different colonies, than any other negociator in Europe." "Mr. Fitzherbert", the *Morning Herald* of August 16 says, "is perhaps one of the fittest men we have for such an employment:—'Mores humanorum multorum vidit et urbes.'—His long residence abroad in different parts of the Continent has made him most expert in the sentiments and languages of Europe." In an allusion ⁶⁶ to Henry Strachey, his name is spelled Stratchey and again Stretchy and Stretchey, which, if inconsistent, at least gives some clue

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5.

⁶⁶ *Morn. Post*, Nov. 21.

to its oft-disputed pronunciation. Of Caleb Whitefoord, acting as secretary to the commission in Paris, the *Morning Chronicle* of September 9 says that he "is more popular there than almost any Englishman we remember".

Not so complimentary is the press to the American negotiators. Dr. Franklin, so well known from his previous residence in England that the use of his Christian name seems to be considered superfluous, is apostrophized in a letter to Lord Shelburne as "thou eldest born of malice",⁶⁷ after which his name scarcely appears in the papers until September 6, when it is reported that five citizens of Manchester have been "imprisoned and charged with treasonable correspondence with Dr. Franklin".⁶⁸ This is corroborated in a report on September 10 that the government has "discovered a correspondence of a *strange* nature between some people *lately in office* and Dr. Franklin. The letters have all passed by way of Ostend, and were directed to a merchant in that city".⁶⁹ A letter from Paris quoted in the *Morning Chronicle* of February 5 says: "Dr. Franklin, the father of the Revolution in America, was not the first who signed the treaty at Paris, but Mr. Adams; the old gentleman [Franklin] has, indeed, lived to see his plan completed; but it is said his memory fails him, and he seems to be following his brother genius, Voltaire." There are occasional sneering references to Franklin's intimacy with the French—it was even reported⁷⁰ that Lafayette was to sign with him the treaty granting independence to America—but no attempt is made to weigh his qualifications for his important mission. Some weeks after the peace preliminaries had been signed, it was reported, without comment, that Franklin had declined to be ambassador to Great Britain.⁷¹

At first there was a certain inaccuracy in the press as to the names and movements of the American commissioners. "An Evening paper confidently asserts", said the *Morning Chronicle* on April 15, "that Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jaken [*sic*] and another gentleman, from the Congress, are now in town, and negotiating with the present ministers for a peace." Adams's name appears frequently, without comment, as America's minister to Holland. John Jay, minister to Madrid, is characterized in the London *Chronicle* of June 13-15 as "an unacknowledged adventurer from the Congress to the Court of Spain". Laurens is the most frequently mentioned, because of his capture and imprisonment in

⁶⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, May 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Morn. Post.*

⁷⁰ *Morn. Her.*, Dec. 7.

⁷¹ *Lond. Chron.*, Feb. 4-6, 1783.

the Tower of London and his subsequent tarrying in England on account of his health, and as he was able to participate in the peace discussions at Paris only during the last two days, it is hardly surprising that in the reports of the negotiations he does not figure. Indeed the *Morning Post* of July 23 reported that he had resigned as commissioner and returned to America, adding "it appears that this gentleman, like others of his countrymen who appear here with smooth faces and palavering tongues, went away a fixt and determined enemy to England, and openly abused the Earl of Shelburne while abroad". The same paragraph remarks that Mr. Jefferson having not yet arrived in Europe is supposed to be lost at sea, so there are now, Laurens having departed, only three American commissioners. As a matter of fact, Jefferson did not even cross the ocean, and Laurens did not return to America until 1784.

It is hardly to be expected that the press of one country will deal gently with the heroes of another with whom it is at war, and yet the English newspapers were not particularly harsh with George Washington except as their jealousy was involved because of America's relations with France. The *Morning Herald* of April 2, 1782, prints the rumor arrived from Philadelphia that Congress had determined to begin to make peace with Great Britain, having discovered "that their commander in chief had attached himself more to the Crown of France than to the real interests of America", and the London *Chronicle* says that Congress is "displeased with the conduct of General Washington, who is entirely in the French interest". Dr. Franklin adds fuel to the fire by writing, according to the *Morning Post* for August 21, "that the French King has offered Mr. Washington a rank in the French army, on condition that he will reside in France when the war is over". Perhaps it is to this report that the following comment refers in the same paper for September 20, on the news of Washington's being made a marshal by the French king: "ENGLISHMEN hear this! the Dictator of America has the modesty to tell all the world that the King of *Frenchmen* is the protector of liberty!" "Mr. Washington seems to have imbibed all the servility of his Gallic allies. . . . His address . . . on the birth of the Dauphin, is contemptibly fulsome, and breaths a language unworthy the patron and friend of freedom, and disgraces the pen and principles of an independent American General."

And yet there seemed to be no doubt expressed in the papers that Washington was anxious for peace with Great Britain. The *Morning Post* prints the report (by way of several letters from America) that he "appears heartily tired of his situation and anxiously

wishes to see peace restored amongst the belligerent powers; a circumstance that is said to have caused many suspicions of the General's intentions, by a few of the most violent members of Congress".⁷² That he did not feel at liberty to make a separate peace with Great Britain was known: "It is said that General Washington has determined to oppose all overtures from this country on the subject of negotiating a separate peace with America; but that he speaks in terms of the highest respect of the new [Rockingham] Administration, and laments that they did not come into power before America had contracted alliances, to which both honour and her interest will compel her strictly to adhere."⁷³ It is further reported that when he heard of the change of ministry, he ordered a general "feu de joy" to be fired.⁷⁴

Washington is admitted to be a tenacious fighter. The *Morning Chronicle* of September 11 prints extracts from a letter from an English adherent in New York to the effect that while he "has got a man, or a shilling to pay one with", he will hold out for independence. It is even asserted that he "has all the innate principles of a Cromwell, and his army is not, by any means attached to Congress",⁷⁵ and further it is printed as news that he was appointed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of America.⁷⁶ But in spite of these darts directed at his ambition, there is almost nothing in the press which casts aspersions upon his personal character, save the one "prevailing opinion" which the *Morning Post* sees fit to print on October 12, that in the northern colonies it is thought that "General Washington intends to oppose all offers that may be made by the mother country, till some stipulations are made for his own safety and emolument".

Such are some of the expressions of British public opinion upon various aspects of the peace with America, as found in the contemporary press. Among the many sources which the historian must use if he is to cease writing history in the flat, and endeavor to write it in the round,⁷⁷ not the least valuable are the daily records of contemporary interests found in the newspapers. If the eighteenth-century English newspaper is rather a reflector of public opinion than it is a guide or former of it, or, we may add, an informer of it, yet its value in the latter capacity was recognized by no less a student of public affairs than Dr. Johnson, who wrote in the *Idler*:⁷⁸ "All

⁷² Sept. 21.

⁷³ *Morn. Chron.*, June 25.

⁷⁴ *Morn. Her.*, July 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26.

⁷⁶ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 3, 1783.

⁷⁷ Lucy M. Salmon, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ No. 7, May 27, 1758.

foreigners remark that the knowledge of the common people of England is greater than that of any other vulgar. This superiority we undoubtedly owe to the rivulets of intelligence [from the newspapers] which are continually trickling among us, which every one may catch, and of which every one partakes."

EUNICE WEAD.

NOTE AND SUGGESTION

NEGLECTED EVIDENCE ON AN OLD CONTROVERSY—BRONSON *v.* RODES AS A FORECAST OF HEPBURN *v.* GRISWOLD

THE charge that the United States Supreme Court, after having held the legal tender laws unconstitutional in February, 1870, by a four to three vote, was packed in the appointment of Justices Strong and Bradley for a reversal of that decision a year later by a five to four vote is familiar to every student of American constitutional history. That the charge has never been proved is pretty well agreed, and the opinion of most recent historical writers on the subject would seem to be that it has been affirmatively disproved.

In the opinions of the judges in a case decided about a year before the court held the legal tender laws unconstitutional, there is a bit of evidence on the question which has apparently escaped the attention of the various historians of the period and which, as a matter of merely historical interest, is believed to be of sufficient importance to note.¹

The charge, as at first made, was that, after Hepburn *v.* Griswold, President Grant and his Attorney General had deliberately selected the two new judges for the purpose of having the decision overruled. But Senator Hoar pointed out, in a pamphlet written to remove any possible cloud from his brother's name, that the President had not only sent Justices Strong and Bradley's names to the Senate for confirmation on the very morning of the day on which the court's decision was announced in the afternoon, but in Cabinet meetings previously had discussed these two as prospective nominees for the

¹ In calling attention to this neglected evidence the writer hopes not to deserve the reproaches which Senator Hoar directed against those who "rake up and write the discarded slanders of past generations and call it history". The country, it is believed, has the right to know the truth about its public officials, past and present, whomsoever the truth may pinch. But, whether this is true or not, since the evidence which is here introduced does not prove anybody's guilt, but goes rather to show that there has been no affirmative disproof and leaves the known circumstances still consistent with either good or bad faith on the part of those of whom the charge was made, the disinclination to rake up old scandals need not here interfere with the inclination to discover the facts, and the writer feels that he may speak to the point without hesitation. Indeed, some of the high officials whose good names are involved would doubtless prefer not to go down to posterity behind a transparent alibi interposed by their over-zealous friends to shelter their memories.

vacancies. There had been no time to cook up a conspiracy for reversal, therefore, and the suspicious circumstances were to be explained as unfortunate coincidences rather than attributed to design. This coincidence of the nomination with the date of the decision seems to have been accepted by more recent historians as a final disproof of the charge.²

The neglected evidence to which the title to this comment refers has to do with the possibility of advance notice of what the court's decision would be. It has been assumed that actual knowledge was required. Such, however, is not the case. A reasonable assurance was enough. For example, it has never been shown that there was a leak as to the court's opinion on the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Act, but Congress, nevertheless, was so sure that it would be unfavorable that it deprived the court of its jurisdiction over the McCordle case, after it had been argued before the court but before it could be decided. There are sometimes outside evidences from which a decision may be foretold with more or less confidence, and there were outside evidences in this case, the most important of which was the opinion in *Bronson v. Rodes*,³ the special subject of this paper, decided by the same court a year before the decision in *Hepburn v. Griswold*.⁴ The precise point at issue in the latter case, it will be remembered, was whether Congress had the power under the Constitution to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in the payment of debts, an issue which depended on the broader question whether Congress, by legislative fiat, could coerce the acceptance of any prescribed medium of exchange for a sum substantially in excess of its intrinsic value. The same question was also presented in *Bronson v. Rodes*, but the court was able to avoid that issue on the ground that in the contract in controversy there was an express provision for payment in gold and that where the parties had so agreed the provision would be given effect whether the legal tender laws were constitutional or not. But though the court was thus able to defer an express ruling for another year, the opinions written in the case disclose very clearly the directions in which the thoughts of the individual judges were running. In reading such statements as the following one can almost be persuaded that one is reading from *Hepburn v. Griswold*:

² Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, III. 239; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, VI. 270-273; Story and Emerson, *A Memoir of E. R. Hoar*, p. 199; A. B. Hart, *Life of Chase*, p. 400 *et seq.*; *Green Bag*, XIV. 203.

³ 7 Wall. 229-258; 19 Law. Ed. 141.

⁴ 8 Wall. 603-639.

"It is not pretended", said Chief Justice Chase, speaking for the court, "that any real payment and satisfaction of an obligation to pay fifteen hundred and seven coined dollars can be made by the tender of paper money worth in the market only six hundred and seventy coined dollars."

After reviewing the history of coinage legislation to show that every law regulating the amount of bullion in coins had been passed in order to make the actual value correspond as exactly as possible to the legal value, he said:

With these and other precautions against the emission of any piece inferior in weight or purity to the prescribed standard, it was thought safe to make the gold and silver coins of the United States a legal tender in all payments according to their nominal or declared values. . . .

The design of all this minuteness and strictness in the regulation of coinage is easily seen. . . . It recognizes the fact, accepted by all men throughout the world, that value is inherent in the precious metals; that gold and silver are in themselves values, and being such, and being in other respects best adapted to the purpose, are the only proper measures of value; that these values are determined by weight and purity; and that form and impress are simply certificates of value worthy of absolute reliance only because of the known integrity and good faith of the government which gives them.⁵

Justices Nelson, Grier, Clifford, and Field, all the Democrats on the bench, concurred in the opinion of the Chief Justice, while Justice Miller, staunch Republican, dissented, and Justices Swayne and Davis, Republican and independent Lincoln appointee respectively, though they concurred in the result, each in a separate statement qualified his vote so as to indicate his disapproval of anything in the court's reasoning that might cast a doubt over the constitutional power to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender. Here then is the identical line-up of the judges, each taking his position on the same side and expressing the same opinion that he later expressed on the same question in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, and for one year this had been on the official records open to the world.

That Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, had advocated the legal tender laws, would certainly seem of little weight when set off against his opinion as a judge in *Bronson v. Rodes*, as an index to his ultimate decision on the constitutional question. This is especially true in view of the fact that he had expressed doubt about the constitutionality of the measure before he gave it his support, and of the further fact that in a report to Congress less than a year after the law had been passed, he spoke of gold and silver as the "only permanent basis, standard, and measure of value recognized by the Constitution".

⁵ 7 Wall. 249.

It is not conceivable that Attorney General Hoar could have been ignorant of this opinion. Aside from his interest in a public question as a leading Republican and one of the foremost public men of the time, his profession as a lawyer and his position as Attorney General would require that he know of it. It had been decided only a year before. William M. Evarts, his predecessor in office, had appeared on behalf of the government and had at the same term of court argued both *Bronson v. Rodes* and *Hepburn v. Griswold*. Judge Hoar himself, meantime, had been nominated for a position on the court and rejected by the Senate. His public interest, his public duty, his every public association, were such as to inform him of what was going on in the Supreme Court. And the lawyers for the railroads and other interests concerned also, of course, knew about the opinion.

But assuming, as seems clear, that no leak was necessary to get a good notion of what the decision would be; it does not therefore necessarily follow that anybody was guilty of corrupt conduct in getting it reversed. That there were incriminating circumstances can not be denied. The reader's familiarity with them is assumed. But without any advance understanding with the new judges as to how they should vote, and without yielding to any undue pressure from selfish interests that would dictate his selection, it would be quite possible for a president, with an eye single to his country's welfare, to choose able judges for the bench and yet to prefer them over others because of their known views on public questions. On this subject Lincoln, speaking of his prospective nomination of Chase, once said: "We wish for a Chief Justice who will sustain what has been done in regard to emancipation and the legal tenders. We cannot ask a man what he will do, and if we should, and he should answer us, we would despise him for it. Therefore, we must take a man whose opinions are known." It would hardly be thought to shame Grant and Hoar to convict them of conduct which Lincoln did not hesitate thus to avow.

It was not necessary, therefore, to deny foreknowledge of what the decision in all probability would be, or to profess ignorance of how the two new judges were morally certain to vote, in order to make out a case of good faith on the part of those whose conduct was impugned. Suppose they did have such knowledge, what of it? In reading the evidence in the case, one can not avoid the impression that the weakest part of the defense is that they or their friends were disposed to deny too much.

BRYANT SMITH.

DOCUMENTS

Some Letters of Salmon P. Chase 1848-1865

THE letters here printed are in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, having been presented by Mrs. Harlan P. Cleveland, a daughter of the man to whom they were written.

Stanley Matthews; to whom Salmon P. Chase addressed this correspondence, was born in Ohio, July 21, 1824, and died in 1889. The letters, which have never before appeared in print, nor come into the hands of the historian, cover roughly the period between December, 1848, and April, 1865, being particularly full for the years 1849 and 1850. Chase wrote intimately to a personal friend, apparently without reservations, and much new light is thrown on his election to the Senate at a time when the Free Soilers held the balance of power in the Ohio legislature. Matthews was at the time clerk of the lower house of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of Ohio. His career includes services as editor of the Cincinnati *Herald*, judge of Hanover County, state senator, district attorney for southern Ohio through appointment of President Buchanan, a colonel in the Civil War; he was, generally, a man to be reckoned with in Ohio political matters. Later he served as United States Senator from Ohio, and associate justice of the Supreme Court.

ANNIE A. NUNNS.

I.

COLUMBUS, Dec. 23, 1848.

My dear Stanley:

The Legislature is organized. The lower belongs to the Free Soilers.

The first question to be brought onward respects the prima facie right of Pugh and Pierce¹ to their seats. It may come up on Tuesday.

Somehow or other our friend Taylor² has changed his views as to this matter; and, from being friendly to my election as senator, he has so far changed that he now thinks and says, I understand, that I am biased in my adhesion to my views on that question, (frequently expressed as you know before I had any idea of their bearing on my election) by expectations of support from the Democrats. Perhaps I am biased, but certain it is that he should not take part against me: at least not without fully and frankly stating to me his grounds.

The facts are about these. If Pugh and Pierce are admitted prima facie the democrats will probably feel more kindly toward the Free Soil

¹ George E. Pugh and Alexander N. Pierce were later accredited their seats as Democratic representatives from Cincinnati.

² This was probably James W. Taylor, the Cincinnati attorney.

men, than the Whigs: and they will naturally prefer among Free Soilers the persons, supposed to be most democratic in sentiment. They may prefer me for senator, and they do prefer you for clerk. On the other hand, if Spencer and Runyan be admitted, the Democrats will be alienated, and the Whigs will naturally prefer among Free Soilers, the persons supposed to be nearest themselves in sentiment. They prefer Hitchcock—I regard Giddings as out of the question—for Senator, and Swift, (who has been officiating on their side for clerk. Taylor, perhaps, thinks that, in this latter case, Brough and others at Cincinnati may be prostrated and he may be made associate judge. He could easier, I think, reach the latter point by a different course. At any rate no private grudge or personal interest should lead to the abandonment of avowed positions and of tried friends.

Under these circumstances I think you ought to come up immediately. I believe you can be made clerk. Hamlin has urged it and it is received very favorably.

How is Vaughan now on this matter of *prima facie* right to seats? If he thinks with us, he could do a great deal of good if here. See him, and if he is right, get him to come up. At any rate come up yourself, and let Taylor return to Cincinnati. At present he does more harm to us than good. He urges that if Pugh and Pierce are admitted the Free Soilers will lose the balance. This is not so: as Sheldon must go out, and Rockwell come in, when, supposing a Whig to be returned from Clinton, and Pugh and Pierce to retain their seats parties will stand, in the House, Whigs 28, Democrats 34, Free Soilers 7, Doubtful Whiggish 2[,] Democratish 1, total 72. If Spencer and Runyan come in, the case standing as before, otherwise—the Whigs have 30[,] add the two Whiggish Free-soilers 2, thirty two. Add also five of the Free Soilers, supposed to favor Whig views and they have 37; enough to elect their man. I don't however agree with those of our friends who think that five of our Free Soilers favor Whig views enough to make them otherwise than strictly impartial between the parties.

Whichever of the contestants come in I believe our Free Soilers will hold the balance, and use it honorably. The whole effect of bringing in one or the other set will be to propitiate one or the other party. This of course, should not influence any man's judgment: nor do I believe it will essentially. This makes me feel the more sensitive to such charges, as Taylor makes: and the more anxious to have you come up. Moloney said he should come up and spend the holidays. Can you bring him with you?

This note of course you will regard as entirely between ourselves.

Faithfully your friend,

II.

CINCINNATI, Jan'y. 13, 1848 [9].

My dear Stanley:

I recd. your letter and thank you for it; and shall be particularly obliged to you, if you adhere to your resolution to keep me posted up. Capt. Roedter's³ view is not unreasonable I think; but if the Democrats

³ Henry Roedter of Cincinnati was a member of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of Ohio, as were the following persons mentioned in succeeding letters: Dr. Norton S. Townshend, John F. Morse, Brewster Randall, Isaac Van Doren, John G. Breslin, Benj. F. Leiter, Albert G. Riddle, Hugh Smart.

are satisfied as to the Free Soilers they support, is it not right that the Free Soilers should be satisfied as to the Democrats they support? Neither Whigs nor Democrats, should Free Soilers act with either in the election of particular officers, can properly ask Free Soilers to support objectionable men, nor on the other hand could Free Soilers ask support of Whigs or Democrats for candidates objectionable on other grounds than their Free Soil principles.

I am very desirous to see the strife about Governor brought to a conclusion. I hope our Free Soil friends will vote for the joint committee. If Randall will take the ground suggested in the communication I enclose all may be well; and he can still have the confidence of those who elected him: which is certainly desirable if it can be preserved without doing anything wrong. If you know Randall show him the communication. If not get an introduction to him and show it. Then also the Editorial indicating the effect the suggestions have even upon minds prepossessed against him.

In haste

Yours Ever.

III.

CINCINNATI, Saturday Night, 13 Jany. '48 [9], 10 p. m.

My dear Stanley:

It seems to me quite important that Messrs Morse and Townshend should be promptly vindicated from the aspersions of certain papers. I have drawn up a paper which I enclose with this view, hoping you will use the substance of it in an article of your own for the *Globe*. Use only the substance that my style may not be recognized. Make it as much stronger and better as you can. I meant to add a passage speaking of Messrs T. and M. personally as they deserve; but I had not room. Send it down *as soon as you can*.

What was the result of your interview with Van Doren? It would be hardly safe, I suppose, to communicate all your views to the old gentleman. He might reveal them in quarters where the discovery would do injury. The most that can be done with him is to get him to agree, that he will vote right when the time comes; and keep him to his agreement. He is an excellent man, but I suppose, liable to adverse influences. Do you converse much with Mr. Morse? I hope you will cultivate his acquaintance. I think very highly of him, as one of the fairest, best and most intelligent men in the Legislature. I know he expects to vote for Giddings rather than me for Senator: but after Giddings he will, I think support me. I have no fault to find with his preference. All I ask is justice and candid appreciation of my acts and motives, not support for office, unless that support can be given with the full sanction of the giver's judgment that it is best for the Free Soil cause.

Has Mr. Nichols gone to Clinton? It is quite important I think to secure a Free Soil representation of the right stamp from that county. Can't you aid this, by consultation with the Democrats especially with Mr. Trimble, the candidate of the Democracy last fall. The democrats cant elect a candidate without our aid which we can't give without loss of the balance of power. We can't elect a candidate without their help, which will give a more certain and reliable balance of power to the Independent Freesoilers, and be of advantage to them as well as to us, by more certainly excluding the Whigs from power in the Legislature. The Democrats ought to give us their support in this matter.

Tell Dr. Townshend, Mr. Morse and Mr. Hamlin ⁴ that I am looking for letters from each of them. I am very desirous to understand the lay of the land and the succession of events.

In haste and sleepy,
Your friend,

P. S. Have you a vacancy in your office which you could fill with a first rate young barnburner? Or is there already a pig to each of the small teats in your care?

I see no bill introduced as yet to repeal the clauses of the apportionment law districting Hamilton County. I hope Dr. Townshend will have introduced it before this reaches you. It seems to me very important to get this measure through the House with as little delay as possible. I hope some Whig votes can be had for the repeal. An effort should be made for them on account of their effect in the Senate.

IV.

CIN. Jany. 18, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

You will not get this till day after tomorrow morning, and yet I must write tonight for I am subject to so many interruptions in the morning that I cant possibly find time for a letter.

It was impossible for me to send you a copy of the printing resolutions by return mail for two reasons, *first*, I had no copy, *second* there was no time to write them out from memory before the mail closed. I have now written them out as well as I could. The language, in fact, and the substance, altogether, of the first set is preserved. By referring to the Document, which is I think No. 9 of Vol. 2, Stanbury's opinion you will be able to supply the hiatus, which you had better do yourself, as I imagine your practice in drafting resolutions will enable you to select the exact words more readily than anybody else.

I have heard nothing from Columbus for several days except two very welcome letters, one from Morse and the other from Nichols, and by the papers. I suppose you are very much engaged, and that it is a great tax upon your time, to write or even read letters. Still I must hold you to your engagement to keep me advised of all that passes of interest especially to me, and anything relating to the action of Free Soilers is of special interest to me apart from all my personal concern in it.

My letter from Nichols was under an injunction of secrecy, and I advised him to consult you on the subject matter of it. I presume he has done so. At any rate I think it best to advise you of the substance of it; but you must, on no account, let a word in relation to it escape you, unless the whole thing is already, as is very likely, the subject of consultation among you. Nichols says that he thinks Morse will, in case the Senate will not pass the bill to repeal the division clauses of the apportionment law, vote for the admission of Pugh and Pierce as constitutionally entitled to their seats, provided he can have satisfactory assurances that a Free Soiler, Giddings or myself, will be elected to the Senate by Democratic votes: and he (Nichols) suggests that a private note, distinctly stating that the signers will steadily vote for a Free Soiler, addressed to Morse by half a dozen prominent democrats, would be a proper form in which to give the required assurance.

⁴ E. S. Hamlin and his associate Israel Garrard were publishers of the *Columbus Standard*, a Free Soil paper.

It may be said that if Col. Morse is satisfied that the division clauses are unconstitutional he ought to vote for the admission of Pugh and Pierce, in case the Senate fail to repeal them, irrespective of any Democratic support of Free Soil men or measures; and it is no doubt so. But it must be remembered that Col. Morse's district is strongly Whig—that the question of the constitutionality of the division clauses has been little agitated there and is little understood—that the *prima facie* appearance of a vote for P. and P. to many of his constituents would be that of a vote for political desperate haters of all good, enemies of black law repeal etc. etc. Now it is plain enough, I think, that if a man's conscientious convictions lead him to do an act in my favor, though contrary to the opinions of many whose good will is valuable to him, I cannot be justified in looking coldly on, while the man is endangered by his act. So if the Democrats gain this great triumph, by means of votes given them upon the conviction that the Constitution and right is on their side, by men not of their ranks, every principle of justice and honor requires it seems to me that the democrats should be willing to assure those who give the votes that they shall not be sacrificed by it—that they, the Democrats, will vote for Free Soil men or measures to such an extent as will justify to [*sic*] the course of the Free Soilers who act with them, to their own constituents. For my part I would rather never be elected to any office, whatever than that a single honest man should be injured by supporting me, or by taking any step to ensure my election. I want nothing done for me unless it be both right in itself to be done, and safe for those who do it.

Your position and location will enable you to know whether any such thing as Nichols suggests can be done. He thinks some of the Democrats in his power would sign such a note.

I wish you would write me fully as to the state of matters. What became of the proposition of Capt. Roedter? How does Van Doren stand? With whom do you consult? Is there any Free Soil Caucus now? If not can you not succeed in making a nucleus for one out of the five signers of the Plan of Organization, Townshend, Morse, Riddle, Van Doren, and Smart? If these would meet together, admitting yourself and Hamlin and inviting all others who voted for Van Buren and Adams and are now with us on our State and National Platform, and *none else* except on such evidence of devotion to the cause as will command an *unanimous* vote for their admission, we should have an available Free Democratic Caucus, where consultations could not fail to be beneficial. But even then it must be tolerant.

What has become of the bill to repeal the division clauses of the apportionment law which Riddle was to introduce? It is time it was passed the House. Where are the bills, to repeal the Black Laws, especially Morse's School bill and the Bill to prevent kidnapping which I left with Hamlin to be handed to Riddle? If the Democrats intend to go with us at all against the Black Laws—and if they don't they are not so wise as I take them to be—Morse's school bill is the very [word illegible] to give to them action. I handed a copy to Smith who approved it and has it, probably, yet. It seems to me it should be got under way. I am particularly desirous that this bill should be passed and that Morse should have the credit of it. It will take the wind out of the sails of Buncombe beautifully. Wont you look to this and aid Morse all you can?

There was a rumor in town today that the Hamilton case was set for tomorrow: and I believe Pugh and Pierce have started up. Of course

there can be no truth in this rumor. It would [be] extremely injudicious to report this case I think till the bill for the repeal of the division clauses shall have passed the House.

Brough was in my office today. He seems to think that the Democrats dont expect to elect any of their own men to the Senate, and would therefore unite on me. I believe I could get a pretty unanimous vote of the Hamilton County Democracy *at this moment*.

Do write me fully and frequently.

Faithfully your friend,

P. S. I have as yet seen nothing of the letter containing the statement of the affairs with the Globe as to which you wanted me to see Smith.

V.

CINCINNATI, Jany. 24, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

I have not written to you for two or three days partly because I had nothing to write, and partly because I had so little time to write it in. I am much obliged to you for your letter of last Saturday, in which you give me so clear an account of the state of things in Columbus. I *wish* you would write oftener than you do: but I know how constantly you are engaged, and console myself by the reflection that if you do not write, you are doing all you can to secure the ascendancy of independent Free Democracy in the Legislature.

By the way speaking of Independent Free Soilers reminds me of a liberty I took today with a letter of yours to the Globe which I hope you will pardon, even if you do not think, on reconsideration, that what I did was best. I learned accidentally that in your letter of yesterday, after expressing the opinion that Pugh and Pierce would be admitted to their seats, and that you should regard the admission as a fortunate circumstance for Free Soilism, you went on to say that the admission of Spencer and Runyan was the only thing remaining to be done to insure the triumph of Taylorism in the Legislature etc. It occured to me, at once, that our opponents would lay hold of these expressions as a foundation for the charge that, in deciding on the rights of the respective sets of claimants to the disputed seats, our Independent Freesoilers are governed entirely by considerations of party advantage. I went over to the office to look at the letter, and found it was already in type. Being strongly persuaded, however, from reading the last two sentences in your letter that my apprehension was well grounded, and seeing that the sense was complete without these two sentences, I prevailed on Taylor, (who seemed quite reluctant to have any alteration made in your letter, fearing you might blame him,) to have them left out. I hope you will not be offended by the lopping off of these two superfluous, if not harmful, members of your epistle. If you have no more sensitiveness of authorship than I have I am sure you will not be.

I had a long conversation with Smith night before last on the affairs of the Globe. He says it is now just paying expenses, allowing nothing for the Moores or Gilmore: and that he is anxious to reduce expenses to the lowest possible figure. He expresses the highest opinion of you, and declares that if they have any Editor you are the man. I represented to him the indispensable need of a competent Editor to the success of the Paper, and he seemed to be finally convinced of it. I think you will find

the Editorial chair open to you at the close of the season if you desire it. I said nothing to Smith, about your account with the office for I had no data to go upon. If you wish me to go into this please give me the necessary information.

I heard today that a number of the Democrats have retracted their engagement to vote for Morse's bill, and that consequently the admission of Pugh and Pierce is again in doubt. I do not see any necessary connexion between the one and the other. But why the Democrats should be unwilling to vote for the repeal of the Black Laws I cannot conceive. They are, certainly, in clear violation of fundamental democratic principles: and the self imposed burden of sustaining them has been for years a millstone about the neck of the Democratic Party in Ohio. I don't see why the Party should wear this neck drop. It is neither useful nor ornamental.

When I left Columbus I supposed that Morse's bill would be brought to a vote *before* the Hamilton Case would be taken up. I think it should be now. Why not? I can see no reason, except that it may be desired to have the votes of Pugh and Pierce for the passage of the bill. But this is not important as I suppose: for there must certainly be votes enough to pass it without theirs. Why not bring the bill to vote at once and pass it: then admit Pugh and Pierce; then bring up the bill to prevent kidnapping and to prohibit the use of the jails etc. and let Pugh make a speech on that. He could make one which would reflect great credit on himself, and be very useful every way. In this way everything would go smoothly and to the satisfaction of all parties, and the way would be prepared for subsequent cooperation in other matters. I feel very confident that it is mistaken policy to postpone the passage of Morse's bill till after the admission of Pugh and Pierce. The true course, in my judgment, is to pass Morse's bill as soon as it can be brought to a vote, without allowing any amendment of any kind, just as it comes from the Senate if it has passed the Senate as introduced by Swift, if it has not passed the Senate, just as it was introduced in that body; then, if the division clauses of the apportionment law have not been repealed, admit Pugh and Pierce at once; then bring forward the kidnapping bill which I gave to Hamlin to be handed to Riddle. I believe this programme is the best; and Morse would doubtless feel very satisfied to have his bill passed, especially with the aid of the Hamilton County votes except Capt. Roedter's before he votes, as I understand he intends to, for the admission of Pugh and Pierce. Do see if something cannot be made of this. It cannot be that the Democrats would be guilty of such absolute suicide as to refuse their support, generally, to such a bill, so calculated in its whole frame, to satisfy their views. Allowance must be made I know for the peculiar views of some and the circumstances of others in particular localities: but certainly such may well content themselves, if they feel bound to be in their seats, to give silent votes against the bill. There must be other votes enough to pass it.

I see Father Van Doren voted against giving the printing to the Standard. How is this? I thought he assured you he would vote for it. Can't you bring the old gentleman back either to his democracy or his Freesoilism? It is a shame to allow him, after having been elected as a democratic Freesoiler, to be taken captive by Taylor Whigism. Can't you contrive some way to bring him out of Chuckery into his old neighborhood? Can't you impress Scranton into this service? Have

you ever had any talk with this last named gentleman? What are his views and purposes?

Let me hear from you very soon, and let me know exactly how the land lies. Have you had any further conversation with Capt. Roedter in relation to the subjects of your first letter?

I write to Hamlin by this mail and inclose a copy of a letter I lately wrote to Giddings. I am not more than half certain the step was a wise one. I wish you would read the letter and tell me what you think of it. If Giddings would give me his support, it would presumably induce most of the Whig Freesoilers and one or two Whigs perhaps to give me their votes, say eight in all. The Democrats and Independent Freesoilers would give four more. I should then only want forty three, out of fifty one (P. and P. being admitted) democratic votes. This would allow for eight impracticable Democrats and I suppose the number does not exceed, if it reaches that figure.

I wish you would see Pugh and Pierce and ascertain whether they have any special wish that I should come up and make an argument for them. My business is a good deal behind in consequence of my absence this winter already, and it is important that I should give it as nearly my undivided attention as possible. Besides some friends have suggested that an argument from me, for either set of claimants, would look badly at the present time. Still if Pugh thinks that it is important that I should come up and argue the case, satisfied as I am that he and Pierce have the Constitution and Justice on their side, I should not hesitate to do so. I confess, however, that I incline myself to the opinion, that it will do no good for me to be concerned in the arguments. You can judge best as to this on the spot. Please consult him and let it be determined among our friends what is best to be done, and advise me. I have heard that the vote was to be taken on the report of the committee without any argument. I am at the end of my sheet and it is $\frac{1}{4}$ past one, A. M. Jan'y 25. Good night.

Your friend,

25. M. I have just got yours of yesterday and find this anticipated in part and in part needless. Be generous enough to consider this an answer and yourself in my debt.

VI.

CINCINNATI, January 27, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

It is Saturday Evening, and clients and callers have all disappeared. Ball has just gone off to the Country. I am alone in my little law *sanc-tum*, if *such* a place can be imagined. I can almost imagine when I look up at the shelves, that Coke and Littleton, and Mansfield, and Holt and Blackstone, and Dane, and Kent and Story are looking down at me, not as full wigged and full robed justiciaries, but as quaint elves, with solemn faces, peering out from between dusty leaves. What a mass of long pondered decisions fill those shelves! How many hearts have beat and throbbed, almost to bursting, with expectancy of them! To some how late they came! Too late, indeed, when hope deferred had sickened and died, and substance wasted, health destroyed, and life lost, formed the inventory of the *gains* of a *successful* lawsuit. To others what agony they brought! Successful knavery, or cold and callous avarice, has won

the trick of the cards of law, or obtained judgment for the penalty of his bond, and homeless misery must go weep unpitied, of all save the Angel of Mercy, turned almost by deeds warranted by precedent, and which yet might "shame extremest hell" into an Angel of Wrath.

Yesterday a Mechanic came to me with a bill against one of our nobility for building a monument in Spring Grove—a costly mausoleum. He turned him over to his agent. His agent refused to pay the bill, on the ground that the Mechanic had agreed to build for a certain price according to a certain plan. It was true: but the plan had been changed and another substituted requiring four times the work. But the agent declared that the substituted plan was the original one to which the proposition applied. The agent was the son of his principal; and he was willing to have even a tomb, to repose in till the resurrection, built by toil defrauded of its earnings. Fortunately a comparison of facts and dates will enable the mechanic to determine which was the original and which the substituted proposition. But what a taste a man must have to be willing to go to his last sleep in a bed like that.

Yesterday noon, too, an old negress, grimy black, fat and squat and *odorous*, with a strapping fellow of some twenty eight came in and wanted me to draw her a *'scription*. She said the white people had let her come over here "just before the last high water,"—that was the poor creatures chronology—to work herself free and she had done it in four years. "How much did you pay for yourself?" "Two hundred and fifty dollars," said she. And now she wants her son free. His mistress had let him come over to see her, and would let him go free for three hundred or three hundred and fifty dollars. She had been advised to have him go to Canada; but she wanted him with her in her old age, and if he should go to Canada, and come back he would always be afraid of everyone he saw. "*Abbitrerry power*" said the old woman "is drefful you know." She seemed right honest, poor old simple soul. She wanted her son, whom God gave to be the solace of her declining years, and widow Thatcher was willing to let him obey God in consideration of three hundred and fifty dollars had and received! So I drew her a "*'scription* paper" and gave her a couple of dollars toward paying "*Abbitrerry power*" for letting her son go, and she went off thankful. That old woman may be in heaven, when many of earth's proud ones may lack a drop of water to cool their burning tongues. For you know I cant believe with you—that earth's devils and earth's devil's victims are going to the same place hereafter.

But I had no idea of writing you such a letter as this when I began: and I will change the subject as I well may for your letter of yesterday lies before me and suggests very different ideas.

I am very glad to learn that the Democrats are so unanimous in their determination to support Morse's bill. You will find that in the first section Morse's bill differs from Swift's, unless a correction has been made, in some respects which a comparison will disclose. It should be made to conform exactly, as in the shape Swift has it it is more acceptable to Meyers and some others, and is better itself. I hope to hear of its passage by Monday or Tuesday. I shall look for its fate with great anxiety. If it goes through the House by Democratic votes, having been already endorsed by Beaver and Blake in the Senate it will do Morse a great deal of service and place him on high ground. He has risked much in obedience to his conscientious convictions. If the Democrats have the

hearts I believe them to have, they will not let him suffer in consequence of their failure to vote for his bill.

Townshend and Morse, believing the law so far as dividing Hamilton County to be unconstitutional, could do no otherwise than they did, the law remaining unrepealed [sic]. If they had voted against both sets of claimants, and a special election had been ordered, the worse [sic] possible consequences would have resulted. They must vote against both, the law remaining unrepealed, or admit Pugh and Pierce. They acted rightly, and the calm reflection of almost every true Freesoiler will approve their course.

I feel especially for Morse. I am certain that he has acted according to his real convictions and with an eye single to the advancement of the cause of Anti Slavery. How mean and contemptible are the charges that he has been bought! The real complaint of these men is that he has refused to be bought. He has acted not only *not* from interested motives, but against the strongest suggestions of interest. He has acted nobly, and, I think, wisely. He has, no matter what detraction he may be called on to endure, the approval of his own conscience; and in proportion as his true action and motives can be made known, the sympathy and support of all earnest Freesoilers. It is among our first duties to sustain such a man, and it is a duty which I will perform at whatever sacrifice.

Dr. Townshend, too, how nobly he has acted! With less to risk indeed than Col. Morse and a constituency far sterner in its devotion to Free Democracy, than his he has displayed a constancy and a courage, and a truth to his own convictions, seldom witnessed.

One thing only I regret under the circumstances. I hear that the vote on the resolution was pushed through by the aid of the previous question, when Riddle had only yielded the floor for a motion to adjourn, not having concluded his speech against the resolution. I hope this was not so. I think so highly of Riddle that I should be very sorry to learn that any right or claim of his had been in the least degree disregarded. Indeed I would have allowed the most ample range of debate, and given full time and opportunity to Judge Spencer to appear in person or by counsel. Undue advantage could not have been taken of this, it seems to me, as the termination of the debate on any day say on Monday or Tuesday could have been provided for by resolution. These, however, are only the views of one at a distance.

Vaughan went up to Clinton and returned today. Tillinghast, the opponent of Jones has been a democrat and is now a democratic Freesoiler. He was a member of the Clinton County Central Free Soil Committee during the last Canvass: always before last summer a democrat and now sympathizing strongly with them. He is pledged, I understand, to act with the Freesoilers on all questions involving Free Soil issues. He will be supported by democrats and Freesoilers and will probably be elected. He comes out as an independent candidate but is endorsed by the Dem. Com. as a democrat and by the Free Soil Com. as a Freesoiler. Vaughan says the Clintonians made my election the test, and that Tillinghast was required to pledge himself to vote for me first and that he did so pledge himself. I think it very important that an arrangement be made to give him a seat next to Morse and Townshend, and that the Democrats agree to use no influence to induce him to separate from them in his action. It is their best policy as well as Duty. If Judge Smart would fully identify himself with them so much the better. *But be sure and provide*

him a seat next them. On no account neglect this. Perhaps Father Van Doren may then join the company. It will be a great deal better than that he keeps.

Ever yours,

VII.

CINCINNATI, January 29, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

I think the time has now come when I ought to take some definitive position in relation to the Senatorial election, and I am going therefore to write you plainly on the subject, in the confidence of friendship.

The House is now full, or will be when the Clinton election is over and the member elect from that county is qualified.

The admission of Pugh and Pierce is in accordance with my views except as to the matter of time. I could wish that a postponement had been allowed both on the score of comity, and on account of the probable effect of summary action on the Clinton election in exciting the Whigs to greater efforts than they might otherwise have made. But I, at a distance, am, of course, not very well qualified to judge of the expediency of pressing the question to so early a decision. Reasons for prompt action doubtless exist unknown to me. The admission itself was a necessary act—an inevitable duty, the law remaining unrepealed, to be performed, by those convinced of the unconstitutionality of the division of the county, whenever the vote should be taken.

I have done all I could in relation to the Clinton election, to secure the return of a reliable free soiler, who will stand by Townshend and Morse firmly. My efforts, joined to those of other Freesoilers directed to the same end, and of Democrats anxious to defeat the election of the Whig Ex-sheriff, have so far succeeded that Mr. Tillinghast, as member of the County Freesoil Committee and vouched as fully reliable by our friend Hibbin, is in nomination, or rather out as an Independent candidate, receiving the support of Freesoilers and Democrats. Tomorrow will determine the result. It rains heavily and the day will doubtless be very unfavorable. This will operate to our disadvantage, as there will not be so much zeal put forth in behalf of an independent candidate, as of one distinctly nominated, whose election can be claimed as a party triumph. I think, however, success is nearly certain, as the majority of Democrats and Freesoilers united over the Whigs was, at the October election, about 600—a majority hard to overcome.

The Freesoilers in Clinton, I learn, make my election a paramount consideration; in which the Democrats are entirely willing to gratify them. The Democrats here, also, seem generally to regard my election as a thing settled, and I receive, every day, congratulations which are particularly annoying under existing circumstances. I received, also, a letter from Bolton, of Cleveland, yesterday in which he says, "I am clearly of opinion that among our party, even here on the Reserve you could carry a majority of the voters for the Senate, and almost unanimous after J. R. Giddings." I suppose myself that the old Liberty men, almost without exception, the bone and sinew of our organization; and the Freesoilers from the old democracy with like unanimity; and a very large proportion of the Freesoilers for the sake of Freesoil, like Col. Morse, from the old Whig Party, would be for me. In the Northwestern part of the State and everywhere off the Reserve, such, I have reason to believe, is the state of the popular sentiment.

I am therefore in this singular predicament—tolerably certain that I am the choice of a very large majority of all who look earnestly to the permanency and success of the Free Democracy without any reasonable assurance of support from the professed friends of the same cause in the Legislature.

This is certainly a very unpleasant position to occupy and I am anxious to get out of it. I wish to know either that the reliable Free-soilers in the Legislature wish me to withdraw from all candidacy and all appearance of it, which I will most cheerfully do, or that they will give me a cordial and firm support.

The only two names, as I suppose, thought seriously of by true Free-soilers are mine and Mr. Giddings. Now, if they really prefer Mr. Giddings and believe he can be elected let them take ground at once for him and stick to him. I shall most cordially sustain him, as long as he is faithful to the cause. I believe indeed that, in several respects, my position is one which will enable me to serve the cause more efficiently than he can—meaning by the cause not simply the Anti Slavery cause only but the cause of Free Democracy as defined by our National and State Platforms. My acquaintance and connexions with many influential men in the Slave States; the confidence reposed in me by the New York Democracy, and the Eastern and Northwestern Democracy generally, and the Conscience Whigs, which enabled me to do some service at Buffalo; my familiarity with the *rationale* and practical workings of an independent organization on a great scale, give me, I think, some advantages over Mr. Giddings whose political life has been spent in the Whig Party; whose habits are averse to independent organization, separated entirely from Whig ideas and Whig connexions; and who has only been accustomed to the *rationale* and practical workings, if I may so speak, of the single body of which he is a member. Besides I see nothing to gain by electing him, but rather a loss to the cause. The only effect will be to transfer him from the House to the Senate. In the House he already enjoys every advantage he could possess in the Senate, unless we take into account the trivial difference of distinction—an object unworthy of a generous ambition. In fact he enjoys greater advantages in the House, than he could in the Senate. For the place which he fills he is pre-eminently qualified by experience, intellect, and habit. Should he be removed from it, no person can fill it equally well. In the Senate he would not be able to render more important services than several others could render. Still I am far from desiring to underrate him. Hardly any man esteems his services more highly than I do. There is no station to which I would not cheerfully contribute, at the proper time and under proper circumstances to elevate him. Nor do I wish to be considered as in any sense an opponent of his. I merely mention to you—as a friend to a friend—the lights in which the matter actually appears to me. Make what deductions you think right.

All that I ask is to have the reliable Free-soilers take a position and relieve me. Mr. Giddings writes Mr. Vaughan that he wishes my election if he cannot be elected and that he has written Col. Morse to the same purport. I wish Mr. Giddings elected if I cannot be. Col. Morse told me he did not believe Giddings could be elected, and has written me to the same effect. Now if this be so—either through indisposition of the Whigs to sustain him or the decided preference, under the circumstances of such men as Townshend, Swift and Smart for me, it seems to me

that it should be at once ascertained and a conclusion arrived at. If I understand matters, the whole results of the session to the Freesoil cause turn on a decision of this matter. Mr. Giddings says he does not wish to be a candidate unless the Freesoilers unite on him. Will they do so? If not, ought they not frankly to say so, and advise him of it?

I wish you would ascertain as far as possible the real bearings on this question and let me know the actual state of them: I think it best that this letter be regarded as confidential between us; unless you are of opinion that it had better be shown to Dr. Townshend; to whom I have heretofore confessed freely my feelings. Will there be a freesoil caucus for Senator? If yes, who will compose it? Whom will they nominate? If no distinct Free Soil caucus of *real* Freesoilers, will there be a Whig Free Soil Caucus? If *such* a caucus nominates Giddings will Morse vote for him? Will Townshend? Will Townshend, in any event? If no distinct [?] caucus of *real* Freesoilers what course will Morse, Townshend, Smart and Swift take? Will the Democrats support me? Do you see Judge Meyers? What is his position? What Van Doren's?

You will I am sure appreciate my feelings. I am more desirous to be relieved from an uncertain position, and one not very desirable on other accounts, than for an election. I can spare the office, having already a more profitable one. But I should feel greatly honored by an election and gratified by the opportunity it would afford me to serve the cause. If elected I should *devote* myself to secure its triumph in 1852: if not elected, I should feel as if the chief responsibility was taken off from me, and, serving the cause faithfully as I have heretofore done, should feel myself at liberty to give my chief attention to professional duties; and the payment of my debts.

Yours faithfully, in gratitude

Mr. Riddle writes me in high terms of you, but says you seem to regard him with more forbearance than favor.—Don't let him think so. Cultivate his friendship. He is a noble fellow.

VII.

[Undated, probably CINCINNATI, February 15, 1849.]

My dear Matthews:

I recd. a despatch this morning from Hamlin to come up immediately. Thinking it related to the affairs of [the] Standard and that my letter to you would supercede the necessity of my coming I telegraphed him to see you and if still thought necessary I would come up. I have written to Townshend today. Please *see him immediately* on getting this; also Hamlin to whom I have also written. You can readily imagine how unpleasant it must be for me to come up at this time: but if it is thought necessary by our friends I will come, and a word will bring me. If I come I wish a room, and advise that one is procured either at the American or Capitol House. Include notice of this in your despatch, then I may know where to go. *The Standard must not stop*, if there is any prospect that I am to be placed in a situation where I can ultimately sustain it, you are fully authorized to act for me.

Thursday Morning.

Yours Ever

VIII.

CINCINNATI, Feb 27, 1849.

I hereby agree in case William F. Giddings shall purchase the establishment, subscription lists, materials etc etc of the Ohio Standard at Columbus of Israel Garrard, for Seven hundred dollars, and give his note for said sum in three equal installments one payable in thirty days, one in 6 months and one in 12 months endorsed by Stanley Matthews, and shall secure said Matthews against the said endorsements by a mortgage, duly executed and recorded, on said establishment, including subscription lists materials etc. etc, that I will indemnify the said Matthews against loss by reason of said endorsements, and in case said Giddings shall fail to pay said notes will pay them myself on receiving to myself or my assigns an assignment of said mortgage.

S: P: CHASE.

For Stanley Matthews
or Israel Garrard
Columbus, O.

IX.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1849.

My dear Stanley,

I recd. your despatch of the 7th today. and have concluded that it is hardly worth while to answer by telegraph when the mail makes so much better speed.

I have written in full heretofore of the causes which prevented my reaching here in time for an interview with Giddings. I wrote to him immediately and urged him to meet me in Columbus, and also to write me here.

I shall come to Columbus immediately upon the adjournment of the Senate which I hope and expect will take place this week, unless the Legislature shall have adjourned in the meantime. I do hope the Legislature will not adjourn until after every possible effort has been made to secure, *at least*, the repeal of the Hamilton County Division Clauses. It would be in my poor judgment extremely wrong to adjourn, leaving this matter open, to breed rancorous divisions next year, and perhaps introduce scenes of violence and disorder, more painful and humiliating than those of the recent winter. I earnestly hope that the friends of a just and constitutional apportionment will hold out a little longer. I wish I had information from Columbus regularly; but I have received only one number of Medary's paper since I arrived here and very few letters from members.

With great regard,
Yours faithfully,

X.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 5, 1849.

My dear Stanley,

Thanks for your letter. It was the first news received here from Columbus, and it will be acceptable to all our liberal democrats. I hope to hear that Leiter is Speaker and you Clerk. Much as I like Charley Blair, and glad as I should be to promote his interests, I cannot wish him success as against you. I wish Breslin could have obtained the nomina-

tion for Speaker; but Leiter is quite as reliable, I suppose, on all freesoil matters and his nomination is nearly as full a ratification of the action of last winter as Breslin's would have been. Breslin must have patience and courage. If he takes a firm stand for Freedom and the true principles of Democracy, Ohio will confer on him higher honors than he has yet received.

I am right glad that the Free Democrats of the House are organized so well and so harmoniously. Riddle's action toward you does not surprise me at all. Never, even when I thought him most wrong as to myself and Townshend last winter, did I waver in my confidence in his honor and nobleness of heart. Hutchins is a thoroughly reliable man, I know; and I am glad that you give so good accounts of the others.

I am sorry to observe what you say of Randall. I had a conversation this very day with Giddings, in which he told me that Randall took ground before the people last fall in favor of the repeal of so much of the law as relates to the division of Hamilton County; and in answer to my expression of a wish that Swift and Randall should act together, meeting each other on the ground of repealing the law, (after the *prima facie* admission in which, of course, Randall would have no participation) and remitting the election to the people, Giddings said to me that Randall would doubtless take that ground. After this you may imagine I was surprised by your letter. If Randall has suffered himself to be put into leading strings again, by Vaughan, Beaver and that sort, I shall be much disappointed. To be weak, in a great cause, is as bad as to be faithless. In fact faithlessness and weakness generally go together.

We had a specimen [*sic*] at our Free Democratic caucus tonight. Howe, of Pennsylvania, who voted for Wilmot on the two first days, and for Root on the third, announced, this evening, his purpose to vote for Winthrop tomorrow. The only reason he could find was that he was elected by Whigs and Free-soilers, and owed it to the former [to] vote a part of the time for their candidate. He was very plainly dealt with by Wilmot, Giddings, Allen and others; and, finally, half recalled his purpose. Should he vote for Winthrop the results—or rather the influence of his vote cannot fail to be bad. It will be, so far as he can effect it, a betrayal of Free Soil.

Our friends here are all in good spirits. Tomorrow it is expected that the Democrats will vote every man as he pleases, and that Cobb will be in effect abandoned. Our delegation prefers Potter for Speaker and if the Free Democrats will vote for him he may yet be elected. This will depend on the character of the assurances he may be able to give them. The Senate is doing nothing. I shall rely on you to keep me advised as you promise. Give my truest regards to all friends.

Faithfully yours,

XI.

WASHINGTON, May 6. 1850.

My dear Matthews,

I am so much in default to you, that I could not satisfy myself on receiving this evening your letter of the 3d. without sitting down immediately to a reply. I warn you however that I am too tired and too sleepy to give you anything better than a very dull epistle.

I thank you most sincerely for your kind commendation of my speech. It was delivered under very great disadvantages. You know that I am

not a rousing speaker at best; and on the days which fell to me the first and second scenes between Benton and Foote occurred, which so engaged the attention of every body that I had hardly any chance of attention; and, in fact, received not much. There were some, however, who listened attentively, and among them one or two from whom I least expected such a mark of respect. Besides this division of attention in the Senate, the Foote and Benton stampede produced another effect unfavorable to me. It preoccupied the Telegraph, and consequently the notice of my speech was confined to the most barren generality imaginable. It was not until the speech was published that I found that it had produced any impression. Then, however, it began to be noticed by my brother Senators and by the press, and it is perhaps a sign, from which I may derive some consolation in reflecting upon its first neglect, of its permanent value, that these notices have been increasing in strength of commendation from that time to this.

May 7. I was too sleepy to finish last night. This morning I have taken a long walk and my breakfast; and the sun shines so brightly and the air is so cool and fresh that I *ought* to be in trim for letter writing, but I fear I am not in much better condition than last night. However I shall fill the sheet perhaps.

I am glad to see that you are taking measures to have a German Edition of my speech printed. There was a proposition to print an Edition in German here in a 36 page pamphlet at 1.75 per hundred for an Edition of 10,000 copies: but there was not zeal enough among our friends to accomplish it. By the omission of some unimportant (to German Readers) parts it might be reduced to the compass of 32 pages and afforded at \$1.50 per 100. If you do not succeed in raising the funds necessary to print in Cincinnati—which I would greatly prefer and to which I will cheerfully contribute my full proportion, say 1/10 of the cost or more if you think I ought—perhaps it would be well to raise as large an amount as possible and let it go into a fund for printing here. Printing here has this advantage—that lists of names and the amounts necessary to supply them at \$1.50 per hundred for the Speeches and 25 cents per hundred for directing etc. being remitted to any free democratic member of Congress he will see to having the list furnished and will himself send them under his frank.

Col. Benton is acting nobly in regard to California. But we must not allow our hopes to be too much excited in regard to him. His position in Missouri is peculiar; and he still expects too much from Southern friends. I noticed this long before my election in a conversation I held with him when John Van Buren visited Cincinnati. He, then, found great fault with our Buffalo Movement. Here he has repeated to me the same views. You must not be surprised if after the separate admission of California is achieved he turns round and votes steadily against us on every anti-slavery proposition from the Proviso down, except the simple abolition of Slave trade in the District. I hope for something better to be sure, but I prefer not to expect too much. A great question will grow out of the Texas business—To secure her three or five electoral votes all the Presl. aspirants will agree to give her almost any sum for the relinquishment of her nominal claim. Bartow will go for this. He has already introduced a bill and made a speech. He says privately and publicly that the Texas Title is *good* in law up to 42° North on the Rio Grande. Now I don't believe a word of this. But yet Shields and I

are the only two democratic Senators who have controverted distinctly the Texas pretension and even Shields is willing to give the money for its partial relinquishment. I say, if we are to give money let the whole claim be relinquished from the Nueces westward and northward. I throw out these ideas that you may consider them in their relation to Col. Benton.

I am at this moment deeply engaged in the labor of bringing up my correspondence which sickness in my family, preparation of my speech and other causes has thrown badly into arrears. I mean to devote all the time I can command to a thorough examination of the subject of Western Resources and Western Improvements.

I recd. sometime since a letter from you in relation to a pension. It shared the fate of almost all letters recd. about the same time—postponement. I will look it up however immediately, and, as it is quite impossible for me at this time to give the requisite attention to such matters, will place it in safe hands.

John Tilden is nominated. A good selection, it seems to me, if a nomination was expedient. What do you think of it, and, of the course, proper now to be pursued by the Free Democracy of Ohio?

Yours Cordially,

P. S. I send you Shields speech; also second and complete Edition of mine. I wish you would prepare a strong article and have it published editorially in the Enquirer or Nonpareil, or one for each, sustaining our views on the true democratic positions; and I will aid in giving the articles the largest possible currency, if you send me thirty or forty papers or reps.

XII.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1850.

Dear Matthews,

The issue is being made up Democracy *v.* Aristocracy. The House has agreed upon 233 as the number for the next House, thus, in great measure, depriving the Free States of the advantages which the new census ought to give them. In the Senate Henry Clay and Lewis Cass lead, under Genl. Foote, the Aristocratic Party—which Mangum, somewhat facetiously today dubbed the Patriotic Party. Clay reported his Omnibus. You will see the assaults on [it] from the south. Much of this is afloat. But it has its effect in inclining such men as Shields and Douglas to go for the hybrid measure. You will see the whole and can judge. Now it seems to me is the time to move decidedly. Can't you get up a great California and Freedom meeting under Free Democratic Auspices. Try it. Let us see whether the spirit which rallied to the support of Van Buren is dead in Cincinnati. It is time to wake up the country.

Yours truly,

XIII.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 13, 1850.

My dear Matthews,

I recd. your letter advising me of a draft of \$50. I shall pay it with pleasure on its appearance. Having paid for the speeches, I don't care about having any collections made to reimburse me. Had the friends of the cause thought fit in the first instance to have the speech translated and

printed for the sake of the cause I should have been gratified; but I don't want them to reimburse any expenditures of mine for the circulation of *my* speeches or *any other*. I am obliged to you for the friendly feeling you have manifested in the matter, and greatly obliged to Capt. Roedter for his translation and publication. I shall not be likely to *forget* the friendship of either of you, whether it be ever in my power to give any external proof of my remembrance or not.

Well, things turn up oddly. Townshend in Congress and Morse Speaker. What next? A member of the old line was saying the other day what the democrats would do if the freesoilers in the legislature would not support an old line democrat of [f]ree soil sympathies for the Senate. They would cut the conven[t]ion, he said. "Well" said I, very coolly, "we would do as well as we could without it. Perhaps we could get along as well without you as you can without us. We can take care of ourselves." "The d—l" said he "I think you *have* taken care of yourselves. Here are you in the Senate; Townshend is in Congress and now Morse is elected Speaker!" I could n't help laughing—nor could he. But I didn't think it worth while to remind him what benefits the Old Line democrats had derived from the alliance. The fact is that it will work well for both sides, and best in this, that it will finally bring us together on a truly democratic platform and then for one I care little who has the offices.

Gregory told me he would take hold for a genuine Free Democratic paper when he returned to the City. I believe I explained my idea to you—a weekly first and a daily by and by. He told me, also, he would see Capt. Roedter and see what could be done towards advancing the money the Capt. wants. Won't you ascertain what he has done and let me know. Does the Capt. know that I sent Skinner to Potter but in vain? I do wish he could have such a weekly as the Boston Democratic Standard, and by and by the right kind of a daily. We must have it, if possible.

Hale will be in Cincinnati on Thursday. I hope the Free Democracy will give him a reception that will amaze the Hunkers. He will telegraph from Pittsburgh or Wheeling what boat he comes on to French, (Maynard).

Yours cordially,

Write me often.

XIV.

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBUS, Nov. 19, 1859.

Dear Judge,⁵

Won't you come up and examine the Treasury? I want some capable and upright democrat to do it. I asked Ramsey. He says he wd. but can't. Now don't you decline. I am sorry you are a democrat—in the modern notion of one—but as I can't help that allow me at least to show my personal regard for you and my goodwill for the public interest by calling you into the service of the State for a few days. Come up at once.

Yours truly,

⁵ In 1851 and for several years thereafter Matthews had been one of the three judges of the court of common pleas of Hamilton County.

XV.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Apl. 16. 1863.

Dear Colonel,

Though I am, en necessitate, a poor correspondent, I am not a negligent friend. Your wishes in relation to your resignation were attended to at once; but I found Stanton so much averse to losing good officers that I gave up the attempt to secure its acceptance. And then came your letter saying that you had concluded not to urge its acceptance.

Now I suppose your election as Judge (on which I most heartily congratulate bench, bar and suitors) will make you resign at any rate.

Today I have received a letter from a very active friend in Ohio which contains the following sentences. "*Stanley Matthews could be nominated for governor*. He *was* your friend; is he now?" The underscoring is the writers.

What do you say to this? Would you like the nomination. I am sure you could adorn the office. Of course I am not indifferent to the point of friendship for me; but it is secondary with me. Fifteen years ago we were at all points one; and the affection I then conceived for you has never grown cold. We were long politically separate, however, and I do not know what changes your personal sentiments may have undergone. Won't you tell me exactly. I should like to be able to give true and intelligent answers to such questions as that of my correspondent.

I am looking anxiously for movement in Rosecrans army. He is one of the few generals commanding important armies in whom I yet retain faith.

Your friend,

XVI.

WASHINGTON, Apl. 14, 1865.

My dear Judge,

The Commr. of Agric. has sent me some seeds, and Sumner has put his name on some envelopes into which they are distributed and I send one to you more as a token of remembrance and a text for a short letter than for any good reason.

Now there is the text; and the sermon I shall forget it—no unusual occurrence.

We all feel very happy here in the prospect of the speedy return of peace. I hear of no rebel and no sympathizer with rebellion who does not consider the insurrection as effectually, though as yet only virtually quelled. Judge Campbell told the President at Richmond that he had expressed this opinion to Davis, Benjamin and Mallory just before they left Richmond, and they were silent. It was the silence of despair.

Now comes the question of reconstruction. I was anxious that it should be provided for in advance eighteen months ago; and my plan was a very simple one. I proposed that the *loyal* citizens should be enrolled, either by voluntary action under a State Committee selected by an open public meeting or by proper persons designated by the military authority; and that the citizens there enrolled should elect delegates to a convention, which should conform the constitution to the principles necessary to preserve future loyalty and peace and so prepare for a full restoration of all the privileges of a loyal state. Of course I contemplated no distinctions between colored and white loyalists. I was not able to get this

plan adopted. And reconstruction has been made almost wholly a military job; with no good results so far. Louisiana is the only result as yet; and there the old secession element is rapidly gaining the ascendancy in consequence of the disfranchisement of the colored loyalists.

And now the President has given a sort of sanction, and a pretty strong one too, to the meeting of the rebel Legislature with a view to its putting itself right by a simple declaration of submission and acquiescence in Emancipation.

This greatly alarms those of us who want the hydra of rebellion killed not scotched; and there are signs of trouble. I hope they will all disappear, but I am uneasy.

I have been holding the Circuit Court in Baltimore. There was little business and that little not important. A strong loyal sentiment prevails. With most of the loyal men it is very intense; and in a good many cases, naturally enough, vindictive. Many however have sons or brothers or other near relations in the rebel armies, and are anxious for complete amnesty. Most of them would be glad to continue slavery.

But I must stop. Please let me hear from you. What are your views of our future? What sentiments prevail in Ohio?

Yours faithfully.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Decline of the West. By OSWALD SPENGLER. Volume II.

Translated by CHARLES FRANCIS ATKINSON. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. xii, 508, xxxii. \$7.50.)

In this second volume, bearing the subtitle, "Historical Perspectives", Spengler discusses the origin, development, and significance of many social institutions and instruments, as races, peoples, cities, language, estates, government, money, and machines. He also surveys and compares the chief cultures, giving special attention to the Arabian. His pages teem with suggestion and stimulation for the anthropologist, psychologist, sociologist, economist, linguist, and jurist. Though the historians, particularly in Europe, have honored his work with copious discussion, they have largely ignored the new problems which he sets and the new lines of thought and methods of treatment which he suggests.

To the old question, "What is History?" he gives a new answer in the following passage: "And here I would protest against two assumptions which have so far vitiated all historical thought: the assertion of an ultimate aim of mankind as a whole and the denial of there being ultimate aims at all. The life *has* aim. It is the fulfilment of that which was ordained at its conception. But the individual belongs by birth to the particular high Culture on the one hand and to the type man on the other. . . . His destiny must lie either in the zoological or the world-historical field. 'Historical' man as I understand the word and as all great historians have meant it to be taken, is the man of a Culture that is in full march towards self-fulfilment. Before this, after this, outside this, man is *historyless*. . .". "From this there follows a fact of the most decisive importance, and one that has never before been established: that man is not only historyless before the birth of the Culture, but again becomes so as soon as a Civilization has worked itself out fully to the definitive form which betokens the end of the living development of the Culture and the exhaustion of the last potentialities of its significant existence" (p. 48).

True history thus ends when the culture-soul has lost its creative power, no longer produces new expression-forms, or institutions, as the conventional historian is wont to say. The culture then becomes a civilization; events and all human manifestations are no longer the product of cosmic forces, the unfolding of irresistible destiny, the making actual of something spiritual. "All that remains is the struggle for mere power, for animal advantage *per se*. Whereas previously power, even when to

all appearance destitute of any inspiration, was always serving the idea some way or other, in the late Civilization even the most convincing illusion of an idea is only the mask for purely zoological strivings" (p. 49).

The following statement of when history begins makes clearer his conception of what human phenomena are worthy the historian's attention: "All effectual history begins with the primary classes, nobility and priesthood, forming themselves and elevating themselves above the peasantry as such. . . . *The peasant is historyless.* The village stands outside world-history and all evolution . . . passes by these little points on the landscape . . ." (p. 96). "Only the city, not the village, possesses a soul and has value for the historian. It is a conclusive fact . . . that all great Cultures are town Cultures. . . . Here is the real criterion of 'world-history' that differentiates it with utter sharpness from man's history—*world-history is the history of civic man.* Peoples, states, politics, all arts and all sciences rest upon one prime phenomenon of human being, the town" (p. 90).

Having seen where true history begins and ends, let us now note with what aspects of civic life the historian should be primarily concerned. "True history is not cultural in the sense of being anti-political, as the philosophers and doctrinaires of all commencing civilizations assert. On the contrary, it is breed history, war history, diplomatic history, the history of being-streams in the form of man and woman, family, people, estate, state, reciprocally offensive and defensive in the wave-beat of grand facts. *Politics in the highest sense is life and life is politics*" (p. 339).

The prevalent conceptions of people and race he summarily rejects, declaring that they have vitiated the scientific picture of history during the nineteenth century, and then presents his own idea of a people. "For me the people *is a unit of the soul.* The great events of history were not really achieved by peoples, *they themselves created the peoples.* The 'Americans' did not immigrate from Europe; they are, however, a people in the true sense of the word, whose specific character was born in the spiritual upheavals of 1775, and above all, 1861-'65. This the one and only connotation of the word, 'people'. Neither unity of speech nor physical descent is decisive" (p. 165). "A people is an aggregate of men which feels itself a unit" (p. 160).

Spengler essays the rôle of prophet and this second volume, like the first, contains many dark predictions. The world, for example, is doomed to war and Caesarism. "The way from Alexander to Caesar is unambiguous and unavoidable, and the strongest nation of any and every Culture, consciously or unconsciously, willing or unwilling, has to tread it." "From the rigor of these facts there is no refuge. The Hague Conference of 1907 was the prelude of the World War; the Washington Conference of 1921 will have been that of other wars" (pp. 430-431). Democracy will fail because of general indifference to public affairs and civic obligations. "This failure is the end of the great politics. The

conflict of intelligences that had served as a substitute for war must give place to war itself in its most primitive form" (p. 432).

Spengler has an original and fruitful mind, with a profound insight which penetrates to unfathomed depths of meaning in social phenomena and pours out a flood of new suggestions concerning their relations. He proceeds always with a powerful sweep of thought and an all-inclusive grasp of facts which mark the giant intellect, a coördinating and synthetic mind of the highest order. Many of his conclusions, however, are so metaphysical and mystical in character, as to lie in the realm of faith; they can be neither proved nor refuted. Some of these doctrines it is exceedingly difficult to accept, as, for example, his denial of causality in history, his assertion that one series of events follows another because of inherent necessity, as the flower grows from the seed. We can not believe, furthermore, that Western civilization has already lost its creative power. True it is that no great art, music, or philosophy are now being produced. But in the fields of natural science and invention, of organization for manufacture and distribution, and of social idealism, the West undeniably possesses creative power of great fertility. Nor can we accept his conclusion, founded though it be on a comprehensive study of the past, that Western civilization is necessarily predestined to stagnation and petrification. There are too many profound differences between the culture of the West at present and those of the Orient in the remote past to warrant such a prophecy.

Mr. Atkinson has done the work of translation with noteworthy talent, knowledge, and patience, and deserves the praise and gratitude of American and English scholars.

EARL E. SPERRY.

Our Father's Faith and Ours. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Lecturer on American Church History in Union Theological Seminary. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. x, 680. \$4.50.)

THIS book is the result of an exhaustive study of the contrast between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant sects. The treatment is in three parts, historical, doctrinal and sacramental, and social and moral. Starting with the historical cleavages between the Greek and Roman churches and between Catholicism and Protestantism, the author points out the irreconcilable attitude of the Roman church. Then he sets forth the contradictory beliefs on the authority of the canons, creeds, and catechisms, and summarizes the doctrinal controversies chronologically. The Reformation and its causes are discussed, with a chapter on the personality of Luther, and the Catholic strictures on the revolt.

After the historical sketch is completed in about 140 pages, chapters follow on the place of tradition, the Bible—with a convenient and scholarly summary of the historic attitude of the Catholic Church towards the use of the Scriptures—the church and its functions, the papacy, with

the theory of Petrine origin, and the modern elaboration of the doctrine of infallibility. The sacraments are treated in succession, with considerable space given to the doctrine of transubstantiation and to the history of penance. The theory and history of marriage, purgatory, Mariolatry, the saints, images, and relics, are passed in review.

The third part of the book sketches the history, both Catholic and Protestant, of religious freedom and the relation of church and state. The most recent history is included, and the author reminds the reader of the place which America has played in the history of religious freedom. He cites Governor Smith of New York, and objects to the Catholic claim that the popular form of American government is indebted to the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine. The difficulties of the question of education and marriage are faced, and the much mooted subject of Jesuit moral principles. The book ends with a comparison of the attractions of the Catholic system—its antiquity, visible authority, unity, and Christian symbolism—and the Protestant excellences of love of truth, the rights of the individual, liberty of conscience, the progress of Christian countries, the priestly standing of the laity, and the simplicity of worship.

This somewhat detailed survey of the contents may give an idea of the thoroughness with which the author has planned his work, and the continual reference to his sources shows its scholarly character. The comparative method of discussion makes it difficult to avoid an appearance of bias, and the writer has been betrayed here and there into an expression of personal opinion, which is hardly in keeping with the historical character of the book. This appears on page 11, where he says: "Protestants will never consent to be treated as sectaries outside the true church", and again on page 375, where he asks: "Where is there a case in the New Testament of a priest giving absolution of sin or the remotest hint of such a thing?" The soft pedal is put on Protestant vandalism on page 114. An early chapter might well have explained the legitimate development of Catholicism out of the early Christian church, and a sympathetic statement of the values in Catholicism should have preceded the abuses catalogued in chapter three. These are not glaring faults, but they make it plain that the book is written by a Protestant. On the whole the contrasts are drawn fairly, and the author restrains himself many times when critical judgment might seem permissible in stronger terms.

It is almost impossible to avoid slips in such a book. The spelling of Thomas Aquinas as Aguinas (p. 152) and ratification as ratifiation (p. 321) escaped the proof-reader. The date of 1200 for the beginning of the work of the Waldensians is too late, even as a round number. The title of the well-known tract of Roger Williams was "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution", not "Conscience". The typographical excellence of the book is marred by the inexcusably small type of the table of contents. But with these slight imperfections the book is worthy of author and publisher. At certain points the comparison is particularly good. On page 145 Protestantism and Catholicism are placed side by

side and compared, first in general and then with a detailed characterization that is sane and discriminating. Again on the last page of the text the possible promotion of fellowship between Catholics and Protestants is outlined succinctly and happily. On the whole the student should be grateful that the large amount of material thus classified is made so available for ready reference.

HENRY K. ROWE.

The Persian Gulf: an Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. By Lieutenant-Colonel SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 327. 25s.)

SIR ARNOLD WILSON is a retired lieutenant colonel of the Indian Army who spent many years in the region around the Persian Gulf, first in the British and Indian government service and later as general manager of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. He was, for example, acting consul at Mohammerah in 1912 and civil commissioner in Iraq from 1918 to 1920, and it fell to his lot after the World War to organize the administration of that country in the face of a serious Arab revolt. He does not tell us this in his book, but his services are a matter of record and his achievements are still remembered in Bagdad. "We have anticipated", he merely says (page 273), "in spirit and in fact, in the Persian Gulf more perhaps than anywhere else, those principles to which the mandatory system, under the League of Nations, has given solemn sanction. That we have done so lies not in any exceptional wisdom in British methods of government, but in the fact that the instruments by whom the system is worked have been peculiarly adapted for the business in hand. The British Empire, as remarked by Lord Rosebery, 'rests on men'." Sir Arnold is obviously one of them, and yet his enthusiasm as an empire-builder does not warp his impartial judgment.

Our author would therefore seem to be eminently qualified to deal with his subject were it not for the fact that the book is primarily a history. Now Sir Arnold would be the last person to claim to be a trained historian and he had the good sense to invite the collaboration of Mr. H. W. Mardon, formerly of the Egyptian education department, who wrote the chapters on the early history and the Middle Ages.

Sir Arnold Wilson deserves much credit for his method of treating the Persian Gulf as a unit. For here is an inland sea of nearly 100,000 square miles whose central position made it one of the great highways between the East and the West and the picturesqueness of whose history has been equalled by but few parts of the world. Copious quotations from Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, etc. (one from Arrian on page 20 is inadvertently repeated on page 38, though in a slightly different version) show that the customs of the native races around the Gulf have not changed much during the last 2000 years. The famous pearl fisheries of Bahrein and the "liquid asphalt"—in the regions which later became

rich oil fields—were already known to the ancients. Nearchus, commanding the fleet which Alexander the Great sent from India to the Euphrates (326 B.C.), brought the first authentic information concerning the Gulf to Europe and most of the places he mentions can be identified.

After that, with the exception of Trajan's expedition to the Persian Gulf (c. 116 A.D.), no event of outstanding importance is recorded until we come to the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. The Arabs were great travellers and soon became the middlemen for the trade between Europe, India, and China. Portugal was the first European nation to take an active interest in the Gulf. After capturing Hormuz early in the sixteenth century they were paramount for over a hundred years also at Basra and Muscat. But they were never very popular with the Orientals, and their weakness on the sea and inefficient trading methods soon caused their decline. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch who first established themselves at Bandar Abbas and played an important rôle until the middle of the eighteenth century when they, in turn, had to yield to the British.

England, though temporarily eclipsed by the more spectacular exploits of the Portuguese and often underbid and outwitted by the thrifty Dutch, had been steadily forging ahead ever since the East India Company (c. 1600) and her traders and adventurers in Persia had pointed the way. The East India Company established a "factory" near Jask on the Gulf of Oman and as early as 1622 helped the Persians to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz. The remainder of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries were taken up with a fierce struggle with the Dutch, and no sooner had British sea-power asserted itself than the French appeared to dispute it. During the Seven Years' War a French squadron destroyed the British "factory" at Bandar Abbas, which obliged the British to move to Basra, *i.e.*, from Persian to Turkish territory. (Nelson, incidentally, served in the Persian Gulf as a midshipman in 1775.)

This shifting of their position had as an important result the development of a fairly safe and speedy overland route from Basra to Aleppo (Syria) which was much used by traders and travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The monopoly of the East India Company ended c. 1800, and thenceforth the political history of the Persian Gulf was largely controlled by the government of India and, though less directly, from Downing Street. Throughout the nineteenth century the Gulf was an important pawn in the international rivalries of the Great Powers. During the Napoleonic wars the French government sent out several mysterious missions and agents which, on the whole, were rather successful in counteracting British influence. Twice (1838 and 1856) Great Britain was obliged to take warlike measures against Persia because of the latter's interference in Afghan affairs. Russia, in her historic quest of a "warm water port",

cast longing eyes across a feeble and defenseless Persia and actually caused England to seek in vain to interest Bismarck in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf to check the threatening Russian expansion southward! But it was not until the Russian danger was practically eliminated as far as Great Britain was concerned, that the Germans seized the idea with avidity and entered into the combination with the Young Turks which ultimately helped to precipitate the Great War.

Unfortunately, Sir Arnold Wilson breaks off at this interesting point because of "the limitations imposed upon the writer by virtue of his long official connection with the Persian Gulf". It is very much to be hoped that he will some day complete his narrative. In fact, one can not help but feel that at least one chapter could have profitably been added to the present volume without divulging any state secrets.

Whatever the motives may have been, the civilizing effect of British influence in the Persian Gulf is undeniable. For centuries Arab rule had been synonymous with piracy and a particularly obnoxious form of slave trade flourished until the British abated both nuisances. Moreover, an illicit traffic in arms on a large scale—backed by French and German traders—threatened towards the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth centuries to encourage lawless Arab, Persian, and Afghan tribes to rise by furnishing them with modern rifles (Sir Arnold might have mentioned in this connection the Hague Court Decision of 1905 *re* Mascat *dhow*s, i.e., native craft which, under the protection of the French flag, had been engaged in gun-running). The British were the first to establish a regular steamship line on the Tigris (1861) and the same company is still operating. The first cable to Jask was opened in 1868, and today the Gulf is served by a system of cables, wireless stations, and land telegraphs, which might well be the envy of more advanced regions. It has also become an important section of the British air route to India, but our author is silent on this subject.

The value of the book is enhanced by a comprehensive bibliography—prepared by Mr. Mardon—although the place of publication has been omitted in nearly every item. An appendix contains brief but interesting notes on archaeology, botany and zoology, geology, geographic surveys, and even music, which should serve to stimulate further research. The map is adequate and up-to-date.

CORNELIUS VAN H. ENGERT.

Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire. By A. M. DUFF, M.A., B.Litt., Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Aberdeen. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 252. \$5.00.)

"THIS work is a revised and amplified edition of a thesis submitted to Oxford University in July 1925 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters. A great part of the material was gathered during a stay of seven months in Rome." I quote these lines from the preface not to discourage the

prospective purchaser, but to call attention to what good results can come out of students' work; for this is in general a very sound and thorough book, and it is written in a style that reveals an unusually penetrating and orderly mind. To be sure it does not contain much that is strikingly new. The central idea is credited to an essay that appeared in this *Review* in 1916, the intricate legal detail is largely drawn from a study of Buckland, and most of the data could be found in other studies if one delved through a hundred volumes. But Mr. Duff has read his original sources with an alert judgment, and any one who has done that in this large field has given many times "seven months" to the task. He offers some valuable statistics drawn from a careful reading of the Corpus of inscriptions, he discusses reasons for manumission more adequately than has been done before, and he gives an unusually helpful survey of the imperial policy toward freedmen.

The first chapter, which discusses the slave-market, is perhaps the weakest. One should hardly mention enslavement of debtors during the empire, nor assume that Roman wars always supplied the most important markets. Not enough attention is given to the westward shift of the old slave-supply at the time when Greece was falling into decay, to the breeding of slaves, and to the supply that was brought in from beyond the boundaries of the provinces when the empire was at peace. On some of these points the dissertation of M. E. Park on *The Plebs in Cicero's Day* should have been consulted. It is also erroneous to mention Roscius, the actor, and Antinous as freedmen, to call Greek-speaking slaves "Greek" when in fact very few real Hellenes were ever in servitude at Rome, and to assume that Caesar's requirement of free laborers on pastoral estates remained in force during the empire. Finally, the dogmatic conclusion that "it was because the giants of the past had given way to a bastard brood that the final catastrophe came" is one of the few signs of immaturity in the book. Bastard is a hard word to apply to some of the fine fellows that Mr. Duff has discussed in this book. That a thoroughgoing racial change had something to do with the "catastrophe" is probable enough, but it is also evident that the brutalizing of the new stock by grinding it through the mill of slavery, and the rapidity of the process which prevented a fruitful assimilation, should rather be emphasized than the nature of the "brood". However, the book fills a real need. Mr. Duff should be encouraged to continue his investigations in this field, to include the Republic in his survey, and in a second edition to provide the exhaustive study which this important subject deserves and which he is excellently qualified to write.

TENNEY FRANK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians. By the late J. B. BURY, D.Litt., LL.D. (London: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xi, 296. 25s.)

If there is any one topic in Medieval history upon which it is difficult to say anything new, it is perhaps the barbarian invasions. The scanty source material is sufficiently familiar and well worn. There have, however, been few books in English of a handy size and convenient length devoted specifically and exclusively to this theme, and therefore the volume before us for review may meet a certain need, especially in the class-room. Assuredly if any recent historical writer in English was eminently qualified to deal with this theme and the period from 375 to 575 A.D., it was the late regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, and this book gives us his own class-room lectures on the subject. As their present editor warns us: "These lectures, of course, contained little or nothing which was not being incorporated in greater detail and with an elaborate apparatus of notes and references in the larger works which were being produced simultaneously with them. They did, however, as revised from year to year, present in vivid and memorable form the principal conclusions of much recondite and mature thought." With this last sentence of praise we may also agree. The text, for the most part in short, crisp sentences, is very clear and readable, and the publishers have given us an attractive page with large type and sufficient margins. Indeed, on account of the interposition of fly-leaves before each of the fifteen lectures and of blank spaces before the various subheadings, the volume is even shorter than it at first seems.

Professor Bury views the barbarian invasions largely from the military standpoint, and some may feel that their economic causes and accompaniments have been rather neglected. Much is said of strategy—"Attila had no great strategical talent"—and the importance of such a change as that from the infantry of the Roman legions to the heavy-armed horse of the age of the invasions is emphasized. In view of this it is regrettable that the word "cavalry" is not to be found in the index.

Professor Bury had altered his opinion of the battle of 451 at the *locus Mauriacus* near Troyes, commonly but incorrectly called the battle of Châlons or of the Catalaunian fields, since in 1889 he wrote in his *History of the Later Roman Empire* (I. 176): "If Attila had not been repelled, western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste, unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day." In the volume before us he asserts (p. 155), "the battle of the Nedao was an arbitrament far more momentous than the battle of Troyes". Since to many a reader the very name, Nedao, may be unfamiliar, and will not be found by him in such a work of reference as the *Century Dictionary of Names*, should he turn thither for information, it may be explained, quoting page 154, that after Attila's death "in Pannonia near the river

Nedao another battle of the nations was fought, and the coalition of German vassals—Gepids, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Heruls, and the rest—utterly defeated the host of their Hun lords (A.D. 454) ”.

The present reviewer has no inclination to stress the decisiveness either of battles in general or of that fought near Troyes in 451 in particular (see his *History of Medieval Europe*, p. 85). But he is not convinced by Professor Bury's argument that Nedao was far more momentous than Troyes. Bury contends that if Attila had been victorious in 451, “the rule of the Huns in Gaul could only have been a matter of a year or two”. But was not the break-up of Attila's empire after his death also only a matter of time, regardless of whether Nedao was fought or no? And would not a Hunnic victory in 451 have meant at least the end of the Visigothic kingdom? The significance of 451 was the union of Goth and Roman against the Hun, which made possible the occupation of the strategic point of Orleans which in turn made it possible for Aetius—I follow Bury in dropping the diaeresis—and Theodoric to assume the offensive. The very fact that they should dare to do so is enough in itself to make the battle momentous. Bury is quite right in saying (p. 150), “it is essential to realise that the battle of the *locus Mauriacus* was not a battle of despair”; but he should have added that it was a battle of hope. Nedao was but a sequel: Gepids, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Heruls, and the rest were but following the lead which Theodoric and his Visigoths had already given them. Of the year 452 Bury writes (p. 152) “Attila lost little time in seeking to take revenge for the unexpected blow which had been dealt him . . . and invaded Italy in the following year”. But this was a strange revenge to take upon the Visigoths of Aquitaine; he did not invade Gaul again. Or, strictly speaking, it was Cisalpine Gaul that he invaded in 452. He did not enter Italy proper, in the classical sense. 451 was indeed “the unexpected blow” and the dramatic moment, the beginning of the end; 454 was little more than what might be expected.

Professor Bury's discussion of the problem of Stilicho's behavior and inactivity with reference to Alaric is interesting but does not claim to be conclusive. He still accepts the story of Alaric's burial beneath the river-bed, nor is the time-honored tale of Clovis and the vase of Soissons omitted. Rather more emphasis is laid upon the distinction between East and West Germans than is perhaps justifiable in view of the probable shifting of various tribes from one region to the other. Finally may be noted the interesting concluding lecture upon the Lombard Law. Here the increased monetary penalty for homicide and murder is represented as marking an advance in the people's civilization, but since the increase all goes to the king's treasury and not to the kinsfolk of the person killed, it may be doubted if the enactment represents more than an advance in royal power and fiscal extortion.

The points that I have raised are, I believe, an indication of the book's value rather than a hostile criticism of it. It is an attractive re-

telling and reconsideration of the period of invasions which will set the mature reader to thinking and revising his own estimates, while to the younger beginning student it offers a forceful and agreeable approach to the subject.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Two Cities: a Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D. By OTTO BISHOP OF FREISING. Translated with an introduction and notes by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Colorado College. (Records of Civilization, ed. A. P. Evans.) (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 523. \$10.00.)

THE *Chronicle of Otto of Freising*, known as the *Two Cities*, has for the first time been translated into English. To those who deal with students whose interest in the Middle Ages is insufficient to lead them to acquire a reading knowledge of Medieval Latin, this translation fills a long-felt need. Nowhere else can one put into the students' hands an example of the Medieval interest in epitomes of universal history which has so curious an analogy with the present demand for "outlines".

It is indeed fortunate that the historian chosen as an example of Medieval *Weltgeschichte* should have been Otto of Freising. Professor Evans remarks in the editor's preface that in Otto "were combined the *imperium*, the *studium* and the *sacerdotium*". Born of the imperial family, a student at Paris, a Cistercian monk, a bishop engaged in a long conflict with his advocate over bridge tolls, a traveller, and a crusader, Otto was always in closest contact with the varied movements of his time—a time more than usually out-of-joint. Bishop Otto well represents the conflict which beset reflecting men of the twelfth century. Looking out upon a changing world and seeing much that displeased him and inspired him with grim forebodings of the future, Otto could not but perceive the necessity of a view of the past which would satisfy his religious and political prejudices. Following St. Augustine, his first interest was to prove the growing certainty of the triumph of the heavenly over the earthly city and the ultimate happiness of the blessed. Otto was dominated by the mystical religious enthusiasm of St. Bernard, but he nevertheless had a keen appreciation of the world and an interest in the affairs of the earthly city which sometimes led him unawares to forget his grand scheme in the romance of the past (*e.g.*, his treatment of the life of Alexander the Great). There can be no doubt of his complete theological orthodoxy, and to him opposition to the successor of St. Peter was always a sin, yet his family connection with the Franconian emperors makes many of his condemnations seem half-hearted at best. He fully subscribed to the imperial interpretation of the rights of Medieval Caesars as the heirs of Rome and of the majesty of the ancient order, but he was also an ardent churchman. This difficult position unquestionably colored his views on the struggles of his grandfather Henry IV. and his account

of the Concordat of Worms. One is never allowed to forget the real purpose of the Chronicle, but chance references show many of the current interests of his time. Among these are references to Aristotle, the Byzantine Empire, India, Sicily ("the nurse, first of the Cyclopes and afterwards of tyrants, even down to the present day", p. 175), the beginnings of the national rivalry of the French and the Germans, the constant quarrelling of the Italian cities (Lucca and Pisa). He had a keen sense of historical honesty. He checked his sources by personal observation wherever possible, and profited by personal contacts with travellers, notably with his friend the bishop of Jébeil. He doubted many of the legends of the Church. In a conflict among his authorities he was content to present all points of view without attempting any decision, especially on the matter of chronology. Herein lies much of the usefulness to which the translation will be put in college classes, not only for the contemporary material set forth, but even more, for the whole outlook which made Otto feel the near approach of the end of the world and of the coming of Antichrist.

President Mierow has used the definitive edition of the Chronicle by Hofmeister, published in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum*. He has taken over bodily much of the apparatus of Hofmeister, which is fully acknowledged, but he has added references to the *Cambridge Medieval History* which will be of assistance to the younger student. The introduction, taking up Otto's background, biography, literary work, historical outlook, political, and theological views, is the result of much careful study of the recent literature on the subject. The bibliography, rather inconveniently placed between the introduction and the text, contains a list of all the editions of the Chronicle and of the special articles on Otto.

The translation itself follows the text with great care, even to attempts at rendering Otto's peculiarities of style. The index is somewhat incomplete, a fault mitigated in part by full translation of the chapter headings which appears at the beginning of the Chronicle.

As in all the publications of this series, the proof-reading is excellent. The reviewer has noted only the following errors: p. 138, nintieth; p. 182, Longianus for Longimanus; p. 265, n. 230, privilèges; p. 278, n. 35, 363 for 313; p. 336, line 32, apostrophe omitted; p. 345, thought for thought; p. 356, Châlon-sur-Saône for Chalon-sur-Saône; p. 368, n. 27, Provence; p. 390, Rodoph for Rodolph; p. 408, n. 26, and p. 438, n. 162, commas between the month and the year; p. 462, n. 54, Sitzungsgerichte. The "modern Babylon" of Otto is referred to as Memphis instead of Cairo.

ANDRÉ ALDEN BEAUMONT, JR.

Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare.

Edited by WARREN ORTMAN AULT, Ph.D., Professor of History, Boston University. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, IX.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. lvi, 319. \$3.50.)

STUDENTS of manorial history have long known of the unusually valuable collection of court rolls of Ramsey Abbey, Huntingdonshire, which are in the custody of the Public Record Office and British Museum. Maitland chose some of them for publication; they were well known to Round, and they have been used in manuscript by other scholars. Professor Ault, by the publication of an interesting selection of these rolls, has supplemented in an admirable way his earlier work on *Private Jurisdiction*, which was based in large part on the Ramsey material already at that time in print. He has chosen for publication in this later volume examples of the records of each of the various kinds of courts held by the abbey. Most important of them are perhaps the rolls of the honour court of Broughton, which deal with the abbot's military service, the choice of his four knights, homage, suit, and the like, and which show the court occasionally acting in cases of appeal from other courts. The rolls of the honour court of Clare have been added, as a further, and unusually good, illustration of the work of an honour court, and both will be of interest to future students of the organization of great honours—a subject which has not received enough attention. The records of the court of the banlieu of Ramsey, where, as is well known, the abbot exercised an exceptionally high franchisal jurisdiction, and where the "liberties of the realm" and the liberties of the banlieu had to seek adjustment with one another, are of value for study of procedure, of the growth of actions of trespass, of pleas of land within the banlieu. The records of the hundred courts in the abbot's hands and the manor courts are of interest, although the material is a little more familiar. The rolls chosen date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the time when private jurisdiction was in its heyday.

With limited space at his disposal and a great amount of material available, Professor Ault has probably made a wise decision in giving examples of different jurisdictions rather than a continuous record of a single court. There may, however, be some question of his wisdom in not printing entire the rolls that he has so chosen. We can feel assured that he has not omitted anything that would add greatly to the interest of the actual content, but the question of procedure in royal and private courts is also of considerable importance, and for students of procedure even the duller list of essoins may have value, as evidence of the law's delays. There is too a satisfaction, perhaps often unreasonable, in the knowledge that the reader has the whole of an historical document before him. The arrangement of the index of persons according to the courts they attended is awkward, and there is no index of places. Again the reader would find it useful to have page references to the text from the

notes in the introduction, and wishes perhaps that the editor had made more frequent use of the convenient *sic* to indicate that the occasional poor Latin in a generally good text is the scribe's, and not a misprint. These are perhaps cavilling criticisms of an ably edited text.

Several matters of a good deal of importance stand out with clearness from the rolls and from the interesting introduction. We have the opportunity to observe the use of royal methods of procedure in private courts of various kinds. As examples, one may cite the procedure resembling the royal *inquest post mortem* in Broughton, and the use of procedural outlawry in the banlieu. The extension of royal justice into private hands must have made many private courts familiar with common law practices, and made easy its extension at the expense of local custom. Again, in matters economic, records like these give evidence of the possible action of village groups apart from lordship, especially in the making of by-laws for agrarian arrangements within the village. The records of the manorial courts are of especial interest in this connection. At Chatteris, for example, in 1289, sworn jurors say that a certain Ralph sold rushes and alders taken from the common *contra statutum de belawe*. The importance of matter like this for economic history needs no commentary, and the light thrown, on the legal side, on the meeting point of royal and private justice amply justifies the publication of such records.

N. NEILSON.

Merton Muniments. Selected and edited for the College by P. S. ALLEN, Hon. Fellow, and H. W. GARROD, Fellow and Librarian. [Printed for the Oxford Historical Society.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. 47.)

It is known that in 1262 Walter of Merton, chancellor of England for several years during the reign of Henry III., was empowered by the Earl of Gloucester to assign his manors at Farleigh and Malden to the priory of Merton. This grant, the "Ordinatio", is not known to be extant; hence the detailed "Founder's statutes for the house of the scholars of Merton, in Maldon, Surrey" (no. II.) of 1264 still remains the nucleus from which the history of the college must emerge. It was Walter's wish that special consideration should be extended to his kinsmen, should any of them be in a position to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by this grant. In the elaborate provisions made in 1264 Walter is definite in stating that he was not entirely committed to Oxford as the only possible centre in which the clerics chosen might pursue their studies. The wording of the grant gives evidence of considerable perspicacity by reserving for the donor the right to make whatever changes time and events would show advisable or necessary. His primary aim in making the grant was to establish a foundation "ad perpetuam sustentationem viginti scholarium in scolis degentium Oxon', uel alibi vbi studium vigere contigerit . . ." (p. 15). In 1274 Walter issued a similar series of statutes which shows, in comparison with the earli

document, that "times had changed since he first began. The disturbances of the Barons' War had subsided, and the peace of England had been restored. As to the home of the scholars, his mind was now made up"; he here affirms, "fundaui et stabiliui, nunc, pace Anglie reformata ac pristina turbacione sedata, animi stabilitate perpetua approbo, stabilio, et confirmo, locumque sibi habitacionis et domum Oxon', vbi Vniuersitas viget studencium, in meo territorio proprio, ecclesie Sancti Iohannis contermino, concedo et assigno" (p. 21). Unwilling to bind himself unreservedly he adds, as he nears the end of the lengthy document: "Illud quoque insuper est attendendum, quod si locus habitacionis seu scolarium studio vacaturorum congregacio, causis aliquibus emergentibus que facile numerari non possunt, ad locum alium transferatur, nichil eis icirco iuris uel possessionis depercat in predictis maneriis, seu rebus aliis sibi assignatis, uel deinceps ex pia largitione fidelium assignandis; sed omnia eis nichilominus integra remaneant" (p. 26). Since much of the history of the college can be learned from a careful perusal of the two documents of 1264 and 1274, the editors have wisely reproduced them *in extenso* (nos. II. and VI.). A supplement to these is the Bull of Pope Nicholas III. confirming (1280) the foundation of the college; it is here printed in full for the first time (pp. 10-11, without facsimile).

Mr. Allen and Mr. Garrod were confronted with the most difficult task of choosing representative important documents to illustrate the history of the college. The wealth of manuscript material still in the Merton archives and the limits placed upon their volume made the task of selection largely one of exclusion. Aside from the two fundamental grants mentioned above, the larger number of facsimiles reproduces documents dealing with land, tenure and property rights. For those interested in the more human aspects of college life attention should be drawn to nos. XIII.-XV., which present the reports of the 'Scrutinies' or chapter meetings of the college for 1338-1339. Brief as these notes are they afford an insight into the activities and corporative life of the Fellows of the house. Does one detect the true scholar in Hetelbury who, alone, speaks "de Libraria reparanda"? And poor Fynemere, whose ceaseless quarrel with Wyly is the talk of many (pp. 33-35, *passim*), worries "quod bacul[arii] discurrunt per g[aneas] et tabernas. Item] dicit quod asporta[nt inde] vina bibuntque] stantes ad ostium [aule . . .] post prandium et senam cum sociis" (p. 33). And who was the non-committal 'Wantyng' who "semper respondet 'Placet mihi sicut placet aliis'" (p. 34)? These reports of 'scrutinies', peculiar to Merton and not unlike the chapter meetings in monasteries, are filled with interesting bits, for here were reported the misdeeds of the fellows. No. XXII. (in English, dated c. 1620) shows that the lapse of three hundred years had not removed the necessity for disciplinary measures. Many readers will delight in the picture here presented by one Philipson in his "Note of behaviour and buisines betwixt Mr Hawley and myselfe". This was but another occasion when an apple turned the tide of history. No. XXI.

(in English, dated 1584) reproduces an autographed letter of Elizabeth in which the queen recommends the Jew, Isaac de Cardenas, for a Merton fellowship. There are also several lists of books owned by the college or by its members (nos. XXII.-XXVI.).

In publishing these Merton muniments, the Oxford Historical Society adds a volume worthy to be placed in a series already noted for its contributions to the history of Medieval life and institutions. Aside from its scholarly contents, this volume is a work of printer's art which will be welcomed by palaeographers and others interested in Medieval script. The thirty-seven facsimiles contain some splendid examples of calligraphy and in time the period between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. Excepting three in English and three in French, the documents

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua. Edited by C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A., Fellow and Librarian of St. Johns College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xlviii, 517. 35s.)

THE appearance of a new, critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* is an event of the first importance to all students of political institutions. It has long been eagerly looked forward to by everyone who has had to struggle with the scarcely legible and quite uncritical text of Goldast published in 1614. That is itself only a reprint of the Baseler *editio princeps* of 1522, and these are the only previous editions of what has often been described as the most remarkable literary product of the Middle Ages. It has only once been translated into a modern language, and that was in 1535 by the Englishman Wyllyam Marshall. So far as we know there is no copy of this incomplete translation in this country.

This singular fate is due partly to the condemnation of the book by the Church, which doubtless caused the destruction of many copies of the manuscript, but partly also to the extreme elaboration, not to say the intolerable verbosity of the style. Not that Marsiglio was in this respect very much worse than his contemporaries. Every writer of the fourteenth century who sought to expound political theory felt bound to go back to Aristotle and to clothe his thought in the formulas of the Aristotelian logic. It is true that Marsiglio often breaks through these trammels and expresses his thought in vigorous phrases of his own, but the ponderous example of the master affects all the work of the followers. Wycliffe and Ockham were as great sinners as Marsiglio, and only angelic patience can avail to bring out the really clear and vital quality of their message.

The present edition begins with a rather sketchy account of the author's life, based upon the scanty materials which have had to serve all previous biographical attempts. Then comes a careful analysis of the manuscripts, following the list given by Dr. James Sullivan in the

English Historical Review for 1905 and discussed by Professor Richard Scholz in the *Neues Archiv* for 1926. The editor accepts Scholz's division of the manuscript into a "French" and a "German" class and believes that the French is, on the whole, the earlier, amended in various details by the German. As the basis of his new text he selects the manuscript preserved in the chapter library of the cathedral of Tortosa which he accepts as originally belonging to the French class but so largely corrected by several different hands that it may now be considered as the most typical representative of the German. With this he has collated throughout the manuscript of Magdalen College and that of the *Hofbibliothek* in Vienna, noting the variants and comparing also *Dictio princeps* and Goldast for parts of the text. The result is that now for the first time a really authoritative and usable text of the product of a highly important school of political thought.

On the much discussed question of the joint authorship of the *Defensor* by Marsiglio and his Parisian colleague, John of Janin, Previté-Orton is discreetly brief and non-committal. He does not say that John was in some sense the adviser of Marsiglio, may perhaps have contributed some passages in which his peculiar philosophical skepticism seems to be reflected; but he distinctly rejects the arguments of writers who have attempted to differentiate between the two alleged authors on the ground of marked differences in style and quality. Especially he declines to accept the "ingenious" theory of Miss Marian Tooley (*Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1906) that John must have written *Dictio* I. because Marsiglio was incapable of a really philosophical approach to the main contentions of *Dictio* II. How do we know he was? The "must have" argument is always dangerous. With all its diffuseness, repetitions, and apparent irrelevancies the movement of the *Defensor* from the general discussion of *Dictio* I. to the closely knit résumé of *Dictio* III. is consistent within itself. We incline to the editor's view that the motive of the *Defensor* is derived from the author's familiarity with the system of the Italian communes with their persistent doctrine of sovereign right residing in the whole body of citizens. It is this which gives it its peculiar value and it is in this view of organized human society that Marsiglio's kinship with Ockham and his philosophy of the individual becomes most evident.

The well-printed text is accompanied throughout by foot-notes giving the variant readings in both manuscripts and editions and also enlightening comments on the author's probable sources of knowledge upon the topic in hand. There are sufficient indexes of proper names, authors referred to, Biblical quotations, and subjects.

E. EMERTON.

*Medieval Satires on the University of Paris: La Bataille des
 Arts of Henri d'Andeli and the Morale Scolarium of John of
 Garland.* Edited with renderings into English by Louis John
 Paetow. [Memoirs of the University of California, vol. IV.,
 no. 2.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1927.
 128 pp. and 14 plates. \$5.00.)¹

PROFESSOR PAETOW has long been known as one of the most active and
 able scholars in the field of Medieval intellectual history. During
 eighteen years that he has been connected with the University of
 California he has not only produced historical works of importance—of
 which his *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (1917) is a con-
 spicuous example—but he has stimulated a large amount of scholarly
 interest in his field on the part of his graduate students. It is therefore
 fitting that these two "satires" should come out in the series of Memoirs
 of the University of California. The first was published separately in
 1914; the second is now (1927) published for the first time. They have
 been bound together with a foreword which calls attention to the bond
 which exists between them as they are both written by humanists at the
 University of Paris near the middle of the thirteenth century. Their
 authors waged an unsuccessful war against the growing emphasis on
 scholastic logic and philosophy, and plead for a study of the classical
 languages and literatures. In this respect—as precursors of the Renais-
 sance—they tried to do for Humanism what Roger Bacon, as a precursor
 of the rise of modern science, tried to do for the sciences at the same uni-
 versity and at about the same time.

Professor Paetow's treatment of each satire includes an historical
 introduction with sketch of the author's life and works, followed by the
 Latin transcript of the poem with English translation and full critical
 notes, and in conclusion—in addition to an excellent index—photostat
 facsimile copies of manuscripts of the two works. These latter are com-
 plete for both known manuscripts of *The Battle*, and give folios 2, 6, 10,
 and 11 of the Bruges manuscript of the *Morale Scolarium*.

It will be seen that the publication is complete from the standpoint of
 giving the scholar full information regarding the subject in hand. The
 presswork is in every way worthy of the subject and its scholarly treat-
 ment.

As the first of the satires—*The Battle of the Seven Arts*—has long
 been known to scholars and was described in volume XX. of this review
 (p. 224) attention will be concentrated in the present article on the
Morale of John of Garland, especially as the detailed contents of this
 work—heretofore only in manuscript—are now made available to the
 public by the collation of all the known manuscripts with their glosses.
 These manuscripts are at Bruges, Gonville and Caius College (Cam-

¹ This volume received the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies
 for 1928.

bridge), Lincoln Cathedral, the Bodleian Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Professor Paetow shows that its author was born about considerably later than generally supposed; that he studied at Oxford University where one of his teachers was John of London; that he studied and taught at the University of Paris; that he was part of the original group of teachers (1229) at the University of Toulouse; that he returned to Paris when the "Great Dispersion" was over in 1229; that he remained there as teacher and author until his death—about 1270 or later. Although critical of the university's absorption in scholasticism, and interested in a revival of interest in the natural sciences and the humanities—especially the latter—he was devoted to his *alma mater* and believed that in its westward course Paris, succeeding Athens and Rome, was destined to become the seat of the muses.

John of Garland's great effort was "to stem the tide of new learning [i.e., Aristotelian Logic and Scholasticism] which was overwhelming the study of Latin language and literature. . . . Above all, John of Garland was a schoolmaster who sought to make his students learn more and better Latin than was so glibly used in the Universities of his day" (pp. 102, 104). But Professor Paetow confesses that the critics are right in the condemnation of his Latin style. As a poet he ranks low, but as a grammar teacher and a moralist high—while as a chronicler of the facts of history, and as an open-minded student of the world of men and of nature about him he was well ahead of his generation.

His works—almost all written while he was connected with the University of Paris—are very numerous, being about fifty in number, and show the variety of his interests. They include:

Literary works, such as the *De Triumphis Ecclesie*, which is considered by the editor to be "the most important and most interesting" of his works "from the view point of modern scholarship" (p. 110)—a long epic poem celebrating the victory of the Church in the Crusades, works on grammar and rhetoric, such as the unpublished *Compendium Grammaticæ*, his chief grammatical work "with which he hoped to displace the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus*" (p. 120), word-books, including the *Dictionarius*, one of his earlier books—written about 1220—and containing the first use of the word "dictionary" (p. 129); moral and religious works, such as the *Summa Poenitentie*, a brief manual of confession which seems to have been popular for a couple of centuries; mathematical and miscellaneous works.

Professor Paetow dates the *Morale Sclorum* definitely in 1241. He considers it specially valuable because "it comes directly from the University of Paris in its formative period" (p. 106). The work—of which the editor gives an admirable paraphrase—begins with a prologue including these words (p. 154): "This little work is not written in an ornate style, but, in order that it may not seem contemptible, it has been composed in Leonine hexameters for God does not forbid the use of literary art to glorify his name. Thus he has provided both philosophers

the former to endow the church with the beauties of the latter to witness the truth. In this satirical treatise, rusted with faults, urbanity with rusticity; the mysteries touched upon here and there; the causes of certain natural are elucidated so that the crudity of scholastic life may be

The general character of its contents may be seen from the following titles: A Plea for Morality and the Liberal Arts (ch. I.); A Plea for Humanity and Religion (ch. II.); Concerning Table Manners (chs. IX. and XVI.); Reflections of a Student in Accordance with the Opinion of Seneca and concerning the Scholastic Life (ch. X.); In Praise of the Modest Life of Scholars (ch. XII.); and Advise to Read Worthy Books rather than Certain Useless Modern Works (ch. XIV.). This section is specially valuable for its attack on the text-books of the time. "Woe on us, for day and night the devil is attempting to stultify the University of Paris! . . . The *Doctrinale*, which closes the way to true learning, employs poor Latin full of tautology; it retards bright students and does not encourage hard work to perfect their Latin . . . it would be better to do away with the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* which deviate from the way of Priscian. This error in the University of Paris should be rectified while there is still time to do it; a law should be passed to revive the ancient classics which have fallen into desuetude" (pp. 166, 167).

How Students Should Behave (ch. XXX.) includes the following advice (p. 175): "Avoid drunkards, those who indulge in secret sin, those who like to beat and strike, those who love lewdness, evil games, and quarrels. Passing a cemetery, if you are well-bred, and if you hope for salvation, you pause to pray that the dead may rest in peace. Have nothing to do with the prostitute, but love your wife; all wives should be honored but especially those who are distinguished by virtue. A person who is well should not recline at table in the fashion of the ancients. When you walk after dinner keep on frequented streets, avoid insincere speeches. Unless you wish to be considered a fool learn to keep your mouth shut in season. Stand and sit upright; do not scratch yourself."

One puts down this volume feeling grateful to its editor and translator. There is nothing to criticize in his work unless it be a tendency to be so vivid and modern as to be occasionally almost "jaunty". However this is a bit refreshing in a work of critical scholarship.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

La Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles. Éditée par CHARLES BRUNEAU, Professeur à l'Université de Nancy. Tome I., *De la Création du Monde à l'An 1324.* (Metz: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Lorraine. 1927. Pp. xxii, 382.)

In 1486 Philippe de Vigneulles, the son of a prosperous burgher of Metz, ran away from home at the age of fifteen to try his fortunes in Italy. After three adventurous years spent largely in Naples, he yielded

to filial piety and came back. Soon he became a rich cloth merchant, a business which often took him to Paris and elsewhere. In the arts, he exhibited in 1507 a masterpiece of drapery exhibited in honor of St. James a fête "the most beautiful of Metz". The episodes of his life he narrated in a *Journal* covering contemporary history to 1520 and which was well known. While writing the *Journal* he put together an account of the history of Metz and at length decided to combine the two. The result is the chronicle before us, extending from the beginning of the world to 1525.

Linguistically the work is of interest. Avoiding the learned and artificial manner of the schools, Philippe wrote in the simple style of a cloth merchant, thereby giving a rare example of French as it was then spoken. For the student of the Lorraine dialect there is evidence of local pronunciation and there are innumerable Lotharingian phrases. The editor promises a special study of Philippe's language.

In the volume now published he confines himself to carefully editing the text and prefixing a brief but excellent introduction. He also reserves for further study an extended examination of Philippe's sources. A scholarly edition was much to be desired, both for comparison with the *Journal* and because the existent edition (Huguenin, *Les Chroniques de la Ville de Metz*, 1838) is one which exasperatingly combines Philippe's chronicle with others and modifies the style and orthography of all of them.

The subject-matter of the chronicle divides itself into what the author knew from personal experience and what he copied from written sources. While the former is of great value, it is not reached in the volume now issued, which extends only to 1324. His Medieval narrative Philippe copied sometimes verbatim, sometimes without reference, sometimes with citation. Latin works, which he could not read, he had to have translated. Upon the *Compendium* of Robert Gaguin (d. 1501), who continued the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, he often relied. From Robert, for example, he learned that Godfrey of Bouillon in setting out on his crusade sold his duchy to the bishop of Liège for 1300 marks of silver and to the citizens of Metz their liberties for a great sum. Metz naturally becomes the centre of European history, its bishops the leading figures, and St. Bernard's contribution the settlement of a quarrel between the citizens of Metz and the lords of Lorraine.

Apart from showing what was the local knowledge of and interest in Roman and German emperors and French kings, this first instalment of the chronicle is most valuable in incorporating documents touching the early government of Metz. These enumerate the rights which the bishop had in the city, the rights which the emperor had, the rights and duties of the "maistre eschevin", an official created in 1170, the functions of the Thirteen Lords (les seigneurs Trêzes) and of the "amans". All these functionaries have been described by Prost in *Les Institutions Judiciaires dans la Cité de Metz* (1893). The texts have been available before but

ways in satisfactory form. Professor Bruneau carefully collates the text of the bishop's rights with what he considers the oldest and elsewhere corrects him. Finally he annotates Philippe's list of thirteenth-century tolls imposed in Metz, heretofore available only in a Benedictine history of the city (1769). As a result of careful work even this otherwise not very important part of Vigneulles's work assumes significance for the historian of the judicial and economic life of Medieval towns. The later part of the work will appeal to a wider circle of readers.

H. L. GRAY.

Histoire de Rome: le Pontificat de Jules II., 1503-1513. Par E. RODOCANACHI. (Paris: Hachette. 1928. Pp. 196. 60 fr.)

THE veteran writer on Renaissance Italy, as it appears to the amateur of its pageants and its personalities, gives us what must be intended to be the political background of his study of *Rome au Temps de Jules II. et Leo X.*, which appeared in 1911 and was concerned with the artists and men of letters of that eventful period. The qualities of the present work are those of the earlier ones; these have appeared at the rate of three or four a decade since 1888 and have been marked by scrupulous attention to authorities (with which his acquaintance is extensive for works in French and Italian); serene indifference to controversial matters; absence of relief from the even plain of his landscape; and a presumable wish to please the average reader. His conception of history, too, is apparent in them—unless indeed their annalistic character is due to the influence of the diaries and chronicles he has studied.

It is doubtful if a reader not familiar with the subject would arrive, with the aid of the author alone, at an adequate conception of the bellicose successor of Alexander VI., advancing upon the rebellious princes of the papal patrimony to repeat the exploits of Cesare Borgia, *condottiere* like himself, but seeking to establish the greatness of his house where Julius aimed at the consolidation of the territories of the Holy See. Of motive, there is no word; but perhaps it is imagination which sees in the determination to overthrow Venice and France the antipathy of the Genoese toward the old rival and the new subjector of his native land. Rodocanachi has a larger conception of Julius. "Le pape Jules II. domine son époque. . . . A côté des médiocres souverains qui l'entourent, lui seul fait figure de chef d'État." He passionately loved art and encouraged artists; he transformed Rome, not only by the monuments he erected but also by peopling it with sculptors, *littérateurs*, and able artisans, preparing the way for Leo X., whose reign he made possible. But no fresh viewpoint or spark of intuition helps one here to see as a whole the tapestry of alliances between the Treaty of Blois in 1504 and the expulsion of France from Italy by the Holy League, third of the coalitions which, according to the author, "formed and dissolved" at the papal will. A certain lack of imagination leaves one with the impression that Ranke's

narrative is vastly more entertaining and certainly just as informative though it is more than a century since the appearance of the *Geschichte der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker*. But not even Ranke suggests that the new combinations are the necessary consequences of the ones inaugurated by the Peace of Lodi and given a new character by the French invasions, which made Louis of France instead of Sforza duke of Milan, substituted a new Ferdinand of Aragon for one, and transformed the Medici patriciate into the Florentine one of Machiavelli.

The author is at his best when describing the topography and reconstructing the Rome which both Erasmus and Luther visited during the pontificate of Julius II., but this he had already described at length in the earlier work to which reference has been made. Chapter III. is concerned with *La Vie à Rome de 1503 à 1507* and chapter V. with *La Cour et la Ville*. Here he generally refrains from indulging his penchant for translating the names of familiar sites from Italian into French. Not always, for we have "S. Marie Majeure" and "S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini". As for "Château-Neuf", imagine writing, in an English book, "Newcastle" for the Castelnovo with its dark secrets.

The contemporary authorities used are the ones which have done yeoman service in books of this kind. Paris de Grassi (amiable successor of Burchard) leads; but there are also Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and Sanuto (who is not mentioned in the bibliography). Of more modern authorities, Ranke is not cited; and though Reumont, Gregorovius, and Pastor find place in the bibliography, they seem to have played little part in the composition. Of the problems which justify a book on this subject, something has been shown by Fueter in his *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems*; and if "not only the history of Rome, but of Italy and of Europe is identified with that of Julius II.", as Rodocanachi says, we could certainly hope for a better acquaintance with general politics from his book than we already have. It is precisely for this period that special treatises like Gagliardi's *Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen* could be used with advantage.

We have a book that is at any rate most satisfactory to the eye, and the reviewer has found only two insignificant misprints, "Nino da Fiesole" and "Muratoni".

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

Emanuele Filiberto: IV. Centenario di Emanuele Filiberto e X. Anniversario della Vittoria Torino MCMXXVIII. Anno VI. (Turin: S. Lattes and Company. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 492. 50 lire.)

THIS handsome volume seems at first sight a *Festschrift* with the definite motive of reminding Italians that the foundations of the Italy of Mussolini were laid by the ancestors of Vittorio Emanuele. Filiberto restored the fortunes of the House of Savoy, which had collapsed under

the double impact of the religious reform and the Italian wars of the sixteenth century, and welded into a state the fragments recovered with difficulty from France and Spain. At Cateau-Cambrésis the King of Spain restored to a position of power the dynasty which was to effect the expulsion of his descendants from Italy. The association in the title of the book of the victor of St. Quentin with the victory of Vittorio Veneto is further evidence of the intention of the editors to recall the debt of Italy to the House of Savoy.

The work is a coöperative one, to which ten scholars contribute one or (in three cases) more essays. Each is an authority on the phase of the subject on which he writes; and if some objection can be made on the score of overlapping, none can be made to the sincerity with which the writers proceed to achieve the object of the book. There is abundant evidence in the circumstantial treatment, the mass of detail, the evident familiarity with the topics, of the documentary basis on which it rests from beginning to end. Yet there is scarcely a foot-note or indication of authority, let alone source, save in the chapters on the "Riordinamento delle Finanze in Piemonte" and "Il Risorgimento dell'Industria, dell'Agricoltura, e del Commercio in Piemonte", by Professor Garino-Canina, which contain continual and careful references to the archives of state as well as to the printed matter, both primary and secondary. There are, moreover, statistical tables based on the accounts in the treasury general, and one of weights and measures; both of these are the fruit of researches originally made for the writer's study on the finances of Piedmont in the second half of the sixteenth century which appeared in the *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*. These show the improvement in the condition of the finances during the years of Filiberto's rule, from 1559 to 1580. That he was interested in financial reform is suggested by the fact that, at the beginning of his brief term as governor of the Netherlands, he presented to Philip II. a memorandum relative to financial abuses in the Netherlands, to which there is passing reference on page 68 of the volume, in the essay dedicated to "Vita Militare" and written by Colonel Maravigna. Possibly a prompt response by the king to the recommendations of the duke—he had recently become such nominally, by the death of his ineffective father—would have alleviated the abuses which were to result in the revolt of the Netherlands.

The reviewer confesses to a particular interest, and one which does not go unrewarded, in the twelfth and thirteenth essays, that on the "Politica Ecclesiastica" of Filiberto, by Senator Ruffini, and that on "La Lotta con i Valdesi" by Professor Petrucco. Filiberto is remembered as one of the glorious company of balanced minds in the age of fanaticism in which he lived; and his wife, Marguerite of Valois, as the continuator in Italy of the traditions of Renée of Ferrara, her maternal aunt. The duke of Savoy, like the duke of Ferrara earlier, was the object of papal admonitions on the subject of the company kept by his wife, and finally of the brief of January 30, 1562. On the evidence cited

by Ruffini, Filiberto declined to lend himself to a plot conceived by his former tutor, the so-called bishop of Mondovi, which aimed to recover Geneva for the House of Savoy by murdering Calvin in 1560; this might be the influence of his wife (pp. 400-404). Ruffini, in the only interpretative pages in the volume, summarizes conditions in the church of Piedmont and analyzes the question of church in relation to state in the sixteenth century. Gallicanism, in which this attitude is most familiarly exemplified, had been the determining factor in Piedmont, as in France, during the occupation by France of the territories of the duke of Savoy. In Piedmont, moreover, the control of the sovereign over ecclesiastical affairs was secured by the papal indult of 1451, granted when Amedeo VIII. laid down the tiara and ended the schism. Filiberto, although he yielded to the pope in two disputes over appointments, prevented the abuses of mortmain by excluding from succession friars, nuns, churches, chapters, and monasteries, and by making acquisitions by mortmain depend on the ducal confirmation and the payment of a tax. Professor Petrucco maintains that, even before his marriage, Filiberto did not hesitate to affirm, albeit with caution, the policy which was to be the almost constant norm of his life (p. 436). But that the Waldensian ministers were not counting upon him is shown by the fact that, hard upon the arrival of the news of the French withdrawal, they directed a letter to the German princes to bespeak their intercession with the new duke. Dissuaded from instituting liberty of conscience by his councillors and pushed on by Father Possevino, Filiberto finally decided on the expedition to the valleys led by Count Costa della Trinità. But, says Petrucco, he did not conceal his disappointment at ceding to the idea of violence and saw to the escape of two reformers at Bibiana who had been condemned to death (p. 445). To the duchess Marguerite is attributed the Peace of Cavour in 1561—"to whom, in the seven months preceding the birth of Carlo Emanuele, the Duke would refuse nothing" (p. 450).

The anniversary note, which has almost ceased to sound by the time we reach the end of the book, is struck again by the New Year's greeting—it is the beginning of the year VI. of the Fascist calendar—from the pen of the duke of Aosta, descendant and namesake of the hero, in words reminiscent of the struggle culminating at Vittorio Veneto in which this later Emanuele Filiberto played a conspicuous part.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

The Life and Death of an Ideal: France in the Classical Age. By ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1928. Pp. x, 391. \$4.50.)

IN his *Life and Death of an Ideal* Professor Guérard has made a challenging and significant contribution to both literary and historical studies. He has treated French classicism not as the creation of a group of humanists and men of letters interested in reviving antiquity, but as a movement of thought, a diagonal of social purposes, which shaped his-

tory. As a result, in this volume, which covers the French civilization of nearly four centuries, history and literature are treated more deliberately as two aspects of one and the same phenomenon than they have been in the work either of other American historians or other literary critics.

Philosophers have, of course, long held that there are no isolable problems. Historians too have been widening their field as if in acceptance of this dictum. Somewhat more timidly literary historians have likewise been extending their range. Mr. Guérard as a student of literature now certainly goes farther in this attempt at synthesis than critics or literary historians like Professors Babbitt, Wright, or Nitze and Dargan. To him classicism is a reservoir of forces political, sociological, aesthetic, even economic, or rather anti-economic. Literary critics will accuse him of having slighted those works of art which to them are the really significant products of the movement, and in a sense this is true.

Professor Guérard has been interested primarily in assessing the forces which coöperated in the construction of this reservoir and in plumbing the water-level at various periods. He holds that we are safe in applying "to periods even more than to nations the Wilsonian doctrine of self determination", and that "consciousness is the test of existence". The French lived consciously under the classical dispensation for three centuries. The state of mind which this implied had a definite beginning and a definite end. "There was a moment", he continues, "when France said with Rabelais: 'At last we are out of Gothic night!' and a moment when she said with Victor Hugo: '... we are delivered from the Greeks and the Romans!'" He admits that there is some injustice, much ignorance, and more illusion in both attitudes, but since a delusion is a force and therefore a fact, he sets himself the task of studying this state of mind. Mr. Guérard's main thesis and method are so significant that for students of history they force the particular conclusions he reaches into a position of secondary importance. Many will disagree with him in the extension which he gives the period carrying it down to and through Napoleon and the French Revolution. Other literary historians like Nitze and Dargan have seen the beginning of a new dispensation in the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns and the introduction of the idea of progress. Since Professor Guérard counts consciousness as the "test of existence" it is surprising that he should not agree, for both the emergence of the quarrel and the dawning of the idea of progress indicate that France had become self-consciously modern. The later prerevolutionary afterglow of classicism of Chenier, David, and the architects of the Madeleine was essentially archaeological, based upon the consciousness that ancient art and literature were different from modern. This, to our mind, is a capital divergence from the essentially classic attitude of Racine and Poussin who were in no sense archaeological but believed in the fundamental unity of all true civilizations. This archaeological interest for better or worse is not only the basis of the

modern historical attitude, it is also essentially romantic. It will result in Michelet's "integral reconstitution of the past", the past of antiquity as well as the past of the Middle Ages.

In spite of our disagreement here and on many points of detail we find Professor Guérard's brilliantly written volume one of the most significant contributions yet made in this country to the study of the most important period in French literature and French history.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Montrose: a History. By JOHN BUCHAN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xviii, 385. \$5.00.)

In the writing of history, as in every other craft, the pendulum swings from one extreme to the other. It was good that we should have had a period of meticulous weighing of evidence; it has added greatly to our knowledge. But it has made of history a dreary thing. The layman refuses to read it; the writer of imagination does not care to write it. All that is changing. Today we realize that the work of the researcher must reach the final stage of adequate expression before it can be called history. As to how that end may be reached historians differ. There are those who maintain that the creative artist may well leave the spade work to his less gifted brother. The author of *Montrose* does not belong to that school. He has made a long and careful study of the sources to which he adds a knowledge of Highland geography and family history possible only to a Scot. From such a labor a lesser man might add a few facts to what we already know or correct a few misstatements of earlier writers. Mr. Buchan modestly disclaims any such accomplishment. He has done a greater thing by making the past live in a story so thrilling as to compel the attention, so vivid as to require no effort of memory to retain it.

This will be the book's appeal to the popular mind; for the student it contains much more. To vivid narrative is added an interpretation of Scotland's part in the Civil War valuable not only for the history of that country but essential to a complete understanding of affairs in England. Mr. Buchan shows how it was that "a flame which burned slowly amid the lush meadows and green hedgerows might run like wildfire among the dry heather" (p. 10) and so precipitate the war. That flame was religion, the sole cause for which the Scots waged war against their king. For those covenanters who joined with the English in their political struggle to safeguard Presbyterianism in Scotland and who later sold their king to the English for the same end, he has no sympathy. "The verdict of history must be", he writes, "that for an ecclesiastical whimsy the bulk of the nation chose the path of civic dishonour" (p. 136). This sounds partizan; but may it not well be that, by his lack of sympathy, Mr. Buchan has come nearer the truth than the divines and Whigs who first wrote Scotland's history and whose conclusions still influence our judgments?

The author of *Montrose* has not been content with giving us Scotland as an appropriate setting for his great figure; he explains him also by the thought of his time. To him the early seventeenth century was a time of questioning, the natural aftermath of a period of exuberant creation. Men felt that the old world was crumbling and that there was no unanimity about the new. The weakening of the social fabric increased the strain upon personality. "In such an era a religious faith tends to become a complete philosophy of life, governing also the minutest details of the secular world" (p. 7). The unrest tended to divide men into two parties, those for and those against change. Those for change were dominated by Puritan thought and the Puritan, according to Mr. Buchan, "was preëminently a destructive force, for he was without the historical sense, and sought less to erect and unite than to pull down and separate" (pp. 13-14). The Cavalier he characterizes as a lover of order who, "with his reasoned doctrine of a central authority based on historical sanctions, had to define that authority as the King" (p. 15). By doing that the Royalist brought the conflict from the realm of theory into that of actuality, from the ideal monarch to Charles I. Yet there were those who throughout the whole struggle fought for the ideal monarch. Such a one was Montrose. Mr. Buchan's conclusion is that it is his ideals, rather than those of Cromwell, which "are in the warp and woof of the constitutional fabric of to-day" (p. 351).

FRANCES H. RELF.

The Board of Trade. By SIR HUBERT LLEWELLYN SMITH, G.C.B. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. xii, 288. 7s. 6d.)

AMERICANS have long been keenly interested in the Board of Trade because of its peculiar connection with colonial history. A contemporary source of interest is perhaps to be found in the fact that it is analogous to the American Department of Commerce, with its rapidly increasing range of activities and influence. Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, author of *The Board of Trade*, was permanent secretary of the board from 1907 to 1919, and has since been chief economic adviser to the English government. His account of the recent history and of the present status of the board shows that he has made excellent use of his exceptional qualifications; but his narrative of the earlier history is of little value. This is unfortunate because, as he himself states, the board's long and varied history and its intimate connection with the evolution of economic thought and policy make the historical approach peculiarly important. He has not used adequately either the original sources or the writings of others. In his chapter on origins he fails to use the most obvious of American contributions, and in this field Americans may well be the teachers of Englishmen. Reference to the excellent studies of Professor Bieber, to cite a single instance, would have prevented him from confusing the Privy Council Committee of Trade and Plantations of the early Restoration with the co-existing select councils of trade and plantations, the latter

not consisting of Privy Council members. This confusion reappears in his chapter on William III.'s Board of Trade. The board as established in 1696 "did not differ materially", he affirms, "from the Councils for Trade and Plantations constituted by Cromwell and Charles II. Like them, the new Board was a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of two classes of members" (p. 16). As a matter of fact, some of these earlier committees were Privy Council committees and others were select committees of non-councillors; and the board as formed in 1696 should not be classed as a committee of the Privy Council. Some of the councillors were *ex officio* members, but the active members were not councillors. Again, when he reaches the reorganization of the board under Pitt he evinces little knowledge of American contributions, for instance, Dr. Anna Lane Lingelbach's article, "The Inception of the British Board of Trade", in the *American Historical Review* XXX. 701. He has used Professor Basye's *Board of Trade*, but this is confined to the period from 1748 to 1782.

In view of the excellence of the later portions of the book, where the author's researches are more adequate and where his experiences are unique, criticism of the earlier part of the work is an unpleasant duty. After having disposed of the general history of the board, he takes up the history and analysis of each of its main functions under such heads as commerce, merchant shipping, railways, industry, industrial property, and statistics. Its history has been marked by alternating expansion and contraction caused by the acquisition of new functions (for example, the supervision of railroads during their earlier history) and the transfer of functions to newly created organs of government (for example, the taking over of railway supervision by the recently formed ministry of transport). One function that has survived from its early advisory status is its work as a clearing house of information. Adapting itself to recent demands for statistical data in the business world, it has undertaken in truly modern fashion the organization of research. It is thus becoming a prominent factor in the attempted "rationalization" of industry. The intrinsic adaptability and informality of the English government is nowhere better illustrated than in the metamorphoses of this most interesting institution. Its recent changes parallel the transformation of English economic society. Despite the deficiencies of Smith's *Board of Trade* in dealing with earlier history, for the last hundred years it is serviceable and for the last twenty-five years indispensable.

WITT BOWDEN.

The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege. Edited with introduction and notes by SYBIL ROSENFELD, M.A. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. x, 441. \$7.50.)

THE letter-book, which comprises the bulk of this volume, covers the three years of James II.'s reign during which Etherege was the English minister to the imperial diet at Ratisbon. All the other letters and writ-

ings which were omitted by Verity in his compilation of Etherege's *Works* are collected in the latter part of the volume. Thus Miss Rosenfeld's and Verity's works combined give as complete a portrait as possible of this character of the English Restoration.

Verity, forty years ago, complained that the letter-book was disappointingly political in character. Today it is no less so from the viewpoint of an historian. Etherege's letters give reports, at second hand, of the wars of Leopold against the Turks and the aggressions of Louis XIV. upon the Rhine, this at a time when Brandenburg and the Low Countries were preparing actively to oust Etherege's master from his throne. The letter-book vividly portrays the decadence of the English departments of state under the last Stuart, an interpretation which would probably have caused deep regret to the loyal Etherege. Nevertheless he is far more concerned with petty quarrels at Ratisbon and with amours with actresses and "brawny-limbed" Bavarians than with matters of public importance such as may concern an ambassador. In this respect the letter-book can be compared profitably with the series of *British Diplomatic Instructions* now being published by the Royal Historical Society. Such a comparison makes apparent the great difference in the conduct of foreign affairs before and after 1689. However, Etherege does point out the lethargy and impotence of the German diet, which busied itself with quarrels as petty as his own. The value of the information he obtained concerning the Alliance of Augsburg can not be estimated from the letter-book alone. Perhaps other correspondence might give additional information. Then occasionally, when his interest is aroused, he gives excellent character sketches.

In the introduction Miss Rosenfeld has brought together all the known facts concerning the life of the courtier and dramatist, thus preparing a biography of Etherege which corrects that of Stephens in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Unfortunately the critical attitude of the latter appears more just than the condonation of Miss Rosenfeld. The biographical sketch is followed by a rather detailed historical background for Etherege's work at Ratisbon. Other letters from the Public Record Office and from *Reports* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are placed in an appendix. The editing of the volume seems to be very accurate. The notes are largely biographical but add to the interest of the letters for the average reader. Several excellent plates together with a map, unmentioned in the table of contents, are included in the volume.

The editor's work, although adding little or nothing new to historical knowledge, provides an entertaining comedy of the misadventures of Sedley's and Rochester's boon companion among the more puritanical Germans.

GLENN W. GRAY.

Mary II., Queen of England, 1689-1694. By NELLIE M. WATERSON, B.Litt., M.A. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1928. Pp. 218. \$2.50.)

THIS little book is an unpretentious study of Mary II., whose fate has been to have her identity merged in the personality of her husband and the stupendous events connected with his "Great Cause". Miss Waterson has based her work on an independent though not exhaustive study of the sources and the secondary literature on the subject. She makes special use of Mary's own memoirs and letters and the writings of Burnet. Although one finds few references to unfamiliar titles, one discovers many fresh and illuminating quotations sprinkled liberally through the pages of the book. The author has also drawn on unpublished manuscripts which serve for the most part rather to confirm than to change traditional views or doubtful inferences.

The value of the book lies in its point of view: to behold the events of Mary's life over her shoulder instead of that of William. Mary doubtless would have preferred the latter course, but her conscious effacement of her own interests can not wipe out the significance of the rôle that she played in the complex politics of the time. Miss Waterson gives us a picture of a woman aware of her inexperience and lack of political training, who by diligent application of a mind not without insight and intelligence renders herself equal to the problems she is called upon to face. She wins the love of a naturally cold husband, draws to herself the devotion of the English people, and, incidentally, reduces their distrust of William. She grapples conscientiously and not ineptly with the problems of government, exercises a care over the church and religion, and finds time withal unostentatiously to dispense and encourage charity, and to take the lead in a movement to suppress vice.

Mary is taken through her formative years in Holland under the tutelage of her Anglican chaplains, and her busy and disturbed reign in England. She is seen sturdily upholding the prerogative of the king and the rights of the Cabinet Council against those of the Privy Council. While William was absent her influence in Cabinet meetings was "definite and well-recognized, and important decisions were never made until she had been consulted". A real sense of statesmanship appears in her policy of conciliation in Scotland and her insistence that troops should not be encamped on the borders of the Highlands near the unsubmissive clans. It is interesting to behold her pushing an inquiry concerning the Glencoe massacre, because she "was grieved at the heart that the reputation of the King . . . should have suffered so much in that affair". The queen's beneficent influence in religious matters is rightly emphasized, as is her share in winning to the new régime the support of the church. So much interesting material is set down for every phase of Mary's life that one regrets that the writer did not attempt "that little more" which would have made the picture complete. In the first half of the book she never gets far beyond a mere chronological account of

events. It is only in her chapters on politics, ecclesiastical affairs, influence on society, and personal influence, that she penetrates through the words of her sources into their meaning. While one approves her caution, one feels that she lets her documents stand too much in her way. The conclusion, in which she is not so closely circumscribed by the written word, is an able estimate of Mary.

In the bibliography appended to the work, one is surprised at the omission of the obvious reference to the excellent article on Mary by A. W. Ward in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and above all of Krämer's *Maria II. Stuart*. And Klopp's *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, still a useful work, should be mentioned. A few typographical errors appear in the text. These, however, are readily detected.

ALEXANDER THOMSON.

Le Blocus Continental et le Royaume d'Italie: la Situation Économique de l'Italie sous Napoléon Ier. Par EUGÈNE TARLÉ, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Université de Léningrad. (Paris: Alcan. 1928. Pp. xii, 378. 40 fr.)

It is well that Professor Tarlé again tills his fertile acreage of economic history. In bringing this third good yield from researches long interrupted by war and revolution he can still have the satisfaction originally expected from breaking a fresh bit of rich soil. Happily, too, he has not brought this yield in Russian. Wherefore—and because mastery of languages and of the technique of scholarship has been matched here by notable ability in presenting the fruits of research—his contribution merits a cordial welcome.

Characteristically this monograph "d'après des documents inédits" is introduced by a critical essay—instead of a proper bibliography—upon the dearth of printed material for the subject. This justifies the author's claim to have opened up an important unexploited field; yet it is very misleading. Certainly he was not restricted to some ten secondary works (with his own) when a wealth of pertinent monographs was available upon the Continental System alone. And a slight use of a few volumes of Napoleon's letters is no test whatever of the resources in printed first-hand material. A thorough exploitation of such primary and secondary sources, an exhaustive scrutiny of Italian and French archives, and the use of other archives, would surely have given much wherewith to supplement or control those archival findings, the defects of which M. Tarlé so repeatedly deplores. Then fewer apologies and cautions would have been needed to attest scholarly good faith.

In spite of the defects of a too-limited research the findings of M. Tarlé are very considerable and have been admirably played up for us. It does seem that the interpretation is over-colored by an anti-Napoleon bias, but the exposition is little impaired thereby, except in the initial political chapter. That is a rather unconvincing critique of the polity of more than a decade, deduced largely from a few documents of 1805–

1806 without sufficient regard for time factors, stressing adverse but slighting favorable implications of the evidence. Thereafter follow good chapters (II.-IV.) on economic backgrounds for the Continental blockade in the kingdom of Italy. The institution of the blockade there, and its internal and external workings, are less well portrayed. Obviously the new details for these chapters (V.-VII.) are filled into Tarlé's preconceived sketch without checking his *Continentalnaja Blocada* (Moscow, 1913) by fuller or later studies. Thus he misconceives the nature of the Continental System after it was fundamentally modified in 1810, likewise the trend and scope of its license-trade features. And thereby he misses the purport of those 1811-1812 movements of grain from and into Italy for which he has good data. However his criticisms of the myth of Venetian trade-decadence are worth noting. Best of all are his chapters (VIII.-XIV.) dealing with the industrial aspects of the blockade era in Italy. Each important industry in turn is treated as fully and factually as the evidence permits. Perhaps more interesting even than the data as to bad—and good—effects of the blockade, however, is the evidence of a nascent "industrial revolution" during—and even before—the Napoleonic régime in Italy. Finally, a terse conclusion admirably summarizes deductions which, if not entirely new, are generally valid and pertinent.

In fine, regardless of some defects, this study is a substantial contribution to the economic history of the era of Napoleon and of the "Industrial Revolution". It is scholarly, frank, definitely informative, and very suggestive as to the need and possibilities of further investigations of the subject, which we surely may expect from Professor Tarlé himself.

F. E. MELVIN.

British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916: Studies in Personality and Policy. By ALGERNON CECIL. (London: John Murray; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1927. Pp. xii, 378. 15s.)

"THE present volume", we are told in the preface, "is an attempt to visualise the leading characters in Foreign Office history—to see what manner of men they were, and what they made of the Foreign Secretariat. . . . This book might, therefore, be said, with no more than trivial inaccuracy, to take its start as the Foreign Office emerges from the shadow cast by Pitt's greatness and to take its leave as the Foreign Office disappears again into the whirlpool of Mr. Lloyd George's versatility." Pitt, "the pure spirit of England walking the floor at Westminster", is the fountain of all. "Castlereagh, Canning, and Aberdeen . . . took from him, each of them, such things as the lesser may borrow from the larger mind." Moreover, the career of Aberdeen offers "a singularly pure example . . . of the international method of Castlereagh"; while that of Palmerston as faithfully represents "the national system of Canning". As for "the three Whig Earls", Clarendon, Granville, and Rosebery (for Russell is discussed only in connection with Palmerston and with almost unmitigated contempt): "they filled no place in either of the great schools

of British foreign policy. They framed no system, embodied no principle, and have left no lasting mark upon the road we travel. . . . Yet, . . . they were for compass in a party 'that otherwise had sailed on foreign waters by naked theory; cosmopolitan when Nationalism was but too ready to drive blindly into revolution, imperialist when Little-Englandism threatened to fill the canvas." But when Salisbury brought Conservatism back to the Foreign Office, the Castlereagh tradition to some extent returned there too. For, if Salisbury fixed his eyes "upon political interests, rather than upon political sentiments or causes", and if he "failed . . . to detect the sanguine hope of European solidarity inaugurated by Castlereagh's policy at Chaumont, he remains none the less the foremost statesman to recognize the merit and lesson of Castlereagh's cool and practical intelligence". Finally, Viscount Grey, for the author's great convenience in rounding off his work, is found to have displayed some of the traits of all the most illustrious of his predecessors.

The above quotations, torn though they are from their contexts, represent the main argument, but only in part the nature of the book. For the author, with a real gift for condensation, has managed to traverse almost every important international issue in this most crowded of centuries; to insert thumbnail biographies of the principal secretaries; to pronounce upon their motives as well as their activities; and to season the whole liberally with *obiter dicta* and aphorisms. Needless to say, there is much to question and even to criticize. Canning, while given full credit for his ability, emerges as little better than a short-sighted opportunist who wrought no lasting good either to his country or to Western civilization. On the other hand, it is not recorded of Aberdeen, that "limpid spring of honour and conscience", within whom "liberal ideas flourished easily in a patriarchal framework", that he never ceased to deplore the French revolution of 1830 and to regard the neo-Holy Alliance as the bulwark of Europe; or that he congratulated Schwarzenberg after the mid-century revolutions on his inestimable services to Europe. Palmerston "struts", "crowing with crest erect", through many pages, receiving but apparently never earning the half-affectionate indulgence of the commentator. It is, for example, considered matter for regret that he did not in the 'thirties allow France "to assert her so-called 'natural rights' and embrace Belgium definitely within her system, if not actually within her borders". And so, through earls and marquesses (for Lansdowne is not quite forgotten) to Viscount Grey, who, by nature and training, was designed for the career of a country gentleman, but, through a scarcity of Liberal aristocrats, was perforce led to adopt that of a foreign secretary.

There are some curious errors which should certainly have caught some eye before the book went to press. It is, for example, rather amazing to find the Bedchamber Question given as the occasion for the change of ministry in 1835, or to be told that Castlereagh as "Secretary of State for War" presided at the War Office. All in all, the book is by

no means bad reading for one's lighter hours, and might with some advantage be given to students cutting their critical eye-teeth.

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Dictionary of National Biography. Founded in 1882 by GEORGE SMITH. 1912-1921. Edited by H. W. C. DAVIS and J. R. H. WEAVER. (London: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. xxvi, 623. 25s.)

THIS is a collection of biographies that will bear reading right away through, and is thus unusual. If the choice of names has not been made with that intentional catholicity used in our new *Dictionary of American Biography*, it has been done nevertheless with care. One thinks offhand of no names to be added and few to be omitted. Was the career of Arthur Guinness, first Baron Ardmore, sufficiently distinguished for inclusion, or was he rather one who for generosity deserves monuments of stone in his own county? Probably it was not a mistake to include Henry Cust, since he will no doubt be mentioned in the future Grevilles of the years before the war (he is already in Blunt).

In general the biographies are more interesting than those in the last supplementary volume, partly because they are a little more in the nature of portraits and partly because they are more plain spoken. If one were to judge from obituaries nowadays in the *Times* or the *Morning Post*, one would suspect that manners in respect to the dead are changing in England; even memorial volumes got out by friends are likely to deal honestly with the deceased. This volume leans that way, as for example in the account of Alfred Austin.

It is not always so, however. The life of Joseph Chamberlain, possibly the longest in the volume, written by the late Professor Egerton, is almost a eulogy. Chamberlain was undoubtedly a man of intense force of character and of impressive personality. From his spell those who talked with him or heard him speak seldom escaped. But those who follow the tergiversations of his career or who have occasion to read his speeches over any decade find it hard to believe him so great as do those who knew him. He made imperialism a living thing in England and even the hoardings today show that his ghost still walks. As to his relation to the Jameson Raid, those who have studied the matter in the sources so far open, give him the benefit of the doubt. But his diplomacy in the events that led to the Boer War will hardly meet the approval of future generations.

A greater man than Chamberlain, Botha, gets about one third as much space, in the excellent narrative by Professor Basil Williams. I remember once remarking to the late George L. Beer that I was inclined to rate Smuts as possibly the great living man within the British Empire. Beer thought at least two minutes—he weighed his spoken words as the canny weigh their written—and said: "Yes, unless Botha." One may guess that Botha will perhaps in the future be counted the George Washington of South Africa.

Those who will turn over the diaries and letters of the decades before the war, will be likely to look in this volume for information about that attractive figure George Wyndham, who played several parts and might well stand as type of the cultivated country gentleman of his day. They will find a disappointing narrative, almost wholly political, and one that fails to make clear the curious circumstances of his resignation.

Among biographies that might be mentioned as excellent examples of compression and balanced judgment are those of Archbishop Moorhouse, Rupert Brooke (who in the opinion of the biographer had reached the top of his powers), Sir William Anson, Hume Brown, Lubbock, Alfred Lyttleton, Keir Hardie, and Sir James Murray. The account of Kitchener by General Maurice plunges into the middle of acute controversial matters but is based on much knowledge and to a non-military critic seems judicious.

Particularly notable are the biographies of scientists, such as those of Alfred Russell Wallace, Sir William Crookes, and Sir George Darwin. They show not only the romance of the progress of science in the late nineteenth century, but reveal skill in showing just exactly the significance and importance of the new discoveries, and what their relation is to present knowledge. Pity it is that the lives of historians are seldom written in that way. But the account of Seebohm is nearly a model of how the life of an historian should be treated.

There is no more interesting narrative in the volume than that of Sir Robert Morant. Incidentally it ought to be read by every teacher of British history in this country. What can be more English than the British Civil Service which is hardly understood on this side of the water and which is either ignored or slighted by American writers of text-books on English history?

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914. Bismarck's Relations with England, 1871-1890. Selected and translated by E. T. S. DUGDALE. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xxviii, 399. \$7.50.)

THIS collection of selected documents, translated into English, from the *Grosse Politik*, will present limited opportunities to those students of diplomatic history who can not read German; but it will be tantalizing. No selection of this character can be entirely satisfactory except to the individual making it. In this instance, the plan is apparently to extract and translate those documents, or portions of documents, bearing directly upon the relations of Germany and Great Britain. Good judgment is evident in the selection. The collection is composed, substantially, of the exchanges between the German Foreign Office and its representatives in London, some correspondence between Berlin and Continental embassies, and important minutes by the Chancellor or Foreign Minister, particularly those which are specifically concerned with some Anglo-German

matter. For this contribution to the study of Anglo-German relations we are duly grateful, and yet we are not satisfied. Obviously, what the *Grosse Politik* has to offer on the subject of Britain's relations with Germany can not be thoroughly understood without *all* of the documents, even those which may not directly concern intercourse between Berlin and London. The complete yield will be available in English only with a translation of many documents beyond the scope of Captain Dugdale's undertaking.

An admirable historical introduction of some twenty-eight pages, by Headlam-Morley, supplies the provenance for the documents of this volume, which is the first of the four projected. The aim is to present Anglo-German relations from 1871 to 1914 as they are revealed in the *Grosse Politik*. Volume I. covers the period of Bismarck's control from 1871 to 1889. The material is grouped topically under twenty-six headings, such as: the War Scare of 1875; the Constantinople Conference; the Congress of Berlin; Germany's Estrangement from Russia; the German Colonial Question; Bulgaria; the Battenberg Marriage Question. Naturally enough, the Eastern Question, Egypt, and African Colonies are the subjects most fully illuminated.

The lacunae of the *Grosse Politik* itself are manifestly reflected in an abridgment. The inadequacy of official documents for the explanation of a diplomatic situation is evident. In this collection, for example, the absence of any background or filler for official communications dealing with the war scare of 1875 is noticeable. Official documents do not ordinarily recount the origin and significance of such an incident. We learn very little from this collection (although we can not hold it responsible for what the *Grosse Politik* does not contain) about the Berlin Memorandum, about the diplomacy leading to the Congress of Berlin, particularly in respect to Germany's knowledge of Britain's negotiations with Russia and Austria, or about the Battenberg marriage affair. Again, the insufficiency of official documents appears in such matters as the Zanzibar trouble, where the German view of Kitchener and his associates produces a humorous contrast to the panegyric of Sir George Arthur.

Amusing, also, are the estimates of British statesmanship by the two Bismarcks, father and son, and by Count Münster. Baldly stated in English, they are perhaps more revealing than they might otherwise seem. To Münster, "British statesmen seem . . . more than ever like rich dilettantes, living from day to day, ignoring the future of their country and confusing the position of affairs in their minds". To Count Herbert Bismarck, British ministers show singular absence of political judgment and surprising ignorance of European affairs. In conjunction, however, with the splendid group of British biographies—Disraeli, Salisbury, Dilke, Granville, Gladstone, and Curzon, these documents are important and indeed indispensable. The work of translation has been excellently done; it is a faithful reproduction of the original, clear, accurate, and idiomatic. The German notes are reproduced without comment or criticism. As

Headlam-Morley remarks, the object of the work is not propaganda, not defense of the British government, but the provision, for students of foreign policy, of material with which it is essential that they should be acquainted.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second series, A Selection from her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1862-1885. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. Volume III. 1879-1885. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 738. 25s.)

"It cannot be denied", wrote Granville in August, 1880, "that the Throne is extraordinarily stronger than it has been during the century" (p. 133). Yet, on the following New Year's day the Queen wrote in her diary: "God . . . help me on! . . . I am so overdone, so vexed, and in such distress about my country." The throne was stronger, not only because the sovereign's marked ability and great experience were increasingly recognized, not only because her age, sex, character, and widowhood made opposition to her wishes increasingly difficult for English gentlemen, but because she used all the advantages of her position to exercise the greatest possible amount of influence at every juncture. She was distressed about her country because she believed that its direction had fallen into unworthy hands. Almost unconsciously she had taken not only Disraeli's ideas but Disraeli's opponents for her own. Now she was vexed that the latter were in power, and overdone in striving to make the former still prevail. It was a hard situation for a very conscientious, very inadaptable queen, who had come to consider herself well-nigh infallible. Hostile to the Liberals as a whole, and believing, moreover, that the country's institutions in general, and monarchy in particular, were threatened by the radicals, home-rulers, and "thinly-veiled Republicans" in their ranks, she was trying as perhaps never before to control the personnel, the policies, and even the utterances of her constitutional advisers. Another incentive to such action lay in her enthusiasm for the new "imperialism" and belief in the white man's burden—so long as the white man was British and not Russian, nor yet French. Five days after receiving the "terrible telegram" in which Disraeli announced his fall she had written: "Mr. Gladstone *she* could have nothing to do with, for she considers his whole conduct since '76 to have been one series of violent, passionate invective against and abuse of Lord Beaconsfield, and that *he* caused the Russian war." Under the new government, she continued, "there must be no democratic leaning, no attempt to change the Foreign policy . . . no change in India, no hasty retreat from Afghanistan, and *no* cutting down of estimates. . . . Mr. Lowe *she* could *not* accept as a Minister. Sir C. Dilke *she* would only and unwillingly consent to having a *subordinate office* if absolutely necessary". If this letter had shown, as did later ones, that the Queen

could see nothing but "sedition" in the agitation of "those dreadful Irish people" led by the "Pretender Parnell", and nothing but criminal weakness in British attempts at conciliation, it would have constituted a fair index to her attitude during the whole of Gladstone's administration. The lack of any reference to domestic affairs, except in the condemnation of "democratic leaning" is significant.

The letters recording the five years' conflict which ensued are of absorbing interest. It was a conflict not only of great personalities strongly entrenched, but of points of view which have never since ceased to divide the allegiance of the British people; and it was waged over problems of great magnitude which are not yet completely solved. The Queen's energies were above all directed to checking, where she could not defeat, withdrawals in South Africa, the Soudan, and Afghanistan; to winning the Liberals away from all ideas of Irish home rule; and to safeguarding the House of Lords by averting conflicts with the Commons. The courage and persistence with which she contested every inch of ground were not less remarkable than the methods which she employed. It has been somewhat the fashion of late to refer to Victoria as a Whig, but these letters reveal her more as a Tory of the school of George III. To those familiar with her earlier letters it is not surprising to find her seeking advice from Disraeli on affairs of state, extracting information from Granville as to proceedings in the Cabinet, and inciting ministers to resist one another and even the premier; but it is somewhat startling to find her attempting to exert pressure on her ministers by privately urging Forster on one occasion to threaten resignation from the Cabinet, and Wolseley on another to take similar action with respect to his command in Egypt! Moreover, during the political crisis which followed the election of 1885, we find her engaged in an attempt to disrupt the Liberals and form a new party which, had it come to birth, might not too inappropriately have been referred to as that of "the Queen's Friends". Sometimes, *e.g.*, in relation to the relief of Gordon, she was probably in the right; sometimes, as in averting conflicts between the houses over the arrears and county franchise bills, she was successful as well. But, on the whole, she fought a losing fight because of her inability to adapt herself to, or even understand, the moving forces of her time. Members of the Cabinet such as Chamberlain, who were meditating schemes for the economic and social betterment of the people were in her eyes merely "the *worst men* who had no respect for Kings and Princes"; the Liberals were "unpatriotic" in retaining Gladstone for their leader; while the House of Commons, filled with men who entertained "low and revolutionary views" was "becoming like one of the Assemblies in a Republic". Indeed—and this was perhaps even more symptomatic—spiritual peers who believed themselves bound by their prayerbook, and the interpretation of scripture which it enjoined, to speak against the deceased wife's sister bill were, in the Queen's eyes, actuated by motives "perfectly incomprehensible and really very low and unworthy".

A losing battle, a queen distressed, vexed, and overdone, and yet a queen to whom much gratitude was owed and given. For her temperament and talents were perhaps as complementary as they were antagonistic to those of Gladstone, her character and example at least as high.

The editing is, as in the earlier volumes, of unusual excellence. One notes with regret the relative paucity of documents for the critical later months of 1885; but for this the editor may not be to blame.

HERBERT C. BELL.

Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915. By BENEDETTO CROCE. (Bari: Laterza and Sons. 1928. Pp. 356. 25 lire.)

"I HAVE closed with 1915, at Italy's entry into the world war, because the period which opens with this event, just because it is still open, does not fall within the historian's competence but within the politician's. And I shall never be willing to confuse or contaminate historical investigation with political polemic, polemic which is carried on and ought certainly to be carried on, but in another place." These words, which conclude Signor Croce's preface to the volume under review, suggest the two reasons for the extraordinary interest of his work; first, his lofty impartiality in producing real history, and, secondly, the deadly polemic force of a piece of pure history which may wither by ignoring. Croce never has need to mention Fascism, though there is casual mention of Mussolini, the Socialist revolutionary and interventionist; but it would be quite impossible to derive historically the sort of thing Mussolini believes Fascism to be, from the sort of thing Croce describes between 1871 and 1915. It is easy to comprehend how a fascism might spring from the "religion of the state" which Croce had observed being imported from Prussia before the war, and above all from Mussolini's pre-war mixture of pragmatism, the "mysticism of action", Sorel, and Bergson. In short, by inference Croce has explained in his book the genesis of Fascism as witnessed by a liberal philosopher.

So much for the dynamite that is in this book, dynamite which makes one wonder whether Signor Croce has had his house sacked by the Fascists for the last time. His sin, not only here, but throughout the Fascist régime, has been worse than the sin of exiles, like Salvemini, who have honored Fascism with their righteous anger; it is the sin of having smiled serenely though not contemptuously at a regrettable and passing phase—the great Fascist era. But his book contains more valuable if less exciting things than dynamite. It is a model of clear analysis by a man whom intelligent Italians as well as intelligent men everywhere would surely vote the supreme intellect of Italy. He brought to his task unique cultural gifts, and it is therefore not surprising to find his discussion of a period generally considered, in Italy as elsewhere, sterile and disheartening, a profoundly interesting one. He freely confesses that the national monarchy after 1871 was prose after the poetry of the Risorgimento; but he finds that prose neither petty nor decadent. The party

battles between conservatism and liberalism do not strike him as a sordid parliamentarianism, but as the efforts of a newly made country, without strong political traditions, to govern itself intelligently. Even the "transformism" or coalitionism that eventually followed, he finds natural in the face of Italy's problems. He observes that this transformism existed all over Europe but horrified people most in Italy because they were new to parliamentary life, and irregularities frightened them more than it did others. Above all it horrified the historians, "who are usually professors or other ingenuous folk" and who were desolate at not finding two parties, clear-cut and in neat opposition. Finally, Croce criticizes the Italians for yearning after Anglo-Saxon self-government, a self-government which in Italy took cultural, and could not take political, forms; and for falling—like most other nations indeed—under the spell of Prussian discipline and Prussian success. This same sense of inferiority drove Italians to ascribe their excellent headway in national economy between 1871 and 1887 to good luck and Italy's lucky star.

Croce traces the labors of the government in handling the "prisoner of the Vatican", in "Piedmontizing" the army and Italianizing Piedmont, in building railways, in taking world leadership in the exploitation of white coal, in warring on illiteracy. He describes the disillusionment of the Italians in finding that from the modern economic point of view Italy was not "the garden of nature", but was conspicuous for "natural poverty". He points out how eminently practical, if philosophically inadequate, was Cavour's recipe for a free church in a free state. He traces the rise of a "social question", not only in politics but in the literature of writers like Verga, Capuana, Serao. He shrewdly observes that the dialect literature of the period was centrifugal in its implications, not—as the pessimists wailed—centripetal. He points to the happy absence of class hatred, a concept eventually imported intellectually from outside; though he admits there was snobbery and chasing after knighthoods. ("One shouldn't refuse a cigar or a knight's cross to anybody", bluff old Victor Emmanuel II. has been quoted as remarking.) Above all, Croce analyzes Italy's perpetually recurrent sense of inferiority, the sensitiveness of Italians at being considered the Graeculi of the modern world, their doubts about their parliamentary system. They failed, Croce thinks, to see that practical politics and the playing off of private interests are to statesmanship what alloy is to gold; they make it hard enough for use in this world.

Excellent as is his analysis of Italy's untoward colonizing ventures and her "marriage of convenience" with the Central Powers, and particularly of the unstable character of that alliance, Croce is at his best when he speaks of the "real decadence" of the period 1871-1890, which was religious and intellectual and which Italy shared with the rest of Europe. It was the heyday of Herbert Spencer, of Germanism—post-1848 Germanism, of course—of "science", "method", "facts". He describes the rise of Italian Socialism and its transformation into a useful parliamen-

tary party. And he is particularly apt in his treatment of Crispi's ministry and of the personality of Crispi himself.

But for those who know the writings of Croce and what he has done for European thought, chapter X. will prove the pith of this work. It deals with the cultural revival immediately preceding the war, a revival in which the leading part was taken by a *studioso*, a student whom Croce's good taste prevents his naming, though the page on which he is mentioned is listed in the index under B. Croce. And for the reader who does not recognize the "collaborator" (p. 256) of that student, it will suffice to examine the index for G. Gentile, whose recent Fascist fulminations against his intellectual master have not shaken Croce's urbanity. Before the war the *studioso* already noted with regret his collaborator's leanings towards "irrational idealism".

In his twelfth and last chapter Croce deals with the outbreak of European war, with the Austrian ultimatum—to which Italy was not privy in advance, with the hesitant neutrality wavering between heartburns over Trieste and heatburns over Nice and Savoy, and most interestingly of all with the d'Annunzian decadence that led Italian youth to desire intervention that they might not miss the "unique moment". In Croce's opinion it was ultimately this sense of "fatality" that precipitated intervention.

In closing he strikes both of the notes struck in the passage quoted from his preface. He regrets the interventionist demonstrations of d'Annunzio and his like, which made it appear that the popular will had forced the hand of the parliamentary will, and he hints that the habit of extra-parliamentary action might be expected to lead to disastrous consequences. He again declines to carry his narrative further since Italy's part in the World War "does not belong to this history and perhaps does not yet belong to any history".

Rich notes and an excellent index give the formal guarantees of sound scholarship which Croce's readers learned long ago to expect. But the thing that will make this small history a classic in its field is not its careful scholarship but the power of synthesis which very few living thinkers are in a position culturally to exhibit.

STRINGFELLOW BARR.

Making the Fascist State. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 392. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR SALVEMINI, the most intrepid of anti-Fascist exiles, called his masterful indictment *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*. Professor Schneider's title contains the hint of a different attitude; but of course he has not had the enlightening experience of being kicked and beaten by the young bravos of Via Tornabuoni. One is bound to respect Salvemini's attitude; but the facts of these latter years have demonstrated beyond question that Fascism is far from being merely a brutal and lawless tyranny.

Dr. Schneider's picture is nearer the truth, although his book is in no sense an apologia. It is the first strictly scientific treatment of its subject available in English. The result is a surprisingly impartial examination of a remarkable political, economic, and sociological phenomenon. In his preface, the author describes it as "a laboratory study of the mind and imagination at work". Yet the book is pleasantly free from the smell of the laboratory; the dissecting table has been cleared away; and the results of unquestionably solid research are presented in an interesting and coherent form. The method is a rather skilful combination of analysis and narrative, which, if it necessarily involves some repetition, is well adapted to the aim of investigating "the construction of Fascist theories in terms of the varying practical situations into which the movement was forced by dint of circumstances".

This book demonstrates the impossibility of giving any concise yet comprehensive definition of Fascism. It was not only a different thing at different times; it was a different thing in different parts of the country. The motley bands of Milan under Mussolini; the proletarian squads of Cremona under Farinacci; the intellectualist group at Florence; Misuri's respectable middle-class *fasci* at Perugia were all doubtless variations on the same theme; but the theme itself, even in Dr. Schneider's skilful exposition, is sometimes hard to follow. Yet the reviewer knows no book which unravels so deftly the tangled skein that is Fascism, differentiating these local groups and precisely assaying their contribution. Groups and their leaders are clearly individualized, and their aims, motives, and influence examined dispassionately, but with an obvious knowledge of human nature and an occasional ironic humor. The strong forces of dissidence within the Fascist party and their source in intellectual and other differences are made clear, as is also the personal influence of Mussolini which, whether as reality or myth, alone held the party together.

Less original, perhaps, though no less interesting is the account of the theory of the Fascist state. It has to be pieced together from various parts of the book, since the short section specifically devoted to the subject contains only a small portion of what the author has to say in this connection. But Dr. Schneider is under no illusion as to the relative importance of thought and action in the making of the Fascist state. Fascism, he sees quite clearly, is first and foremost action, and only in a secondary, and frequently a derivative sense, thought. Italian syndicalism, both in practice and theory, has by a remarkable process identified itself with Fascism, and now forms one of the basic elements of the new state. The formation of the corporate—or as a certain group among the Fascists would prefer to call it—the syndicalist state is handled with great insight and copious information in chapter IV. Dr. Schneider calls his fifth and final chapter Fascist Culture. There are many people who would call it "Psychopathia Fascista". Whatever view one takes, one is forced to admit that here is a phase of contemporary life too important to be overlooked. This book is the first to give us anything like adequate

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material for a judgment. No small part of this material is contained in the valuable appendix of selections from Fascist literature and documents of Fascist history.

The author's clear sense of the limitations of his treatment disarms the possible criticism that the political history of Fascism is somewhat sketchily dealt with. "This book is intended", he says, "as both more and less than a history of Fascism." Specific errors seem few. One would like, however, to know Dr. Schneider's authority for the following statement in connection with the Aventine Secession: "A hall was hired on the Aventine Hill, where headquarters were established" etc. (p. 92). He offers no other explanation of the name. Is it possible that he has momentarily mislaid his manual of Roman history? It is a pity that so scholarly a work should be disfigured by numerous misprints. Three in a short paragraph (pp. 149-150), if they do not establish a record, are at least an indication of undue haste on somebody's part.

LEONARD MANYON.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, Litt.D., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., Volume V., *The Near East: the Macedonian Problem and the Annexation of Bosnia, 1903-1909.* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. lxx, 886. 18s.)

AGAIN the editors of this invaluable series are to be congratulated upon the speed and completeness with which their volumes are appearing. The first three volumes, already reviewed in this journal (XXXIII. 648; XXXIV. 340), dealt with England's abandonment of splendid isolation, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, and the testing of the Entente in the Morocco Crisis of 1904-1906. The fourth volume, on Anglo-Russian relations, 1906-1909, though temporarily delayed, is expected to appear about the time these lines are in print. The fifth volume, now in hand, is a very full account of the Balkan problems which involved the relations of the Great Powers to one another, during the years from the Mürzsteg programme of reform for Macedonia and the assassination of King Alexander of Serbia, to the Young Turk Revolution and Izvolski's humiliation in the final settlement of the Bosnian annexation crisis. It thus runs parallel to, and supplements, from the British point of view, material in volumes XXII., XXIV., XXVI., XXVII. of *Die Grosse Politik*. Much of the British diplomatic material on the Near East in this period was long ago published in blue books, but the editors have been able to draw rich and new secret material from the eighty manuscript volumes of Sir Edward Grey's private correspondence, from the annual reports sent to the Foreign Office by British representatives abroad, and from other sources.

By way of introduction the editors happily give a full-length picture (pp. 1-48), drawn from the annual reports of 1907, of the Turkish Empire on the eve of its fall. There is succinctly and forcibly described the

powerful but corrupt despotism of Abdul Hamid, the system of central and local administration, the army, navy, finances, public opinion, education, and the foreign policy of the old Ottoman Empire. All the Sultan's principal servants and sycophants are duly and shrewdly characterized, often with a pleasing touch of humor which must have brought welcome smiles in Downing Street.

For the Macedonian trouble England was partly to blame. Disraeli's insistence on breaking up the Greater Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 had left Macedonia under Turkish misrule. Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs thereupon formed armed bands to assassinate one another and incidentally their Moslem oppressors. The Sultan sent wild, irregular troops to add to the slaughter, but otherwise was unwilling or unable to preserve order. There is an interesting analytical table (p. 293) for the year 1908, showing the numbers of each nationality committing, or dying from, political assassination. Sir Edward Grey wanted to make amends for Disraeli's mistake, by forcing real and effective reforms upon the Sultan which should put an end to these tragic conditions. There is probably no aspect of Grey's policy which shows to better advantage his finest qualities as a statesman and an honest gentleman than his patient and persistent efforts at Macedonian reform; that they proved to be a ghastly failure was the fault of the Continental Powers and of the wily evasions of Abdul Hamid.

Russia and Austria had come to an agreement in 1897 by which they put aside temporarily their rivalry in the Balkans. In 1903 they coöperated in drawing up the Mürzsteg programme of reform for Macedonia, and persuaded the other powers to give them a kind of mandate to put it into effect. But they did not execute their task either efficiently or sincerely, and Izzet Pasha and other Turkish officials were able to interpose innumerable obstacles and delays. Germany, convinced that reform was hopeless and unwilling to antagonize the Sultan by pressing him too vigorously to accept reform, probably had the effect of encouraging him to disregard the representations made to him to improve conditions in Macedonia. The French, mindful of their immense investments in Turkey (pp. 175-183) were inclined to be indifferent to reform proposals, or at least to give them only lip-service; in fact the French ambassador at Constantinople, M. Constans, was reported to be fond of making a remark to the effect that he "didn't give a d— for Macedonia" ("Je me f— de la Macédoine", p. 169). Finally, in January, 1908, Count Aehrenthal announced his plan for a railway through the sanjak of Novibazar and at the same time a new plan of judicial reform for Macedonia was allowed to fall to the ground. Aehrenthal asserted that there was no connection between the two events, but Grey was nearer the truth in his comment: "Austria has played the mean game of driving a bargain with the Porte in favor of her railway scheme at the expense of Macedonian reform. It seems, now, that we are to be in the position of having all the odium at Constantinople of pressing reforms, while other members of the

Concert carry favor with the Porte by obstructing them" (p. 228). This comment sums up pretty well the hundred and more large quarto pages devoted to the dismal tale of Macedonian reform.

Sir Edward Grey naturally welcomed the Young Turk Revolution (pp. 247-320), which he hoped would put an end to Abdul Hamid's corrupt and cruel despotism, open the way for real reforms, and also smooth the path for British commercial interests. "If the Young Turks are really going to make a good job of their own affairs", he wrote, "our encouragement and support will be very firm, . . . and we shall deprecate any interference from outside on the part of others." But he was not too optimistic: "Of course, things cannot continue going as well as they are at present;" and he warned the Young Turks against trying to go too fast: "if they do, they may either create confusion or provoke reaction. The first important point is to get the Government into the hands of honest and capable men; if they do that the rest will follow." He also saw embarrassing complications ahead for Great Britain among her own Moslem dependents in India and Egypt: "If Turkey now establishes a Parliament and improves her Government, the demand for a Constitution in Egypt will gain great force, and our power of resisting the demand will be very much diminished. . . . The position will be very awkward . . . [and] will require careful handling" (pp. 263-267).

The brutal assassination of King Alexander Obrenovitch and the accession of Peter Karageorgevitch, and the political effects on the Great Powers, are dealt with at considerable length (pp. 124-167). England showed her abhorrence of the crime by withdrawing her minister from Belgrade, and by refusing for three years to send another in his place, until King Peter reluctantly consented to dismiss the six regicide officers supposed to have been the ringleaders in the crime. It is usually stated that two of the principal participants in this palace assassination of 1903 were Tankositch and Dimitrijevitich, the two officers who became notorious in connection with the Sarajevo Plot of 1914. But it may be noted that the British documents do not mention these two individuals among the six whose dismissal was demanded on account of the 1903 crime. In contrast to England's righteous attitude, Russia and Austria hastened to recognize Peter I., but Austria soon forfeited whatever merit she acquired thereby. She tried to bully Serbia into continuing to purchase war supplies from Austria-Hungary, and when Serbia refused, Austria was unwilling to negotiate a commercial treaty. This led to the "Pig War", and so to increased bitterness between Serbia and the Dual Monarchy.

This bitterness rose to an explosive pitch at Belgrade with Count Aehrenthal's sudden announcement of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the long diplomatic crisis which followed (pp. 356-815). The annexation had been preceded by a sharp dispute about rival railway projects—the railway project by which Austria wanted to connect the Bosnian railways with the line running down the Vardar Valley

to Salonica, and the Adriatic railway project by which Pashitch and Izvolski wanted to give Serbia a free economic outlet on the sea and also a closer strategic and political connection with Serb populations in Montenegro and Dalmatia. Sir Edward Grey was inclined to take an impartial attitude between the two projects, subordinating both to the question of Macedonian reform.

The story of the Buchlau bargain between Aehrenthal and Izvolski, which preceded annexation, is given according to Izvolski's version. Although the British took the Russian minister's assertions with a grain of salt, it is noticeable how strongly they desired to support him against Austria (and Germany). One reason for this was that the British were justly indignant at Aehrenthal's nullification of clauses in the Treaty of Berlin without so much as a by-your-leave to the other Signatory Powers. They also suspected that Aehrenthal was lying in denying that he was in collusion with Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who declared himself independent of Turkey almost at the moment that Aehrenthal proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia. Edward VII. added the minute: "I cannot believe in M. d'A[ehrenthal]'s 'word of honour' statement, as facts belie it" (p. 446). But the main reason for their support of Izvolski, so far as they could give it without surrendering British interests in preserving the closure of the Dardanelles unless they were opened to all powers on equal terms, was the fear that Izvolski might be made so unpopular in Russia by his blunders that he would lose office; and in case of this, England feared for the safety of the Anglo-Russian Entente, which she wanted to uphold and strengthen out of dread of Germany and the navy which Tirpitz was building. When Izvolski came to London in October, 1908, a week after the annexation of Bosnia, he played up this bogey of the danger of his own dismissal and the triumph of the reactionary anti-English elements at St. Petersburg. But even so, he could not persuade Grey to consent to approve the one-sided opening of the Straits in Russia's favor, which had been agreed upon at Buchlau. King Edward, however, wrote the Tsar a letter in praise of Izvolski, which may have helped save him from dismissal.

Throughout the long Bosnian annexation crisis, one finds Grey working to find a solution which would satisfy Austria, Russia, and Serbia, and preserve the peace of Europe. He contributed more in this direction than one would gather from the documents in *Die Grosse Politik*. But at the very end of the crisis, after Izvolski's complete collapse before the so-called German "ultimatum" in March, 1909, Sir Arthur Nicolson at St. Petersburg was more Russian than the Russians, and rather upbraided Izvolski for yielding so quickly and completely without consulting France and England more fully.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Russian Public Finance during the War. Revenue and Expenditure, by ALEXANDER M. MICHELSON; *Credit Operations*, by PAUL N. APOSTOL; *Monetary Policy*, by MICHAEL W. BERNATSKY.
State Control of Industry in Russia during the War, by S. O. ZAGORSKY. [Economic and Social History of the World War, ed. J. T. Shotwell.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 462; xx, 351. \$5.00; \$4.00.)

THESE volumes are the first to appear in the Russian series and are specially welcome in view of the dearth of authoritative works in English on developments in the Russian Empire in the last decade preceding the revolution. It is fortunate, therefore, that each of the authors has included in his work a survey of pre-war conditions in his particular field.

The volume on *Russian Public Finance* comprises three scholarly monographs dealing with the revenue and expenditure, the credit operations, and the monetary policy during the World War up to the fall of the provisional government in November, 1917. Although these monographs are the work of different authors and are largely compilations and analyses of statistical data, some of which apparently are now published for the first time, they present collectively a clear picture of the Russian system of war finance under which the entire war expenditures and even part of the ordinary expenditures were covered by the proceeds of loans and the issue of paper money.

Professor Michelson analyzes in great detail the Russian budget, especially the sources of revenue, before and during the war. Although the government was confronted with the task of finding new sources of revenue to compensate the loss arising from the abolition of the state monopoly of spirits, in addition to the problem of meeting the tremendous increase in public expenditure caused by the war, it did not undertake the necessary financial reforms until 1916, when an income tax and a war-profits tax were enacted. The increases introduced in the existing taxes did not yield sufficient revenue to cover even the loss to the treasury from the suppression of the state monopoly of spirits. Professor Michelson's work would be improved, it is believed, by a more extended discussion of the reasons underlying the government's financial policy in this respect.

The monograph by Professor Bernatsky, Minister of Finance in the provisional government, on the monetary policy during the war, opens with an excellent survey of Russian currency before the war. He then deals in detail with the changes in the currency system brought about by the war—the suspension of specie payments, the disappearance from circulation first of gold, and then of all coins, the rapid increase in the note circulation, etc. As the printing press became more and more the principal means of defraying war expenditure, the currency system was gradually transformed into one consisting exclusively of inconvertible paper money. The author devotes the last part of his monograph to a study of the effects of inflation and of the ineffectual measures taken by the government to combat them.

The credit operations, domestic and foreign, by which the Russian government covered seventy per cent. of its war expenditure, are described at length by Mr. Apostol. The data presented with respect to Russian credit operations abroad should prove of interest to a wide circle of students. It is to be noted, for instance, that almost one half of the British credits were used to finance Russian purchases in the United States prior to the entry of the United States into the war. The essential facts are given concerning Russia's financing in the United States, including both the loans advanced by the American government and the credit operations on the American market. While data with respect to the former have been available in the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the details with regard to the latter have not hitherto been readily accessible. A few errors have crept in, and at times the paragraphing does not help the reader. The total of the advances by the United States Treasury up to October 8, 1917, as given on page 319, does not check with figures on page 313; and the total of the Russian debt in the United States given in the third paragraph of page 315 is not the same as that stated in the third paragraph of page 320.

Professor Zagorsky prefaces his study of state control of industry during the war by a brief sketch of Russian industry before the war and a survey of the conditions brought about by the war which adversely affected industry, such as the isolation of Russia from the world market, the disorganization of railway transport, the deterioration of the labor supply, inflation and general rise in prices, etc. He then examines the various organs through which the government exercised control of industry and sketches the evolution of state regulation of several of the most important branches of industry—metal, fuel, textile, and leather.

The development of the policy is clearly set forth. The state's intervention in the economic life of the country began hesitatingly, without a clear programme, with disconnected measures, but gradually, under the pressure of circumstances, became more and more comprehensive and far-reaching. Its character appears most vividly in Professor Zagorsky's exposition of the development of governmental control of the cotton industry. In the case of fuel, the government began by fixing prices, then proceeded to regulate the distribution of fuel, and finally concentrated in its hands the whole trade in hard mineral fuel.

Professor Zagorsky discusses at length the economic policy of the provisional government, which was considerably influenced by the programme of the socialist elements in the new régime. The organs of control were reorganized and systematized, and a series of state monopolies were introduced—coal, leather, textile, and agricultural machinery.

In the concluding chapter, probably the best in the book, the author endeavors to arrive at an estimate of the results of state regulation of industry in Russia during the war. He sets forth very lucidly the various factors influencing state control which make it impossible to pass any

general judgment on Russian economic policy during the war. The author examines the effect of state intervention under the imperial government on two industries—textile and mining—with a view to establishing whether state control was harmful or beneficial. He concludes on the basis of data presented that the intervention of the state was fully justified, that price control did not have any detrimental effect on the production of cotton or coal, and that the object pursued by the government was to a certain extent attained. The fact that governmental control restricted the unlimited growth of prices and introduced a certain order in the distribution of raw materials was, in his opinion, of considerable assistance to the development of production and to the supply of the army.

While Professor Zagorsky's treatise is intended primarily for the specialist, his discussion and analysis of economic conditions and developments during the war deserve the attention of the general student of Russian affairs.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800. By SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS, LL.D. (Johnson City: Watauga Press. Pp. xi, 540. 1928. \$5.00.)

SOME thirty-five travel accounts or extracts therefrom have been assembled by Mr. Williams; arranged in chronological order; supplied with introductions, annotations, and an index; and put forth as the third of his notable contributions to Tennessee history. The bulk of the book is made up of material readily available elsewhere in print, but the editor's extensive knowledge of local history enables him to identify and contribute useful information about most of the persons and places referred to. More important, however, are a number of narratives that have never appeared in print before or are inaccessible to most students. The first of these is the journal of Alexander Cuming, the eccentric Scot who tried to follow in the footsteps of John Law, which is reprinted from the *Historical Register* of London for 1731 and contains interesting information about the Cherokee Indians and their relations with the English. The Chevalier de Lantagnoc's account of his capture by the Cherokee and of his activities among them is translated from a transcript of the manuscript in the French archives, John W. G. de Brahm's account of the construction of Fort Loudoun in 1756 is printed in part from a manuscript in the Harvard Library, and John Lipscomb's journal of a trip from the Holston to Nashville in 1784 is taken from the unpublished original in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society.

Distinctly the most important contributions in the book are the two journals of missionary tours by Moravians, printed in translation from the unpublished German originals in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The first of these tours was made by Brother Martin

Schneider in 1783 and 1784 from Wachovia to the Cherokee towns and back, and his narrative includes vivid pictures of travel-conditions on the frontier and of the life of the Indians. Sixteen years later, in 1799, Brothers Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. de Schweinitz made a similar trip to the Cherokee towns and then went on across the wilderness to the settlements on the Cumberland; and the detailed narrative of their journey, which fills seventy-seven pages, is a notable addition to the literature of frontier and Indian life. Students of the fur trade will be interested in the account here given of the operations of the United States factory at Tellico and the statement that traders and Indians sometimes took their skins and pelts to Spanish Pensacola.

The format of the book is excellent and it is illustrated with reproductions of contemporary pictures and maps. A general map of Tennessee or better still a series of sketch-maps showing the routes of some of the travellers would have been helpful to the reader. The work contains a regrettably large number of minor errors. Thus "uncovered" is used twice for "undiscovered" (p. 21); such misspellings are found as "Botts" for "Batts" (p. 19), "Niagra" (p. 438), "Muckingum" (p. 446), "emperiled" (p. 119), "Boquet" (p. 203) and "Fort Chartress" (p. 212); and Father Marquette is described as a "Recollect priest" (p. 41). The two Moravian journals purport to be translations made by the dean of the Moravian College at Bethlehem but one of them is in good English and the other is full of such atrocities as "Mr. McCormick lives now already 30 years here". There would seem to be no reason, moreover, why the German practice of capitalizing all nouns should be carried over into the translation. More serious than any of these things, however, is the editor's failure to indicate in most cases the sources from which the reprinted narratives are taken and to give credit to previous compilers and translators. Three of the narratives are reprinted without credit from Dr. N. D. Mereness's *Travels in the American Colonies*, two of them being translations, presumably made for that work, of originals in the Archives Nationales of Paris. Some of Dr. Mereness's foot-notes are also taken over, occasionally, but not always, with his name printed after them. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, and the *Illinois Historical Collections* are also drawn upon for narratives without credit being given.

SOLON J. BUCK.

The Foundations of the Constitution. By DAVID HUTCHISON, Ph.D., Professor of Government, State College, Albany, N. Y. (New York: Grafton Press. 1928. Pp. 406. \$3.50.)

It is now more than a half century since Alexander Johnston pointed out in a notable essay that the federal Constitution was not a creation but an evolution and "is a perfect expression of the institutional methods of its [American] people". Since that time a considerable and important literature has been produced in the further elucidation of this viewpoint. Several writers have traced the growth of the text of the Constitution

through its various stages in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The latest example of this type is the important volume on *The Making of the Constitution* by Charles Warren. Others have traced the sources of the Constitution to the contemporary state constitutions, the Articles of Confederation, the plans of union of both the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and American experiences with the same, as well as to English institutions.

The work under review endeavors to combine both fields. The author announces in the foreword, that the work "traces the origins or the historical background, Federal, State, Colonial and English". It is obvious that to carry out this plan within the compass of a single volume of some four hundred pages, the discussion of the work of the Convention itself must be curtailed if sufficient space is to be reserved for the presentation of the sources and precedents drawn upon by the framers. Dr. Hutchison has chosen to emphasize the latter. This is fortunate as the existing literature dealing with the convention is more adequate than that relating to the other field. It is here that the author has made his principal contribution. This volume bears an appropriate title as it contains a more comprehensive and systematic discussion of *The Foundations of the Constitution* than any previous work. The order of treatment adopted is that of the arrangement of the Constitution. Each section or clause in its text being considered, first, briefly as to its presentation and evolution in the Convention, followed by a discussion of precedents or possible source. References to documents and authoritative works are given in notes at the end of each chapter.

The most serious criticism of Dr. Hutchison's work is his constant reference to the discredited "Pinckney Plan" as given in Elliot's *Debates*, although he usually supplements this by referring to a reprint of Charles Pinckney's *Observations*. No attention is called to the scholarly work of Messrs. Jameson and McLaughlin in their efforts to reconstruct the plan in its original form, and as it is reprinted in Farrand's *Records* (III. 601-609). This is an unfortunate omission and has led the author into several errors. In general, however, as far as the reviewer has been able to test its context and citations, the work maintains a high standard of accuracy. Naturally where so many hundred, even thousands of facts are dealt with, it would be extraordinary if there were not some errors of facts and ambiguity of statement, and there are such. Several have been noted, but space permits reference to only a few.

The date of the division of the Virginia legislature is now placed earlier than the one previously given (p. 25). There was no upper house in Pennsylvania under the constitution of 1776, as one might infer from the statement on page 26. The comment on the intent of the Convention in its action in regard to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* seems too positive in view of the fact that the clause was at one stage placed in the section dealing with the judiciary and was only assigned its final position by the Committee on Style. Reference to the

action of President Lincoln and the controversial literature called out by Executive suspension in 1861 would seem desirable in view of the reference to Congressional action (pp. 138-139). The contribution of William Paterson—unfortunately spelled Patterson throughout—in connection with the “supreme law” clause and the idea of judicial review of legislation is not sufficiently emphasized (pp. 240, 260).

This volume will serve as a valuable work of reference. As such it is more likely to be used than as a text-book. The vast number of facts noted, together with the condensed and summary treatment employed, does not render it especially attractive to the general reader.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The American Heresy. By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS. (London, Sheed and Ward. 1927. Pp. 368. 8s. 6d.)

FOR Mr. Hollis, an English Romanist, two things abide, tradition and religious authority. In his *Glastonbury and England*, he laments the decline of England's civilization when she turned from these to follow false gods.

Thomas Jefferson rightly built America's political philosophy upon the principles of human liberty and equality. When, however, deprived by the Revolution of the support of tradition and by his eighteenth-century rationalism of the support of religious authority, he declared these principles to be self-evident—which they are not, but rather “a profound metaphysical mystery, deducible only from dogmatic religion”, from the equality of all souls before God—he prostituted them to the selfishness of men interpreting them in terms of their own convenience, and inaugurated the American heresy.

To be sure, Jefferson foresaw the menace of an aggressive materialism to America's culture and sought to avert it by promoting a decentralized, property-holding, agrarian society capable of traditions and spiritual standards; but the Constitution, the work of a capitalist conspiracy, and his own Louisiana Purchase defeated him. A West, with neither traditions nor local loyalties, generated a relentless materialistic nationalism and produced the leaders of the middle period, Jackson the barbarian, Douglas the imperialist, Lincoln the Rabelaisian opportunist. It produced the Republican party, whose law, higher than the Constitution, was the law of supply and demand.

In the Civil War, this raw nationalism carried the last strongholds of local liberty and order maintained by the landed classes “who alone have that understanding of tradition without which no society can be healthy”. The victory was no more for the North over the South than for the West over the East, the victory of a cultureless, unmoral industrial civilization that is abnormal and will not endure. Lincoln, wrong in everything, was most wrong in his emancipation policy, which wrecked a fine old society without provision for a better one.

Into the Civil War went "two politically minded nations. From it emerged one non-politically minded nation dominated by wealth". The career of Woodrow Wilson clinches the moral. A vain and selfish egoist, with an absurd admiration for his own "first-class mind", paying lip-service to democracy for political advantage, while regarding himself as a superior person and the people as "damned stupid", he was an ideal tool for the capitalist interests. They used him to defeat genuine progressivism in 1912, framed his Mexican policy to ruin Huerta who had been too friendly to British concessionaires, broke down his devotion to neutrality and pacifism (though he clung to their shadow long enough to save himself politically in 1916), and forced him into war to bring victory to the Allies before they were too exhausted to pay their debts. Wilson was "too great a gentleman to stoop to take a bribe" and "for that reason he spent a great deal of his life doing other people's dirty work for nothing". Such is the author's presentation.

The book is written with vivacity, critical penetration, wit, and intensity of conviction. Honest Americans will admit many counts in the indictment. Frequent lapses in taste and the contemptuous characterization of almost every American, from Jefferson, the "prig", to Roosevelt, the "cheap-jack", and Wilson, the "arrogant, dishonest schoolmaster", may be forgiven an acidulous English reactionary descending on an American theme. There are some gross misrepresentations. For example, the author makes Douglas deliberately revive the rivalry over slavery merely to turn it to the account of his imperial plan for populating the territories. One wonders how a writer can justify to his historical conscience an account of Wilson's early years built up chiefly from the books of Annin and Kerney.

There are obvious limitations to a thesis that must disregard such fundamental historical facts as the perversion of traditional and religious authority into the parasitism of which the rationalists and revolutionists helped purge the eighteenth century; the debasement of the majority of the Southern whites under the slavery régime and the regeneration of both races through modern diversified industry; and the humanitarianism which operates constantly through American democracy to correct the abuses of mechanistic efficiency and to find the way through greater material resources to a higher freedom. It is a pity that even a philosophy may be perverted by bigotry. Mr. Hollis, in all seriousness, has ridden a cock-horse through American history.

CLIFTON R. HALL.

History of the United States. By ASA EARL MARTIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Pennsylvania State College. Volume I., 1783-1865. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 806. \$3.28.)

IN his preface Professor Martin justifies this addition to the rapidly expanding library of college history texts by citing the marked tendency

in American colleges and universities to divide the introductory course in the history of the United States into three parts, the first recording the development of the English colonies through the Revolutionary War, the second and third dealing with the national period. The volume under review represents the second part of this trilogy. Beginning with the recognition of the independence of the United States in the treaty of 1783 and closing with the assassination of President Lincoln, it discusses political, economic, social, and intellectual phases of our national life with a wealth of detail which attests the industry of the author as well as his familiarity with the accumulating results of historical scholarship. In tone and organization it closely follows the type of college text which in recent years has become orthodox. The treatment is mainly chronological, severely so at times. For example, Jackson's financial policy suffers considerably because it has to give way to the march of events which parallel its evolution.

Although the economic basis of political developments runs through the entire volume, a separate chapter on Economic Progress, 1820-1860, catches up some loose threads which were not previously woven into the fabric of the text. Likewise, a chapter on Social and Intellectual Readjustments during the same period contains skilfully condensed sketches of the woman's rights movement, the temperance crusade, educational reforms, and ventures in philanthropy. The sections on literature, art, and science, however, give one no sense of the sweep of cultural forces, but stand as a series of unrelated pigeon-holes with the material neatly arranged in each. The author is much happier in his full and clear presentation of the westward trend of population, the demand of the Mississippi Valley for transportation, and the national, state, and private enterprises which answered that demand prior to the Civil War (pp. 279-294, 352-355, 526-532).

Professor Martin is an impartial chronicler and cautious commentator. He steadfastly refuses to sit in judgment on men, motives, or measures. Where he does venture to fix responsibility or apportion praise and blame (as in the case of the Mexican War, p. 499), his decision is carefully hedged about by qualifying clauses. To many teachers this hesitation of the author to inject his own convictions into the discussion will seem wholly admirable. It does, however, leave the narrative less stimulating to the reader.

Relatively few errors or inconsistencies appear in the thirty-three chapters. Some apparent contradictions result from shifting emphasis. We learn at one point that Jackson's first message to Congress "merely suggested the advisability of replacing" the Bank by one "founded upon the credit of the government" (p. 375), but later we discover that Jackson went beyond suggestion in his first message, since he assailed the Bank "as unconstitutional, and erroneously charged" it with having failed to establish a uniform currency (p. 401). The statement that the Dred Scott decision "tended to carry the entire Democratic party to the

support of the position of Calhoun and Jefferson Davis" (p. 617), is somewhat sweeping in view of the Northern Democrats who accepted the court's opinion with considerable mental reservation.

In format the volume is attractive, though the division of the chapters into extremely short sections, which will probably be welcomed by the average undergraduate, tends to make the narrative appear more "choppy" than it actually is. Twenty-six maps, five of them in color, are well-selected aids to the effective presentation of the text. The bibliography, arranged according to the chapters of the book, is chosen with discrimination by a teacher who realizes both the needs of the introductory course in American history and the resources of most college libraries. There is also an index which is really usable.

JOHN A. KROUT.

Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812. Edited with an introduction by William Wood. Volume III., parts I. and II. [Publications of the Champlain Society, XV., XVII.] (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1926, 1928. Pp. viii, 1061.)

THE documents printed in part I. of this volume follow chronologically those in volume II. (reviewed in this journal for January, 1925). They relate to operations throughout the year 1814 along the entire frontier between the United States and Canada from the Maine coast to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and hence cover such important events as the battles of Plattsburg, Chippewa, and Lundy's Lane. The proceedings of the court martial which investigated the defeat at Plattsburg are given in detail. Nearly all the material is official, but in connection with this campaign the editor prints two vivacious letters from Alicia Cockburn at Montreal to a relative in England, one written before and one after the battle, from which we obtain glimpses of the low estimate placed by the British in Canada upon the military ability of General Prevost.

The documents pertaining to major military operations contain little if anything that will alter the accepted conclusions of the historians. On the other hand, the volume contains much detailed information about hitherto obscure and little-known operations in the West. We have the full reports of Lieutenant-Colonel McKay's expedition for the recovery of Prairie du Chien from United States forces in July, 1814—an enterprise in which McKay was wholly and even brilliantly successful, despite the presence of several American gunboats on the upper Mississippi. Likewise we have the official account of the repulse of the American expedition against Michillimackinac in August of the same year and of the capture by the British of the two armed schooners which constituted the entire American naval force on Lake Huron. In other documents there is confirmation of the belief of Secretary Armstrong that the British would attempt, in the winter of 1813-1814, to cross Lake Erie on the ice and destroy the ships of Perry's squadron at Put-in-Bay and Presqu'Isle. It appears that but for the mildness of the winter such an attempt would

have been made. We learn something also of an American raid under General McArthur, from Detroit up the Thames River in November, 1814, resulting, as the British lamented, in the destruction "of all the Resources (and the Mills) of the Country to the Westward of the Grand River, from which we had calculated upon deriving the principal part of the Supplies destined to support the Regular Troops and Indians during the approaching Winter". In short, there is ample evidence that Perry's victory on Lake Erie in September, 1813, did not in the minds of either side settle the question of supremacy in the Northwest and that a lively contest for its possession went on during the year following.

An armistice proposal which, has, I believe, hitherto been unknown to history is rather dimly revealed in the correspondence of Sir George Prevost, in March and April, 1814, with General Drummond and Commodore Yeo. The proposal (if such it actually was) seemingly emanated from Monroe, then Secretary of State, and was based on the expectation that the pending negotiations with Great Britain would result in an early peace. Drummond and Yeo counselled against a cessation of hostilities. Nevertheless we see a draft of a letter from Sir George to the American General Macomb at Plattsburg (April 25, 1814) in which he announces the appointment of a British officer to meet an American officer at Champlain to discuss an armistice. The records in this volume are silent as to what followed.

Volume III, part II, contains a carefully prepared index of the three volumes, the comprehensiveness of which may be inferred from the fact that it covers two hundred closely printed pages. It contains also an "Appendix of Miscellaneous Documents" for the period of the war, among which most space is given to the "Journal" of Captain W. H. Merritt of the militia of Upper Canada in the years 1812 to 1814. Merritt saw considerable active service up to the time of his capture at Lundy's Lane; thereafter he was a prisoner in the United States. Unfortunately, the so-called "Journal", except for the period of his captivity, is in the form not of a journal but of a narrative, with no indication of the date at which it was put in the present form. Hence its value as contemporary evidence is slight.

Other documents in the appendix deal largely with routine matters—enlistments, troubles in controlling the Indians, pay and allowances, prize money, pensions, etc. Probably the most interesting series is that dealing with prisoners of war. As in other matters, trouble arose out of the British claim of "indefeasible allegiance". In the spring of 1813 twenty-three American prisoners were placed in close confinement as British subjects to be tried for treason. The government of the United States at once placed an equal number of British prisoners in close confinement as hostages. The British "raised the ante" by incarcerating forty-six American commissioned and non-commissioned officers; the United States followed suit. This deplorable competition was brought to an end in December, 1813, when Sir George Prevost was forced to report to Lord

Bathurst that no evidence could be brought against any of the men confined. There is considerable complaint of ill treatment of British prisoners in the United States. Merritt's Journal, on the other hand, contains almost no complaint of unnecessary harshness. He was one of a number of officers held under parole at Cheshire, Massachusetts, where they apparently enjoyed entirely friendly relations with the people of the community and amused themselves with games, reading, exploring the countryside, and drinking-bouts innumerable.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835. By EUGENE C. BARKER, Professor of American History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Research Lectures on the Causes of the Texas Revolution.] (Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Company. 1928. Pp. viii, 167.)

THIS little volume presents in an admirably clear and concise form the author's conclusions regarding the causes of the Texas revolution. It is the result of years of patient investigation in a limited field and will be read with interest and confidence.

Professor Barker contends that "denial of religious toleration and restrictions on slavery were a source of serious and continued annoyance, but the irritation caused by them was not acute enough to cause revolution". "Much more exasperating were . . . the prohibition of immigration from the United States and the crying deficiencies of the judiciary system. . . ." Yet the Mexican legislation of 1834 prepared the way for the removal of both the latter grievances. "What was it, then", he asks, "which precipitated the Texas revolution?" (p. 100). Thereupon he proceeds to deal with certain commercial and administrative irritations and concludes with the statement that Santa Anna's "overthrow of the nominal republic [of Mexico] and the substitution of centralized oligarchy precipitated the revolution . . ." (p. 146).

According to Professor Barker, however, none of these causes was fundamental. "Always in the background was the fatal fact that the Mexicans feared and distrusted the Anglo-American settlers, while the settlers half despised the Mexicans. A permanent atmosphere of suspicion magnified and distorted mutual annoyances which might otherwise have been ignored or adjusted. The apparent determination of the United States to obtain Texas heightened Mexican apprehensions. . . . At bottom the Texas revolution was the product of racial and political inheritances of the two peoples" (p. 146).

Although the volume is confined to the limited field of the relations of Texas and Mexico from 1821 to 1835, Professor Barker does not fail to indicate in his preface the broader implications of his conclusions. "The causes of the Texas revolution", he says, "are more than a study in local history. Misapprehension concerning them and of the consequences to which the revolution led lies at the bottom of much of the suspicion and

distrust which have animated Latin American relations with the United States for nearly a hundred years." According to an interpretation worked out largely by the anti-slavery group in the United States but accepted by Mexico and many writers in Latin America, the Texas revolution was the result of an unholy conspiracy between the Washington government and its frontiersmen, designed to acquire Texas, and the Mexican War which followed was the "last wretched expedient of a ruthless imperialist to wrest California and more slave territory from the abused and helpless Mexicans". Both crimes were closely connected and the first was the entering wedge for the accomplishment of the second. Barker contends, however, that "the Anglo-American settlement of Texas, begun in 1821, was a phase of the westward movement which had already carried the frontier line from Atlantic tide-water across the Mississippi and was soon to carry it to the Pacific". The reviewer knows of no reason for refusal to accept this conclusion, but he regrets that Professor Barker failed in the body of his study to point out all the reasons for believing that there was no connection between the government of the United States and the migration to and subsequent revolt in Texas. It appears, too, that the Louisiana and Florida background are not sufficiently emphasized, for the connection of Madison with the Florida insurgent movement furnished an important basis for Mexican suspicions regarding Texas.

Lastly, it may be important to note that Professor Barker, in insisting upon the influence of racial and political inheritances, perhaps goes a little too far (pp. 2-3) and assumes as a demonstrated fact the inheritance by each succeeding generation of the acquired characteristics of its parents.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina. By JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 305.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928. Pp. 350. \$6.00.)

THE growing tendency of present-day scholars to discuss and interpret historical movements in terms of underlying economic factors and social forces is well exemplified in this study of South Carolina during the antebellum period. The tariff and its relation to the nullification controversy, as set forth in previous works of long recognized authority, represent only one of many elements that contributed to South Carolina's dissatisfaction with the general government, and throughout the present account of her gradual alienation from the Union, constitutional principles and political motives are treated (if at all) as of minor influence.

It would be difficult to say which group of the author's primary sources of information is most important. While the manuscript collections reveal the opinions of a number of political leaders, such as James H. Hammond, the wealth of pamphlet material, made accessible to the

author, presents in high relief the controversial character of those questions as argued by men, prominent and obscure. A vast amount of information has been gleaned from contemporary newspapers and leading periodicals which reflect the diversity of ideas in various sections of the state. From federal documents is derived a better understanding of South Carolina's case against the Union; but state documents seem strangely to have been overlooked, although they generally contain valuable raw material for the economic historian. And, while official documents, such as the governors' messages, are frequently quoted from the newspapers, one would prefer citations from the originals.

This study is concerned primarily with contemporary opinion as a determining factor in the state's movement towards secession. The author builds up a framework composed of the several economic issues vital to South Carolina's development and then elaborates upon them, voicing in detail the arguments held by conflicting groups, pointing out fallacies in their reasoning, and stating his own conclusions briefly. Topical arrangement of material has been skilfully used, giving unity to such related, though diverse, subjects as internal improvements, direct trade with Europe, development of manufacturing, etc., while in each case the discussion leads to the inevitable conclusion that "South Carolina would never be economically independent while she remained in the Union" (p. 330).

In the first two chapters the tariff question is treated: a careful analysis of the reasons for disunion sentiment during the controversy leading up to nullification, followed by the "fight for free trade" after the compromise act of 1833. That South Carolina felt a real grievance in the effect of the tariff upon her prosperity, is forcefully expressed by contemporary leaders, bearing out the author's view that the disaffection in the state "was of a gradual though steady growth" (p. 22). It is clearly shown that the later tariff acts failed to alleviate to any marked degree the real and alleged wrongs suffered from the protective policy; to South Carolinians, at least, the tariff remained an unsettled question. Unionist sentiment, significant throughout the period, the author regards as a negative element which preferred to endure existing evils rather than suffer the disturbance of radical action. But did this sentiment vary to any extent in different parts of the state? If South Carolina was substantially a unit in her fundamental economic interests, in contrast to the marked sectional division existing in the other Southern states, this point would seem worthy of considerable emphasis.

In "calculating the value of the Union" (ch. III.), by comparing federal appropriations, North and South, South Carolina arrived at the conclusion that they "were unequally distributed in every department" (p. 144), and the author's careful comparisons (supplemented by tables in the appendix) prove that she had considerable ground for dissatisfaction. Her objection to the national policy on internal improvements is stressed, its relation to the tariff, and the state's complaints, based upon unconsti-

tutionality as well as upon extravagance and partiality. Apparently one is to conclude that she sacrificed some possible economic gain upon the altar of constitutional principle.

The chapter setting forth South Carolina's opposition to the national bank and the independent treasury (ch. IV.) contains little new material, but serves to emphasize the control of capital and credit by the North as a continual source of irritation. Similarly, chapter VI. on railroad development retells in considerable detail the growth of transportation and its relation to the state's other economic problems. This chapter is really a sequel to the preceding one on direct trade with Europe, the most interesting in the book. Here the author, reinforced by the background of his earlier research on the Southern commercial conventions, is particularly well equipped to present and evaluate the issues. Economic motives are discussed in their broader aspects, with reference to sectional as well as local interests, together with an analysis of the arguments in favor of direct trade and the author's reasons why that trade failed to materialize.

The attempts to establish manufacturing in South Carolina and to revive the slave trade constitute the subject-matter of the last two chapters. The problems which the author finds involved in cotton manufacturing in an agricultural region, are substantiated by recent research in other phases of Southern industry before the Civil War, especially in the manufacture of iron. His own account of this latter activity in South Carolina would have been strengthened by using the reports of the state geological survey. He concludes that, among other factors, "the failure of southern manufacturing establishments was chiefly caused by lack of patronage" (p. 301). Agitation for the revival of the slave trade affords a fitting close to this study, since this basis for disunion was especially stressed in the years just preceding secession; indeed, it is held that "the demand for the slave trade was the last straw" (p. 327).

In the case of each economic factor considered, the author finds the leaders of South Carolina reaching the same conclusion; that disunion is to be preferred to economic dependence. The institution of slavery, in its relation to these economic forces, is perhaps taken for granted with too little comment. But the arrangement of the material as a whole and the logical progression from chapter to chapter give added emphasis to the thesis, and the narrative is very readable. It is hoped that studies of equal calibre will be made of other Southern states.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858. By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xxviii, 607; x, 740. \$12.50.)

"THE moment you say arrangement", said Charles A. Beard, across a table, "you say interpretation." The remark was addressed to Senator Beveridge who had been arguing that "all the facts properly arranged"

dispensed with interpretation. To discuss a book except in the light of its intent is futile. Take him or leave him as you will, but don't try to evaluate Mr. Beveridge as a biographer on any scale but his own. It is most interesting to contrast his method with its antithesis, which is just now in everybody's eye more boldly than ever before. As to the historicity of *Elisabeth and Essex*, the reviewer knows nothing; but as to its mode of biography, its audacity of condensation, its glorious economy, who can have two opinions? But this does not prevent admiration for something so different that the reader of both takes refuge in one glory of the sun, another of the moon, etc. And each method illuminates and helps us to evaluate the other.

The aim of the Beveridge *Lincoln* is to make real to the reader all the various trains of events in which, sooner or later, Lincoln became entangled, and to get at the man through the way he reflected the event. It is not exactly biography by reaction but it is similar to that. Of course, such a purpose involves many perplexing questions of subject-matter. How far afield should one go in tracing out these encompassing events? For example, is biography lost altogether and is pure history given the field in Mr. Beveridge's extensive review of the Kansas episode? Some of us will feel that at times he lets his theory of presentation get away with him.

But there is a mental reservation. His industry was enormous and he had the sense of the trained lawyer in presenting a case. Though his Kansas episode seems to the reviewer pretty much "straight history", it is so well done in both the respects indicated that I am unable to regret it. At times, however, there is more reason to demur. Is a series of sketches of the bench in the Dred Scott Case really worth while? Answer the question as one may, the reality of his industry is amazing. With all sorts of trained assistance at his command, he made the minimum use of it. He was a fanatic in his objection to vicarious investigation. In a case where there was nothing to be said against such aid he stuck to his guns and himself wearily deciphered the early records of the Illinois legislature which never before had been thoroughly searched.

In the main he kept to his purpose not to interpret. That is to say, he came as near doing it as is humanly possible. To do it completely, as Professor Beard intimated, is impossible except in chaos. Objective history is a myth. The Beveridge *Lincoln* is after all a portrait not a set of gymnasium measurements. The animating principle of the author's design—whether he acknowledged it or not, does not matter—is in the passing comment: "never the apostle of a cause, he was to become the perfect interpreter of public thought and feeling and so the instrument of events." Whether this is certainly the clue to the eventual Lincoln that posterity will finally accept is not at the moment in point. It is the Beveridge thesis.

These two bulky volumes reach only to 1858. They take cognizance of all the disputed points and their documentation is minutely elaborate.

As bibliography the foot-notes are of first value. For the most part, the new matter which has been assembled does not produce any revolutionary changes in the lineaments of the traditional Lincoln as retouched in late years. Rather, they triumphantly vindicate certain impressions which, though relatively new, are even now widely accepted. Lincoln's thorough-going instinct for politics is an instance. Another is his calm lack of passionate conviction. A third is the recent recognition of the Peoria speech as his central turning point. If there be dimly perceptible between the lines an unfamiliar conception in the author's mind, it is not put into words. I think I see the shadow of it, but the theory of the book's technique has here stood firm, and one is left speculating. In at least one instance the theory is frankly abandoned. Mr. Beveridge holds that the young Lincoln had in him a caustic vein which frequently broke out into sharp sarcasm; that it came near to insolence in the Shields affair, and that the somewhat discreditable result cured Lincoln of an objectionable habit. The author's sympathy is pretty plainly with Shields.

It is a relief to find that he has no interest in the roseate vapors which the sentimentalists are just now blowing this way and that, weaving a rhetorical iridescence about the figures of all the Lincolns. There is none of the eager gossip upon the origin of Nancy Hanks that runs riot in some popular books. A long note confuses, or ought to confuse, the gullible heroinizers by setting side by side the conflicting descriptions of her by contemporaries. Sentimentality gets no quarter in any connection. The famous story that the sermon over Nancy's grave was brought about by a letter of her little son Abraham to a circuit rider, is tossed aside by pointing out that Abraham at that age could not write. The still more famous story, told "thirty years later at a political convention" by John Hanks, about Lincoln's anger in the New Orleans slave market, is plainly disbelieved by the author but he does not quite say so. Is not this a case that exposes the weakness of the theory of no interpretation in biography? All the evidence which is here amassed is out of key with the New Orleans story. Should not the author have ignored it—or, at most, dismissed it in a foot-note? There are one or two other places where the evidence is not authoritative and where by evading interpretation the text for a moment appears weak. The furiously debated question of what really took place in connection with "the fatal first of January", 1841, when Lincoln's engagement to Mary Todd was broken, is treated almost craftily: a bare summary of the known facts, no opinion by the author, but a skilful placing of certain bits of evidence so as to produce the effect of an assertion. It should be understood that the reader is always given an exact documentation for all evidence. Candid the book always is. But that very candor raises a question. Does it throw too much responsibility upon the reader? For example, look at page 355, volume I. There is no intrusion of the author in that succinct review of Lincoln's attitude toward his marriage. But all the quotations from contemporaries are in a sustained vein. One of them is a remark

made by Lincoln to a boy, who long afterward repeated it to a man, who told it to Mr. Beveridge, June 15, 1924. In this case is not arrangement the same thing as interpretation?

Of the large historical issues involved in this complicated narrative two arrest attention. Mr. Beveridge had been genuinely shocked by his study of abolitionist literature. His reaction from a traditional glorification of the abolition movement was extreme. In conversation he spoke with disdain of the "lies" upon which the North and the West had been brought up. His first chapter, volume II., is an indictment of the abolitionist propaganda carried out altogether on his own plan of letting the facts speak for themselves.

His treatment of the Compromise of 1850 is the one important matter upon which the reviewer feels constrained to dissent. It is a careful following of the controversy through the *Congressional Globe* reinforced by some but not a great deal of newspaper quotation. The mode of using newspapers is the prevalent one brought into vogue by Professor McMaster—treating their contents as a cloud of straws indicating the currents of the air. But what many of us want to know is not the fact of the currents—that is so easy to establish—but their strength and their significance. This is the difficult matter. Obviously, the episode of the Compromise, if it is not to be regarded as a mere interlude in this story, has its significance as the beginning of the reactions that developed steadily into secession and war. All historians have recognized the Northern reaction, the agitation for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and Mr. Beveridge follows the accepted tradition, contributing an illuminating chapter on this topic. But he also follows tradition in his scant attention to the Southern reaction. Few historians have taken seriously the secession movement of 1851; very few have done justice to the precise nature of the force which defeated that movement. Mr. Beveridge falls into the old error of making no distinction between "Unionism" North and South. Therefore, probably, he fails to see how pregnant with new danger were the forces that checked secession in 1851, how deeply opportunistic they were. What the North missed at the time, what Lincoln probably never understood—certainly not until after he became President—was the fact that what the South was most concerned about, in the 'fifties, was not slavery *per se*, but that vague sense of independence which we have learned to call self-determination. This is essential to Lincoln's story because in 1860 it was the clue to Southern action. And Lincoln was unaware of its existence. The failure to lay the foundation of Lincoln's misapprehension, while treating of 1850, is Mr. Beveridge's one serious fault.

Taken altogether, making every allowance for peculiarities of method, and for occasional omissions the book remains an invaluable contribution.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy. Edited by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Professor of History in George Washington University. Volume VII.; *William H. Seward*, by HENRY W. TEMPLE; *Elihu B. Washburne* and *Hamilton Fish*, by JOSEPH V. FULLER; *William M. Evarts*, by CLAUDE G. BOWERS and HELEN D. REID; and *James G. Blaine*, by JOSEPH B. LOCKEY; volume VIII.: *Frederick T. Frelinghuysen*, by PHILIP M. BROWN; *Thomas F. Bayard*, by LESTER B. SHIPPEE; *James G. Blaine* (second part), by JOSEPH B. LOCKEY; *John W. Foster*, by WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR.; *Walter Q. Gresham*, and *Richard Olney*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. x, 340; x, 367. \$4.00 each.)

VOLUME VII. treats of five secretaries of state, whose service covered twenty-one years; volume VIII. of six, who served sixteen years. In relation to each other, and to the previous volumes of the series, it would seem that the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the theme of volume VII., is scantied.

The period as a whole is a difficult one, as almost every change in secretary meant a change in policy. Most secretaries encountered some outstanding problem, and centred their interest in it. Nevertheless, many minor threads ran along continuously from administration to administration. Editorial control has succeeded in bringing some order out of this chaos, by arranging for the concentrated treatment of some such subjects as Samoa, rather than allowing piece-meal reference in each secretariat. Proper credit has been given to A. A. Adee for his labor in keeping some such order in our diplomacy, but one could wish that similar recognition had been accorded William Hunter. One regrets, too, that a better standard of expression has not been maintained. An historical text should at least be clear, but the reviewer was from time to time left in honest doubt as to what meaning was intended.

The best of the sketches is that of Hamilton Fish, by J. V. Fuller. This goes far towards making up for the strange and unfortunate lack of a biography of this quiet and capable statesman. It deals ably and convincingly with the complex situation during Grant's administration, which is generally presented with the distorting color of partizanship. One could wish for a more definite treatment of Mr. Fish's general ideas on American foreign policy, particularly in connection with expansion. In the bibliography one misses some familiar titles, but the article, as are all the others, is independently based on the primary evidence.

Mr. Temple's W. H. Seward is admirable from the political point of view. It falls short, however, of the object of the series. The break in personnel and in policy which followed the triumph of the Republican party, as in connection with the slave trade and our relations with the negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo, deserves consideration. The account of the purchase of Alaska is inadequate and antiquated. A word

should have been accorded the Russian researches of Dr. Golder. In short the account is readable and a contribution, but it does not serve well the purpose for which it is designed.

Mr. Bowers and Miss Reid do very well by W. M. Evarts. Proper emphasis is laid upon his activity in handling the legal business of the department. His important declarations on canal policy and his peculiar treaty with Samoa, however, are dealt with too briefly. Mr. Lockey's two sketches of J. G. Blaine are sound and clear. Considering, however, the important results of Blaine's drastic and radical action it would seem that Mr. Lockey should have been given more space. One consequence of this cramping is that Mr. Blaine seems singularly absent. It was, perhaps, proper to give a greater proportionate attention to those secretaries not familiar and for knowledge of whom one will naturally turn to this series, but Blaine's diplomacy was so clearly connected with his position in the nation, and particularly with his continuous and powerful influence with the Senate, that one seems here to be dealing with a shadow. In particular the antecedents of Blaine's American policy and his attitude toward Samoa need more intensive discussion. This is perhaps the most striking illustration of what one feels generally, and probably inevitably, in these later sketches as compared with those of earlier volumes, a sense of formality and unreality.

Mr. Brown's F. T. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Shippee's T. F. Bayard, Mr. Castle's J. W. Foster, and Mr. Schuyler's Richard Olney, combine to make a valuable and interesting volume. All are well suited to their purpose, and present clearly basic facts; all give the best extant accounts of their respective subjects. Separately they all present able and conscientious Americans, combined they unfold a sorry tale of American diplomacy. The carefully chosen adjectives which close the volume with Richard Olney may indicate the only serious criticism that might be made of all. Olney "will stand for a long time as one of the most vigorous, resolute and independent men who have ever held" the office. Will he not stand for several other things less commendable?

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865. By FRED ALBERT SHANNON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Kansas State Agricultural College. Two volumes. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 323, 348. \$25.00.)

THESE two volumes tell of the feeding, clothing, and munitioning of the Federal armies; the discipline and daily life of the soldiers; and the methods by which the armies were raised. Dry subjects, that could easily be made dull reading, but Dr. Shannon has written with such spirit that the interest never flags. He has gathered a mass of valuable information which, on the whole, he treats with discrimination; but he lays on the darker colors of the picture with so heavy a hand that the result is unduly sombre.

It is not surprising that the government, totally inexperienced in the conduct of a great war, should have, at the first, made serious mistakes; and that corruption, profiteering, and inefficiency were widespread. The wonder is that the chaos should have been reduced so quickly to comparative order.

The tone of the book is set in the opening chapter on the State Rights Principle Applied to the Army: "The abolitionist would fight to free the slaves, the Kentuckian to save the Union so that slavery might be preserved. The capitalist would fight, by proxy, to preserve the southern market and to exclude therefrom the competition of foreign states. The frontier states would fight to keep the far West negroless and open for their settlement. The older settlements west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio would fight, when at all, for sentiment or for various of the other mentioned motives. The wage victims of the industrial revolution would fight, if at all, by compulsion or for pay. . . . One bloc of states represented one interest, another represented another. Each was careful to see that its rights were not impaired either by neighbors or by national encroachment.

How, then, should the armies be recruited, trained, and mobilized, and the war conducted? If by the nation, then one section might predominate over another and subvert the other's men and money to its own interests. State interest, therefore, dictated that the troops should be raised and managed, and that the war policies should be controlled, as far as possible, by the individual states."

In the chapter on the feeding and clothing of the volunteers stress is laid on the "shoddy uniforms", "sleazy and rotten blankets" and "rusty and putrid pork" with which the troops were supplied. But, as a matter of fact, these abuses were materially checked soon after the advent of Meigs as quartermaster-general in June, 1861.

The chapter on the evolution of discipline leaves much to be desired. Many instances are cited to illustrate the ineptness of the volunteers and, in particular, of their officers. These, however, relate almost entirely to the opening months of the war; though this is not made clear to the reader who, unless he is careful, will reach the conclusion that in the opinion of the author the armies that marched with Sherman to the sea and fought with Grant in the Wilderness were little better than "armed mobs and not very well armed at that".

Nor should the author's comments as to regular and volunteer officers pass unchallenged. They are based, apparently, upon an article that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in June, 1864, by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Colonel Higginson's experience was limited to service in two quiet sectors, on the coast of North Carolina for a few months and on the sea islands of South Carolina in command of a colored regiment for the rest of the time. He was hardly, therefore, in a position to write from personal knowledge of the relative merits of the two classes of officers in the fighting armies. But Dr. Shannon has practically adopted

Colonel Higginson's conclusions as his own, for the *Atlantic Monthly* article is paraphrased or given by direct quotation throughout the chapter. Nor is any reference made to the able discussion of this subject by General Jacob D. Cox in his *Memoirs*. One could hardly ask for a more experienced authority; yet his book is not named in the bibliography given of works consulted.

Dr. Shannon's own opinion is that "either West Point training or long experience in the army were imperative as a part of the equipment of a first-class officer". "All the general officers and their aides and at least the colonels for each regiment [of volunteers should have been appointed] from the more than eleven hundred commissioned officers in the regular army. Of the more than fifteen thousand privates and non-commissioned officers remaining a large majority would have proved valuable as captains, lieutenants and sergeants."

But there were types of regular officers wholly unfitted to command American volunteers; not alone the wooden conservatives of the ordnance bureau, as described by the author, who refused to supply efficient breech-loading rifles until near the close of the war; nor the still more numerous type, efficient and courageous, who through lack of understanding failed with citizen soldiers. And when one considers the ne'er-do-well illiterate immigrants that filled the ranks of the old army, we can only wonder at what would have happened had a "large majority" of them been placed in immediate command of American volunteers. The officers and enlisted men could have been utilized as the Confederates utilized their trained soldiers, to organize and drill recruits, and, if selected for appointment, to command them. But to have forced them arbitrarily upon the volunteers would have been disastrous. That the United States Regular Army was kept intact, was due, not as Dr. Shannon seems to imply, to the War Department, but to the Regulars themselves and, in particular, to General Scott.

The chapters covering the collapse of state recruiting and the operation of the Enrollment Act are of special interest; but here, as elsewhere, the author over-emphasizes the disagreeable. Perhaps he feels that our complacency should be punctured, but if we are to understand properly what actually happened and why it happened, both sides should be given in equal degree. His failure in this respect is the most serious defect of the book.

The Confederate Privateers. By WILLIAM MORRISON ROBINSON, JR.
(New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 372.
\$4.00.)

So far as the present reviewer knows, there has never been a volume dealing adequately with the privateers which operated during the Civil War under the sanction of the Confederate government until the appearance of this very admirable one for which there has always been a crying need; for, as the author rightly points out, the subject has been sadly

neglected, even by the best naval authorities. Such otherwise excellent works as *The Abolition of Privateering and the Declaration of Paris*, by Francis R. Stark (1897), and *La Guerre de Course*, by Charles LaMache (1901), hardly mention it, Stark merely noting incidentally President Davis's invitation to apply for letters of marque; and LaMache, while devoting several pages to the Confederate commerce-destroyers, omitting specific reference to privately armed vessels. Edgar Stanton Maclay's *History of American Privateers* (1899) contains "two scant and inaccurate pages on the privateers of the Confederacy and makes no mention of the privately armed vessels of the Republic of Texas in the years 1834 and 1835". John Thomas Scharf, in his *History of the Confederate States Navy*, (1887) which still remains the sole work on Confederate sea power as a whole, gives but a single chapter to the privateers, and this contains serious errors, which Mr. Robinson is at some pains to point out. This neglect on the part of even the best writers comes, of course, chiefly from a lack of authoritative data, for, while those concerning the Union forces became available a few years ago, on the completion, so far as the North is concerned, of the monumental *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, the records of the Confederate vessels have just been finished and published. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Confederate President himself, in his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), makes but scanty and in some instances erroneous references to Southern privateers. Perhaps less excusable were the authors of *Sea Power in American History*, which was published as late as 1920, in devoting but a single paragraph to the Confederate privateers, and making the statement that these vessels "all were sailing-craft", although five of them were steamers.

Mr. Robinson modestly disclaims any intent to be "adversely critical", wishing merely to show "that there is no real bibliography on those last privateers in the world's history. One must be referred to the newspapers of the 'sixties, the *Official Records*, and the unpublished archives of the Navy Department. The writer has made prolonged researches at these sources. Doubtless from time to time, old diaries, correspondence, and even log books may be found in the possession of descendants of Confederate privateersmen, which will supplement, perhaps even revise, some of the tales told in this volume, and very likely add new ones."

The style of Mr. Robinson's narrative is far from formal, in fact almost jocular at times, but from an historical viewpoint it does not appear to suffer on this account, and the prime quality of a chronicler is always present, of giving "chapter and verse" as proof of every statement made.

Always possessed of a good deal of the romantic, privateering has ever been stigmatized by enemy merchants as nothing but piracy under another name, and legal hairsplitting arose during the course of every war, especially when a foreigner engaged in privateering under a flag not his own. In the Civil War President Jefferson Davis, on April 17, 1861,

issued a proclamation inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal. Two days later, on the nineteenth, President Lincoln issued a counter-proclamation, declaring that if "any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy". The bitterness engendered by this phase of the war was greatly increased by the enlarged scope given the privately armed vessels by the Confederate government, a bounty being offered for the destruction of enemy war vessels, the traditional policy, that the merchantman is the natural quarry of the privateer, at least in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, being thus departed from, in a way to arouse resentment in the United States and to cause international episodes of a serious nature. As a matter of fact, the Confederate government overreached itself in this, for the neutral governments in the event not only refused entry to the prize vessels, but commanded their citizens to refrain, conformably to the spirit of the Declaration of Paris, from fitting out privateers under the flag of either belligerent.

The story of the Confederate privateers is one of adventure and enterprise. How much effect their operations, which took place in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, actually had on the development and result of the war is problematical. As Mr. Robinson says, the day of privateers had already passed in 1861, and, in spite of individual successes, they accomplished comparatively little. Their futility was seen by the Southern leaders very soon, and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioner at Paris, wrote his Department of State as early as February 11, 1862: "It is quite evident that privateering is an arm which can no longer be used to advantage. The chief, I may say the only, object of the owners, officers, and crews of privateers is prize money. So long as our own coast is blockaded, and our prizes are not admitted into any neutral port, there can be no inducement to fit out private armed vessels. Why not, then, abandon a system which experience has demonstrated to be an absolute failure, and which, while innocuous to our foes, is the subject of bitter commentary by our enemies, and warmly deprecated by our friends in Europe?"

On the whole, it is not too much to say that this volume by Mr. Robinson takes its place among the indispensable works on the Civil War.

EDWARD BRECK.

The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881. By CARL COKE RISTER, Ph.D., Professor of History, Simmons University. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 336. \$6.00.)

As used in this book, the term "Southwestern Frontier" connotes, roughly, southwestern Kansas, the old Indian Territory, central and western Texas, and New Mexico east of the Rio Grande. More strictly speaking, however, it is the Texas frontier, the Indian wilderness stretch-

ing westward from a line connecting Dallas and Austin in that state. The theme of the work is the evolution of this vast area from a state of barbarism, through the buffalo-hunting and cattle-ranching stages, to the coming of the permanent settler. A brief consideration of the various Indian tribes living in the region is followed by a detailed account of the occupation of it by federal troops and the establishment of the numerous military posts there prior to the Civil War. Brief mention is also made of Butterfield's Overland Stage as a civilizing agency in this earlier period.

During the war the Confederate flag largely displaced the Federal colors throughout this area, and the turbulence and devastation of the war years actually brought about a recession rather than an advance of the frontier. With the conclusion of hostilities the federal government was confronted by a two-fold task. The army posts must be restored and reoccupied in order to repel Indian forays; at the same time, steps must be taken to remove the red man from large portions of the region and to confine him to certain restricted areas.

The reoccupation of the posts was effected with despatch, and the military arm of the government was ready to function. While the civil authority, working through the Indian Commission, began negotiations with various Southwestern tribes as early as 1867, with a view to the withdrawal of the natives from the region, and the construction of railways through their country, the time had not yet arrived for the Indian to relinquish peaceably his hold upon his ancient hunting grounds.

A decade of gradual advance by the more daring settlers, of stubborn resistance by the native, of lawless and fraudulent trading with the Indian, of cattle thieving, Indian depredations upon white settlements, and punitive expeditions by the military, must supervene before the prairie could be cleared of the savages and the way paved for the rush of population into the Southwest. A "defensive policy" by the army was forced to yield to one of aggression, and there followed a series of bloody campaigns in the panhandle and on the Rio Grande frontier before the Indians were finally rounded up on the reservations in 1879-1880.

Following the rather dreary story of Indian wars, Professor Rister gives us four very interesting chapters portraying the transition to a state of settled society. Buffalo hunting as a factor in Southwestern development is well handled and the cattle industry as a stage in frontier evolution is also dealt with in an interesting manner. A chapter on the Building of Railways treats very briefly the relation of the railway to the passing of the frontier. Finally, under the caption, Problems of Frontier Life, the author covers the whole gamut of subjects, from frontier lawlessness and debauchery to religious and educational developments.

Professor Rister has made extensive use of sources which hitherto have received little attention. These are found in the Old Records Sec-

tion, Adjutant-General's Office, War Department, Washington. They are in both manuscript and printed form, and give detailed data regarding not only the activities of the military forces in the Southwest, but also social conditions throughout the region. Much use has also been made of House and Senate documents of the federal government and of the public documents of the state of Texas.

The format of the volume is attractive and a rather complete index adds to the usefulness of the book. Beyond doubt, Professor Rister has given us our most satisfactory unified account of the Southwestern frontier during the period in question. The most original, but least interesting, portion of the book is the description of the military advance and the subsequent Indian campaigns. The reviewer is strongly of the opinion that the value of the work would have been enhanced had some details of the early period been sacrificed in the interest of a more complete account of the actual passing of the frontier. The opportunity for original contribution to the history of the cattle industry of the Southwest as a factor in frontier development is largely neglected. Nor is adequate attention given to the part of the railway in the permanent settlement of the country. The reader is left with a desire to know more about the process of settlement, who the settlers were, where they came from, and the various agencies for the promotion of settlement.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

American Policy Toward Russia since 1917. By FREDERICK LEWIS SCHUMAN, Ph.D. (New York: International Publishers. 1928. Pp. 399. \$3.75.)

THIS book is a somewhat detailed study of the history of American policy toward Soviet Russia since 1917, based in the main on printed sources available in English. The manuscript materials to be found at the Department of State have not provided much for the author and it is rather doubtful whether they would in any case afford fresh information of importance. An introductory chapter on the historical tradition of Russian-American friendship leads at once to the revolution of 1917. By chapter XI. we have reached the year 1928 in orderly historical sequence. There follow four chapters in which the author discusses the policy of recognition, the propaganda of world revolution, repudiation of debts, and confiscation of property. He then attempts to summarize the general situation. Appendixes of documents (previously published), reference notes by numbered chapter headings (but without titles), a bibliography of books printed in English, together with three rough sketch-maps, and a fair index complete the equipment of the book. The historical portions of the volume are well done though one or two minor errors can be pointed out. In the more controversial and later sections the author undoubtedly tries to be impartial, but on the whole criticizes American policy and favors prompt recognition of Soviet authority, though he agrees that such a step is unlikely in the near future.

There is at times a certain looseness of phraseology that a more careful reading of the manuscript would have prevented. Thus Armenia, Syria, and Palestine are referred to as having been German territories prior to the peace (p. 38). Speaking of the Czechoslovak forces in Russia the author states (p. 94) that "all plans of going to France were abandoned" in the end of June, 1918, though (p. 96) he quotes Czech officials as saying on July 3 and 4 that they wished to proceed to France and to assist the Allies on the western front. The statement about the confusion regarding the invitation to the United States in May, 1922, to send representatives to the meeting at the Hague to discuss Russian affairs is itself confusing (p. 221). As a matter of fact there were two invitations—one, to attend a committee on Russia (from France) and, two, to attend the Hague conference. The second invitation was declined and nothing came of the first proposal (*cf. The International Interpreter*, June 10, 1922). When (p. 311) the author mentions the United States as having assisted Denikin, Yudenitch, and Wrangel there is of course an error of fact. The author seems to swallow the Raymond Robbins story (p. 76) of a sincere Russian appeal in 1918 to prevent the acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. He ignores the fact that Lenin had on January 8 given to a meeting of Bolshevik leaders his defense of the proposed treaty. These theses were later published in the *Izvestia* of March 8. He likewise omits all reference to Zinoviev's public boast that at this time, "We slapped the President of the United States in the face". Indeed the omission of many of the more bellicose Russian denunciations of American policy might lead the average reader to suppose that mistakes in diplomacy had been chiefly by the United States. He concludes (p. 315) that "the wisdom and propriety of the American position as judged both by legal and by political considerations seem open to serious question". This may very well be true, for the matters at issue between the United States and Russia could possibly be adjusted on paper without much difficulty. What the author does not emphasize is that in reality American policy is chiefly controlled by opportunism and self-interest. When it is to the advantage of the United States to recognize Russia she will undoubtedly do so. So far it has not been, for a variety of reasons.

As a whole the book is loosely written, making use of such barbarous terms as "motivated", yet it is a good historical survey which should be useful if read with a careful eye.

A. L. P. D.

Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1928. By CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations. Research Associate in Government in Yale University. [Publications of the Council on Foreign Relations.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 610. \$5.00.)

THIS book is the first of a series of volumes on the foreign relations of the United States, to be published by the Council of Foreign Relations.

The plan is to choose subjects each year "in which a culmination of some sort has thrown the question involved into high light, or those which have come to a stage of temporary unrest and so allow of deliberate examination" (p. vii). The field to be covered is not to be limited strictly to political matters but will extend to "those of an economic character which may have a political outlook, domestic or international" (p. vii). The historical background of each topic is also to be given. Each volume is to bear the date of the year of its publication. The present volume carries the topics roughly to January 1, 1928, and does not treat of events in 1928, as one might infer from the title. The book is a coöperative one; beside the work of Mr. Howland, certain chapters and sections were written by Arthur Bullard, H. B. Elliston, and Quincy Wright. Before publication the volume was submitted for criticism to a group of specialists, whose names appear in the preface.

Planned and sponsored in this manner the new series makes an auspicious start in the volume under review. The book is composed of five sections, each of which is divided into chapters which treat of various phases of the topic under discussion. In section I., on American Foreign Policy, the factors and forces underlying it are first related, followed by a summary of the traditions of our policy and the development of domestic control of foreign affairs. Section II., on the United States as an Economic Power, opens with a survey of American commercial expansion and the change of outlook caused by the fact that the United States has become a creditor nation. This leads naturally to a treatment of the State Department's supervision of foreign loans. The final chapter in the section deals with the international implications of gold distribution and the problem of the United States in its attempts to control the relation between gold and credit. Section III., on the United States and the League of Nations, gives an historical background for the League and then traces the relations of the United States to the League, showing how, from a policy of communicating with the League only indirectly through a third party, our government has gradually arrived at an open and official participation in questions taken up by the League for solution. Section IV., on Financial Relations of the United States Government after the World War, deals with reparations and debts, questions greatly complicated by the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations. Again a policy of aloofness has been changed to a policy of coöperation. A basic difference of opinion between European governments and the United States arose from the American standpoint that debts and reparations were distinct and separate affairs, a distinction extremely difficult to maintain. Section V. relates to the Limitation of Armament. After describing the success of the Washington Conference in 1921, it traces the further attempts at limiting armaments and goes rather deeply into the basic reasons for the failure of these later conferences. It is contended that the meaning of "equality" will have to be cleared up before there can be an agreement on naval policy between Great Britain and the United

States. Underlying this is the real issue of what has been called "the freedom of the seas". This question is treated historically and the volume closes with suggestions for an Anglo-American naval understanding.

The book is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature on our foreign relations. It provides an excellent survey of a number of the most disputed points of policy which are facing the United States—questions which must be more generally comprehended if they are to be settled permanently and justly. It is but natural that in this field there should be differences of opinion and the volume under discussion bristles with potential controversies, but on the whole it has succeeded in its avowed purpose of presenting "an unbiased statement of facts and a fair interpretation of policy" (p. viii). Because of its topical arrangement of the subject-matter and its coöperative treatment, there is a lack of unity in the narrative which is somewhat disconcerting to the reader. One criticism of editorship may be made. Direct quotations are frequently made for which no page citations are given, for example on pages 31, 34, 35, 43, 45, 67, 70, 87—to mention only a few such omissions. This is a matter which ought to be corrected in later volumes.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

Province and Court Records of Maine. Volume I., 1636-1668.

Edited by CHARLES THORNTON LIBBY. (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1928. Pp. lx, 352. \$10.00.)

ONCE again, as so often before, the Maine Historical Society, soon to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of its birth, has placed the historian in its debt by issuing a new collection of colonial records relating to the history of the state. The volume before us contains the still extant unprinted records of the province of Maine, covering the years 1636 to 1652 and 1661 to 1668, while the colony was under the governmental control of the Gorges family and the commissioners of Charles II. When means afford the society proposes to add two more volumes carrying the subject to 1689. The present instalment comprises the Gorges charter of 1639, sundry commissions and instructions issued during these years, the proceedings of various courts (which constitute the bulk of the volume), and a few wills and inventories of a particularly interesting character.

All these documents are of value, partly, as showing the way the government was organized during these early years in the frontier towns and villages between the Piscataqua and the Penobscot, and, partly, as throwing a flood of light upon the activities of the settlers and the conditions under which they lived. One understands better what Winthrop meant when he spoke of Agamenticus (Georgeana or York) as a poor village and its mayor a tailor, and though the contentious minister to whom he refers finds no mention in these pages, a successor, one Burdett, does find place and fairly emulates Lyford of the Plymouth colony in scandalous conduct. Because of the interest that these documents have for men and women and manners we can but regret that the editor, Mr.

Libby, who has executed his editorial function with meticulous care, should have devoted so large a part of his introduction to tilting at the windmills of legal phraseology in the charter—which he interprets at its face value—and have made so much of the clearly supposititious “hankering after the fleshpots of villeinage” by Gorges and others of his kind; for Mr. Libby is quite wrong in what he considers “the essence of villeinage”. What Gorges wanted, as well as what other seignorial leaders of that time and for a century afterwards wanted, was tenants not villeins, and there is a wide difference between a tenant “who was not to depart from the place where he is once planted” and one with the status of a villein. Mr. Libby’s phrases are often labored and extravagant and his adjectives are not always well chosen; while his facetiousness, his occasional sour humor, and his manifest dislike of class distinctions, his antipathy toward Gorges, Maverick, the Stuarts, and feudal institutions generally, and his hostility for Massachusetts (pp. lvi, 82) do not arouse confidence in his opinions.

A preliminary essay on the social, religious, and governmental conditions in Maine during these years would have been very welcome. The settlers, from whose point of view Mr. Libby says he has written, were not above abusing their own government, and their loose moral standards appear frequently in these pages. The courts, some of them at least, exercised both judicial and legislative functions, and are called at times “General Courts”. A “General Assembly” is mentioned later. There were town-meetings, with selectmen, grand inquests with their presentments, trial by jury, and “Crownor’s Quests”. Religious intentions were unusually good, and on page 136, October 16, 1649, is given an order of the general court proclaiming religious liberty (“in a Christian way”), that is quite as important as the similar declarations of Rhode Island and Maryland and much less well known. Rigid orders against lying and absence from church are frequent, but both seem to have been better obeyed in the breach than in the observance. The society with which these documents deal is that of the frontier, rough, unconventional, and restless of law and order.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

A History of Canada. By CARL WITTKÉ, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of History in Ohio State University. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. xx, 398, xviii. \$7.50.)

In the past the history of Canada has not received much attention in the United States and Professor Wittke’s book is evidence of awakening interest. It is comprehensive and, while no phase of Canada’s history is neglected, more than half of the book deals with the period since the federation of Canada in 1867. The book is therefore chiefly one for the reader who wishes to learn how and why Canada has reached her present status, ranking as a full nation, on a basis of at least nominal equality with Great Britain, with her own envoys to foreign countries, and yet con-

tinuing the political tie with other parts of the British Empire under a common sovereign. It is a story of growth and as one reads it one wonders whether, but for misunderstanding and blundering not confined to one side, Great Britain and the former colonies might not each have maintained a full independence and yet have remained united by the ties of confidence and affection which today exist between Great Britain and Canada. History is in truth as much a sad record of futility as of noble achievement.

Professor Wittke make no claim to be picturesque, but he is always lucid and he writes with complete detachment of mind. Perhaps he is the first writer who, with adequate knowledge of both countries, has tried to cover on a considerable scale the long history of the relations of Canada and the United States. At every turn contact with the people to the south is a dominant feature in Canada's history. During nearly a century French Canada fought the English colonies; the American Revolution and the War of 1812 brought the invasion of Canada from the south; the American Civil War caused fears of aggression which helped to produce federal Canada; and before and since that time the economic policy of the Republic and issues with Great Britain have affected Canada deeply. At the present moment Canada, with only one neighbor, is interested in the naval question and—a fact half-forgotten—so far as the British side is concerned there will never be any war with the United States except by consent of Canada, which would be the chief sufferer in a conflict.

Professor Wittke begins with a chapter on Discovery and Exploration, and then passes lightly over the period of French rule to that of the British conquest, followed so quickly by the American Revolution. He shows the causes of the failure to make Canada the fourteenth state in the new union and describes the Loyalist migration which led to the creation of an English-speaking Canada west of Montreal. In respect of the causes of the War of 1812 he deals gently with the rather aggressive acts of Governor Simcoe in Upper Canada, but he shows that the war was not caused by disputes about orders in council or the right of search, already in the way of settlement, but by the frontiersmen beyond the Alleghanies, who thought that British influence with the Indians would block their expansion and who desired to control the rich fur trade. "I would take the whole Continent" was Henry Clay's aim; while another Kentuckian, Richard M. Johnson, was sure that God's purpose required that the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi should "belong to the same people". Professor Wittke thinks that the war settled forever the destiny of Canada as a separate state.

The rest and the greater part of the book explains the growth of Canada to national status; the discontent with rule by royal governors which led to rebellion in 1837-1838; the consequent sending to Canada for the first time of a man of Cabinet rank, the Earl of Durham, to make enquiries on the spot; his *Report*, which laid bare the causes of discontent,

and the rapid following of efforts to end it. Durham did not favor federation of the French and English provinces, but union, with the dominance of the English element. This led to the uniting of the two races for the first time in a single Parliament. They were too nearly equal in numbers to decide matters of education and religion by a good majority; but the effort to unite them produced in twenty-five years the temper for federation and for local control over education and municipal life.

The later chapters cover political, economic, and social development in a state which, under federal ideas, soon expanded from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Great War had a profound effect in maturing Canada's political outlook and led to the notable declaration of the Imperial Conference in 1926 which, in form at least, made Canada as free a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations as is Great Britain herself. It is a fine story of political evolution told with skill and insight.

A valuable feature of the book is the well-selected lists of printed authorities given at the end of each chapter. Hitherto it has not been easy for readers in the United States to get this information. Students will be grateful for such aid, and for the seven excellent maps. Inevitably there are a few slips. The Quebec Act which aroused Alexander Hamilton and other leaders in the American Revolution has never been repealed (p. 59). The Revolutionary War and the later act, in 1791, setting up legislatures in Canada, modified the incidence of the act but some of its conditions still hold, particularly those which relate to religion in Quebec. There is no Canadian Pacific Railroad (p. 237); such lines are always railways in Canada as in England. The convention has as yet no legal status in Canada; the federation was shaped in a conference (p. 182). The statement as to jurisdiction in respect of divorce is inexact (p. 192). In theory at least the speaker is as much detached from party in Canada as he is in England (p. 194). Since this book was written Nova Scotia has abolished its second chamber (p. 197), and all the Canadian provinces but Quebec are now unicameral; also Canada has now named ministers to both France and Japan (p. 348).

GEORGE M. WRONG.

MINOR NOTICES

Old Post Bags: the Story of the Sending of a Letter in Ancient and Modern Times. By Alvin F. Harlow. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1928, pp. xviii, 500, \$5.00.) This is a very attractive book. It tells pleasingly all, or nearly all, that the ordinarily well-informed person can desire to know about an institution, to which, in general, he gives but little thought. Like the sun and the fresh air, the post-office, because of its universality, receives no attention unless it happens to make a slip in its functioning. That it has an interesting story is obvious, and here it is told very well. But the title of the book is apt to mislead. Read along with the rather long subtitle, the purpose of the writer is plain enough, but a title should not require an explanation.

The volume covers a wide range, extending from the relay system in use in Persia 600 years before our era to the air service between New York and San Francisco. Under the author's entertaining guidance, we may observe the great governmental system of Imperial Rome, known as the *Cursus Publicus*; may wonder at the enterprise of the Thurn and Taxis family, who for centuries provided postal facilities to the countries of continental Europe; and linger a little over the development of the British post-office, which culminated in the penny postage. The author might spend an hour or two with advantage over the evidence gathered in 1843-1844 by a parliamentary committee, on whose findings depended the vacillating fortunes of penny postage. Some of the facts adduced would find a fitting place in his interesting book.

As the story shifts to this side of the Atlantic its interest increases. More than half the book is taken up with the American post-office. The account of the colonial posts leaves something to be desired in completeness, but on the whole there is little occasion for complaint. One can visualize the marvellous development of the mail service, which followed pantingly the migrations of groups over the whole of the territories of the United States. The post-office was not indifferently taken for granted in those days. The line-up before the wicket in the San Francisco post-office in 1849 was apt to begin 24 hours before it opened; and twenty-five, and sometimes as much as fifty dollars were paid for a good position in the line.

A word must be said of the excellent printing and illustrations. The latter, which are numerous, are taken mostly from contemporary cuts and engravings, and do really illustrate the text, besides furnishing pleasure in themselves.

Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California: a Catalogue of Books. (Berkeley, University of California Library, 1928, pp. 846.) This is, in a sense, the bibliographical age. An increasing emphasis is being laid, not only on the bibliography of historical matters but of all the branches of knowledge. The union catalogue, which is being compiled in the Library of Congress; the project for coöperative bibliography covering the Americas, endorsed by the Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928, the preliminaries of which are now being arranged; the Wilgus project for a critical bibliography of Hispanic America (now made a part of the tentative agenda of the project mentioned immediately above); the project to list all official documents of Hispanic America, undertaken by a committee of the American Library Association; and the comprehensive bibliography of Florida now being compiled under the auspices of the Florida State Historical Society—these are only a few of the outstanding projects in progress.

Now comes the volume which forms the subject of this review—the forerunner, it is hoped, of similar lists of special materials existing in other large libraries of the United States. It does not profess to be a

"bibliography", but only a "catalogue" or "list" of books. It will prove of interest and use, however, not only to the bibliographer but as well to those interested in the widely diversified classes of material listed.

The volume is the first part of a work to be complete in two parts, although each part is complete in itself. The books listed in this first part (complete as of January 1, 1927) are those in the general library of the university and those of all the departmental and special libraries on the campus at Berkeley, except of the Bancroft library (the contents of which will form the second volume). The work was undertaken largely at the initiative and partially at the expense of Mr. Juan C. Cebrian, a Spaniard who has long been a resident of San Francisco and has made many gifts to the university. It was performed wholly by Miss Alice L. Lyser, of the staff of the university library, who began her work in June, 1925. There are in all some 15,000 titles listed, in alphabetical order by author, and some 6200 cross-references. Miss Lyser has also made a careful subject-index (pp. 759-846), which will enable students to find materials along the lines in which they are interested. Historical titles are very widely represented.

The list shows that the collection is essentially a good working one. It is not remarkable either for its old or its rare volumes, although it has some of both. The great majority of the volumes listed are of the last half of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century. A commendable effort is evidently being made to procure all the best latest materials.

An examination of the volume shows remarkably few errors of commission, and this has been a work of considerable magnitude. The reviewer believes that facility of investigation would be enhanced had Miss Lyser inserted proper catchwords or syllables at the head of each column of the list and the proper classification headings or abbreviated headings at the top of each column of the subject-index. Undoubtedly the volume will find wide use.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire. By A. H. Smith. [English Place-Name Society, ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, vol. V.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xlvii, 352, 20 s.) When the English Place-Name Society some years ago published its programme, it held out the promise of a volume each year. This promise has been abundantly fulfilled; the present volume is the fifth in a series that began in 1924. Like the preceding studies it is a great storehouse of detailed information built up from an intimate knowledge of a variety of documentary sources. It differs, however, from its predecessors in certain important respects; these were concerned with shires in southern England where the local nomenclature is quite varied and in part very ancient, while the present volume deals with a more remote region in the north, the settlement of which seems to belong to a later period. Attention may also be called to the fact that this is the

first volume in the series which may be called the work of a single author, the actual writing as well as the necessary research having been done by Mr. A. H. Smith, sometime fellow in the University of Leeds.

In some respects the results presented are not quite so satisfying as those recorded in the earlier studies. Unlike the sources for the history of the southern shires, which often contain large bodies of material from Anglo-Saxon times, those for the North Riding have little to offer before the Norman period. Early forms are consequently quite rare; and this fact is perhaps responsible for the impression that, while most of the author's interpretations are entirely sound and dependable, the volume presents a considerable number of unsolved problems.

The author deals with about fourteen hundred names, nearly all of which are of Anglian or Scandinavian origin. British names are exceedingly scarce, having been swept away by the invaders from the Continent. The Angles came into the Riding early in the sixth century and remained in control till the second half of the ninth, when the Danes began to settle in considerable numbers. After a generation of Danish occupation the Norwegians came in to share the land. It is the opinion of the editors that this movement came from the northwest, setting out, perhaps, from the Norwegian settlements in Ireland.

L. M. L.

The Doctrine of Necessity in International Law. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. x, 195, \$4.00.) This work, presumably a doctoral dissertation, undertakes to examine the traditional maxim that "necessity knows no law" by considering whether or not the doctrine of necessity involved in the action of states may be expressed as a legal principle, operating as an exception to the usual rules of international law. Such a treatment involves the consideration of necessity, carefully distinguishing it, if possible, from self-preservation. In addition there would seem to be involved the problem, based upon the assumption that necessity furnishes a legal exception to a general rule, as to whether or not the extent of the exception is also legal, that is, if its content be legally limited, or if it rest with the doer-state to determine the content. The problem is not a new one, and a half-century ago it was discussed by Lueder under the thesis *Kriegsräson Geht vor Kriegsmanier*. John Westlake examined the doctrine with that thoroughness and discrimination of which he was a master. The present writer undertakes to go into the general doctrine of necessity in peace as well as in war. It must be confessed that his scheme is rather mechanical. He divides his subject between the relations of peace and those of war, taking up in each the bearing of the alleged doctrine upon certain well-known topics of international law: national jurisdiction on the high seas, intercourse, all in times of peace, then, following necessity in relation to the non-amicable modes of redress, he passes to the consideration of necessity in land- and sea-warfare and neutrality. An introduction under-

takes to trace the doctrine from Machiavelli through Grotius, "the modern founder of the doctrine of necessity", to de Martens, as "those who have followed him have contributed little of value". Why this conclusion, when Lueder and Westlake have made lasting contributions, as the author's citations apparently show, is not obvious.

Aside from the mechanical quality of the writer's plan, the book suffers from the lack of those clear distinctions, which ought at least to have been attempted, between necessity, self-defense, and self-preservation. Are these terms synonymous? If not, how do they differ? Senator Borah, when asked recently by a colleague if "there had ever been an attempt in international law to define self-defense", replied: "No, not to define it. A great many international law writers say that the right of self-defense among nations is as inherent and inalienable as the right of self-defense among individuals. . . . You could not define it. Suppose you attempted to define self-defense as to yourself: what would it be? The right to defend yourself. Suppose a nation undertook to define self-defense. It is the right of a nation to defend itself."¹ Q. E. D. Webster gave a famous definition of it in the *Caroline* dispute, and every modern text-writer discusses it. But if each nation determine self-defense for itself, it will do so as to necessity. An historic "necessity" is associated with Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in August, 1914. If self-defense and necessity so determined are implicit in every treaty, necessity indeed "knows no law". But Mr. Rodick will not have it so and insists not only that necessity is a legal conception but that there are at least seven legal circumscriptions of the idea.

J. S. REEVES.

Weltmächte der Gegenwart. Von Wilhelm Pfeifer. (Leipzig, Friedrich Brandstetter, 1928, pp. xvi, 576, 11 M.) The author has written a popular account of the rise of certain European states—chiefly Russia, Germany, England, and France—and the United States to world power. The first one hundred and fifty pages touch lightly on English expansion, the American colonial period, the expansion of Russia especially in the Caucasus, and then cover the United States to the death of Lincoln. The rest of the volume concerns itself with the countries named, their expansion, rivalries, and frictions from 1870 to 1918. France is treated only from the point of view of her colonial undertakings. In their relation to the above topics, he brings in the Orient, the Balkans, and South Africa. An account of the World War occupies one-fifth of the volume.

There is nothing novel in the material offered or penetrating in its interpretation. The chief novelty in treatment is the scattered character sketches. Dr. Pfeifer has his heroes and villains. In the first group are William Penn, Clive, Washington, Shamil, Lincoln, Bismarck, Kruger, and Admiral Tirpitz. He dissembles a certain admiration for Cecil Rhodes and Theodore Roosevelt, whose careers and imperialism he brack-

¹ *Congressional Record*, Jan. 5, 1929, p. 1281.

ets as parallel. Woodrow Wilson and Sir Edward (Viscount) Grey play the rôles usually assigned them by post-war historians in Germany. William II. is first sketched so that his personality is a good background for Germany's blunders and vagaries, then he slips out of sight behind his uncle, Edward VII., and appears again on the way to the front in 1914 in a state of mind that borders on mental instability.

Another device to enliven the history is to describe stirring events by long excerpts from the memoirs or accounts of participants; but it is sometimes difficult to tell where quotations end and comment begins.

There are many gaps and much unevenness in treatment. Only for Germany is any account given of the rise of industry and science; the period 1908 to 1914 is represented by a brief account of the New Turk movement.

The volume is not to be taken seriously, and is mainly just another book. There is, however, one passage to be commended to our chauvinists and equally to those who think. It is found on pages 349-350, where the author analyzes American imperialism. If one just changed names and phrasing slightly, it would read like a 1914-1918 characterization of Germany and Germans. It is thus that we carefree historians do our bit to fill in between wars waged by our students.

G. S. F.

A Short History of Europe, 1500-1815. By Albert Hyma, University of Michigan. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1928, pp. xii, 496, \$3.50.) It is not every book of which it can be said that it makes good its promise. The volume under review, however, may justly claim that distinction. In his preface the author sets forth his idea of what a text-book should be: clear and simple in style, concise in statement, its materials so organized as to be easily grasped, its conclusions self-evident and convincing. His own book is an admirable illustration of his ideal. Its outstanding qualities are just those he himself has enumerated, clarity, compactness, intelligibility, reasonableness. In every particular, selection and employment of material, design, construction, interpretation, it is an excellent piece of workmanship. Dr. Hyma aimed to produce a book that would teach, and he has succeeded.

In the arrangement of chapters the author had little choice but to follow the beaten track. In the matter of proportion and emphasis, however, he shows a refreshing freedom from convention. The account of the Reformation, for example, is more ample than the customary text-book narrative, and, it may be added, more just, with a truer appreciation of motives, ends, and significance. Similarly, the Old Régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon are given rather more than the usual share of space; the Partition of Poland is treated in considerable detail; the Great Elector is accorded a place in keeping with his achievement, not always duly appreciated, as the proto-architect of Prussia; and in the story of the Revolution Carnot stands out with more than ordinary distinctness.

But perhaps the most striking evidence of the author's independence of judgment is afforded by the rather high light in which he places the Dutch, as in many respects the leading nation of the seventeenth century, and at all times a significant, at many critical junctures a decisive, factor in European history, as in the Thirty Years' War, the struggle with Louis XIV., the colonial rivalry of the eighteenth century, the fortunes of Napoleon. All this, of course, is not unknown to the scholar, but it has not generally received due recognition and emphasis in the text-books. Our "standard histories" too often betray a generic tendency to repeat the accepted. Dr. Hyma has not contented himself with the stereotyped; with commendable independence he undertakes a reapportionment on the basis of a fresh census of the facts.

The book is the product of sound scholarship and practical experience, substantial, fair and impartial, reliable, adequate in content, and well adapted to the requirements of a general course.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Great Revolt in Castile: a Study of the Comunero Movement of 1520-1521. By Henry Latimer Seaver, Associate Professor in the Department of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, pp. xi, 293, \$5.00.) Some thirty years ago the appearance of Manuel Danvila's miscalled "critical history" of the revolt of the *Comuneros* of Castile made available six volumes of indispensable documentary material, without, however, providing anything of a trustworthy narrative of that significant chapter of the reign of Charles V. in Spain. On the same subject the older works of Höfler and of Häbler have been superseded by the account in the third volume of R. B. Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire*. Now Professor Seaver has given us the detailed study of the *Comunero* movement. With his emphasis on the internal situation he traces the development of the revolt in Castile in all its ramifications and with commendable clearness and fullness. By careful and painstaking control of Danvila's jumbled documents and by the use of such authorities as Santa Cruz, Mexía, Peter Martyr, Maldonado, Alcocer, and Sandoval, the author presents a complete and critical narrative of the rising and of its involved politics.

The book is both thoroughly documented and attractively made, with many illustrations from photographs and drawings by the author. By way of setting for the general reader, the first eighty pages give a summary of the problems created by the accession of the young Hapsburg monarch to the thrones of the Catholic kings, and carry the story of his first visit to Spain through the cortes of Corunna. The next section records the activities of the cities, the formation of the Santa Junta, and the *Comunero* progress and successes to the royalist recovery of Tordesillas. The second division of the main narrative treats the course of events through the crushing reverse of Villalar. A short concluding section gives an account of Bishop Acuña's career in Toledo and his

capture, of the French invasion of Navarre, of the final efforts of Padilla's widow Maria Pacheco, and of the treatment of the captured rebel leaders.

Along with rebel excesses and the counsels of violent extremists among the popular party, Professor Seaver presents the moderation and devotion to principle of some of the *Comunero* deputies and a sufficiently complete picture of some of the prominent caballeros in the movement to permit a fairer understanding of their conduct. This is notably true in the case of Pedrolaso de la Vega, whose position is clearly presented (pp. 287-288) and whose defection to the royalist cause appears reasonable, rather than as personal pique. The play of interests among the nobility and the development of measures by the cardinal-regent, the constable, and the admiral are also vividly set forth. The underlying justice of many *Comunero* demands won the recognition of many nobles; even the Count of Benavente who had suffered from the destructiveness of rebel troops, appreciated the force of the appeal for Castilian rights. The constitutional platform of the junta and the chapter on the Great and Just Quarrel of the Valladolid Days are particularly noteworthy. Although the author explains at the outset the practice he will follow in using Spanish names, his consistency in that matter leads to Hispanic spellings of place-names which are in general English usage in anglicized form, as for example, *Sevilla* and *Coruna*. A complete bibliography would have been a convenient addition to this work; the full references in foot-notes and the appraisal of primary authorities in the appendix do, however, meet that general need.

E. DWIGHT SALMON.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome XI., de 1528 à 1532. (Geneva, Kündig, 1929.) Volume XI. of the *Registres du Conseil de Genève* is now in page-proof and will be issued shortly under the auspices of the *Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*. It contains the minutes of the city administration from 1528 to 1532 and thus covers the year 1529—a most important epoch in the slow development of Geneva's progress towards autonomy and self-government.

The editors, MM. Rivoire and van Berchem, merit special homage for the unexampled way in which they have poured time, money, and learning into the enterprise of the publication of these minutes. The crabbed writing of the most unclassical Latin in the originals made consultation of the matter very difficult. The records are now in print from 1409 almost to the eve of the plebiscite of 1536. After that the Latin was changed for French. The publication, accomplished without secretaries and with only limited assistance, scholarly and financial, is an instance of unrewarded, disinterested devotion to the history of a unique city state. And it is a valuable contribution to the history of democracy—a chapter that ought not to be neglected.

On our part, it is to be regretted that Professor Herbert Darling Foster is not still among us to reap the harvest of this latest work of the Genevan gentlemen and to express his appreciation¹—something he was peculiarly qualified to accord. His article on "Geneva before Calvin" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, VIII. 217) written twenty-five years ago indicated the wealth of information to be culled from Genevan archives. He had a clear vision of the workings of the civic spirit, quite apart from theological considerations. And, alas! time was not given him to develop his conclusions.

RUTH PUTNAM.

Willem III. en Amsterdam, 1683-1685. Door Gerdina Hendrika Kurtz. (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1928, pp. 233, 2.50 fl.) The years set down in this title were part of a period in which the histories of the several nations of Western Europe became partially fused by the pressure of French hegemony into the history of an international resistance. It was the age of Louis XIV., but it was as truly—though perhaps not as pervasively—the age of William III., who by character and destiny was European rather than Dutch. So far is this his rôle that there is a certain oddity in observing him from the point of view of this thesis, as stadholder, struggling with the city of Amsterdam for control of the foreign policy of the Dutch Republic. Amsterdam was by no means European; she was Amsterdam. It takes two to create a situation of obstinacy, and William III. and the Council of Amsterdam were almost equally gifted in this quality. William wanted a European alliance, costly military preparations, war with France. Amsterdam wanted no foreign commitments, the reduction of land forces, peace, economy, and a lowering of taxation, particularly with respect to the tariff. Juffr. Kurtz does even-handed justice to both points of view, and indeed the combatants eyed each other with rancorous respect. William recognized that without Amsterdam there could be no war, no militia, no republic, and therefore no stadholderate. Amsterdam recognized that if Louis XIV. had his way there would be little trade that was not French trade, and a much diminished Amsterdam. Time was on William's side. In 1685 he could write: "Mess. d'Amsterdam paroissent beaucoup moins fiers que par le passé" (p. 174). Though the years 1683-1685 were the critical period, the author continues to sketch the relations of William with Amsterdam after his departure for England. The story is of importance chiefly for the domestic history of the republic, and the history of its foreign policy. With the exception of d'Avaux's *Négociations* it is written almost entirely from Dutch sources, principally those in the archives of Amsterdam. To the foreign reader the thesis will be of interest for the additional light thrown on the character of William III., as also for light on the workings of the most incoherent, enfeebling constitution—not even excepting that of the German Confederation—that has ever stultified the action of a modern state.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

¹ See his review of vol. VIII. in this journal, XXVIII. 771.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Volume V., Sweden, 1727-1789. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A., V.P.R.Hist.S. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1928, pp. xxvi, 268.) This is the second volume of the Swedish series to be reviewed here (for review of volume I., see XXVIII. 355). The real value of this series for the study of diplomacy and of history has been referred to and credit given for most useful historical introductions (XXXI. 350; XXXII. 356). Besides the official correspondence and papers in the Record Office, certain manuscript collections in the British Museum have been utilized. This period compares most favorably in interest with the preceding. In some very important historical developments (incidentally not unimportant to Americans), Sweden, though no longer able to retain the rank of a first-class power, was somewhat of a factor, especially during the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, etc. Sweden was chiefly concerned over the question of Finland, and also over Bremen and Verden. In discussing the possible buying of Swedish soldiers for British uses, certain Hessian transactions, similar to those not unknown to Americans, are mentioned (pp. 117-118). Though Great Britain had no formal diplomatic relations with Sweden between 1748 and 1764, that does not mean, in this book, an entire break. Several attempts were made by Great Britain at reviving intercourse and the instructions to potential envoys are enlightening reading.

Throughout most of the period, we find the Franco-British rivalry being fought out upon this as strenuously as upon any other ground. The unblushing venality of statesmen might surprise us—but this is the eighteenth century. Walpole and Walpolean political philosophy were at their zenith. The same methods used in the House of Commons were applied to foreign legislators but, by the British at any rate, apparently with less success. Most interesting is the contest over the succession in Sweden, waged by three European states, including Great Britain, with lavish expenditures of money. One is reminded of Poland about the same period. The index is again conspicuously good.

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS.

The Oldest London Bookshop: a History of Two Hundred Years. By George Smith and Frank Benger. (London, Ellis, 1928, pp. viii, 141, 10 s. 6 d.) The dignity, the easy friendliness, the familiarity with men and letters displayed in *The Oldest London Bookshop* are in the fine tradition of "Ellis", and the story told in the book explains the sense of "quality" that pervades the activities of this ancient house. The narrative is made up of a series of biographies of the proprietors that carries on the history of the firm through the two hundred years of its existence. The second half of the book is given up to the publication of the family correspondence (1751-1806) of James Robson, the second proprietor of 29 New Bond Street. John Brindley, a bookbinder become antiquarian bookseller, moved into the present quarters of the firm in 1728, and

though in no instance in the two centuries has a son succeeded a father as proprietor, the business and its traditions have been maintained without interruption by Brindley, and by James Robson (1759-1806), John Nornaville and William Fell (1806-1830), Thomas and William Boone (1830-1872), Frederick Startridge Ellis (1872-1885), Gilbert Ifold Ellis (1885-1902), and by the authors of the present book, who, with J. J. Holdsworth, now compose the firm. The story of these successive firms of good bookmen as told in *The Oldest London Bookshop*, forms an important record in the history of English bookselling.

Bookmen in general will wish that less space had been given to the Robson correspondence which, though pleasant enough, is hardly in scale with the greater matter it accompanies. Frederick and Gilbert Ellis, acting as agents, procured for a single American library the celebrated Turner-Ellis First Folio, the Eugene of Savoy *Bible* of 1462, the Syston Park-Masterman Sykes *Catholicon* of 1460, the Sunderland copy of Colard Mansion's *Boccace* of 1476, the Ottenbeuren twelfth-century *Graduale et Sacramentarium*, the Horace Walpole illuminated *Psalter*, and the manuscript *Brief Discours* of Samuel de Champlain. These are among the world's monuments, and to have spoken of them and of others of the sort that once passed through the "Ellis" shop, to have related whence they came and whither they went would have been to give greater weight and more varied interest to the story, for after all the glory of a bookseller is his function as the essential agent in the building of great libraries.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

British Routes to India. By Halford Lancaster Hoskins, Ph.D., Dickson Professor of History, Tufts College. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 494, \$7.50.) Professor Hoskins strikes a fresh note in this survey of projects designed to facilitate a shorter and quicker route to India. In part the book naturally deals with diplomatic history, but there are also chapters which review the geographical literature and economic questions involved. As is indicated by quotations in the text and by the foot-notes the author has made a careful study of source-material both in manuscript and in print. The illustrations are interesting and well chosen and the index is good. Certainly the early history of these routes, via Egypt and down the Euphrates Valley to the Persian Gulf, deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which threatened.

The tale begins with the third quarter of the eighteenth century when George Baldwin, an English merchant in Egypt, sought to interest his government in the plan of having despatches between England and India carried by ships to Alexandria, thence by land to Suez, and by ships to Bombay. The Egyptian authorities do not seem to have objected, but the Turks protested that the Red Sea was a sacred highway of Islam leading to holy shrines at Mecca and Medina. The French also were concerned about Egypt and were really the first European nation to draw up plans

which might involve the protection of that country; and the resiliency of India in providing a British force to combat the French army in Egypt gave political and military strategists food for thought. The development of steam navigation soon aroused further interest; but the dilatory tactics of the East India Company in London postponed achievement. General Chesney now conceived of the Euphrates route as feasible and he spent his life in advocating this alternative route. From Syrian ports across the desert to Bagdad was a hazardous journey in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century; but two steamers were soon available on the river and great things were expected from this route.

By the middle of the century the Suez Canal was a project which slowly emerged from the fog of Palmerstonian incredulity, ignorance, and opposition. In 1867 the canal was opened and the concluding portion of the book deals in part with the question of the control of Egypt. Here the author seems to dismiss the history of the past forty years with entirely too brief and cursory a view. The same might also be said of the later history of the alternative route now known as the Bagdad Railway line. Yet with these two exceptions the book is a useful and readable contribution.

A. L. P. D.

L'Église de France sous le Consulat et l'Empire, 1800-1814. Par l'Abbé G. Constant, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris, Librairie Lecoffre, 1928, pp. xxix, 396, 24 fr.) The aim of this book is to trace the relations between the papacy and the French government during the rule of Napoleon. There is no attempt to discuss, in detail, religious conditions in France before or after the settlement of the schism in the French church. It is primarily a study in diplomacy and, by an ecclesiastic, naturally looks at the problem from the point of view of the Vatican. The story pictures a Napoleon who at first excites enthusiasm among the devout by his championship of religion, "Une politique insensée", he said in a proclamation announcing in 1802 the promulgation of the Concordat, "tenta d'étouffer les dissensions religieuses sous les débris des autels, sous les ruines de la religion même. . . . C'était au Souverain Pontife que l'exemple des siècles et le raison commandaient de recourir, pour rapprocher les opinions et réconcilier les coeurs." This championship is genuine, of the heart, in the opinion of Abbé Constant, but followed after 1806 by a lowering of the moral tone, the product of success, overwhelming ambition, and the desire to play the rôle of a Charlemagne.

The major part of the book deals most interestingly with the intricate and prolonged negotiations, the seven proposals and counter-proposals which preceded the signing of the Concordat. Here reliance is placed upon Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la Négotiation du Concordat*. For the break between Napoleon and Pius VII. and the events of 1810-1813, the memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi and the memoirs of Cardinal

Pacca (papal pro-secretary of state, 1808-1815) are found particularly useful. Based upon the latter is the thrilling story of the arrest of the pope in 1809.

Throughout the narrative too little attention is paid to the political side of the problem, to Napoleon's reasons as ruler of a state weakened by religious divisions for wishing to heal the breach with Rome, to the part played by the legations and the papal ports in the struggle between the emperor and his enemies, to the pope's anxiety for the temporal power. The abbé has no thoughts for such things. He is a clergyman—who rejoices over the resurrection of the church in France, grieves over the later treatment of the pope, and chants a hosanna as Pius triumphantly reenters the "eternal city" in 1814.

An appendix gives the text of a few important state papers and letters.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

Studies in International Law and Relations. By A. Pearce Higgins, C.B.E., K.C., LL.D., Whewell Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge, Lecturer on International Law at the Royal Naval War and Staff Colleges. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. viii, 314, 15 s.) This volume contains fourteen essays upon a great variety of topics in international law and all but one of them have already appeared in print, revised, however, and to some extent rewritten for publication. Five have appeared in the *British Year Book of International Law*. Seven deal with topics connected with war and neutrality: enemy ships in port at the outbreak of war, submarine cables, ships of war as prizes, retaliation in naval warfare, and armed merchantmen. Three deal with fundamental assumptions and premises of international law, stressing the duties rather than the rights of states. Four are miscellaneous: the Papacy and International Law, the Monroe Doctrine, Grotius as an International Lawyer, and the Locarno Treaties. The title of the volume is obviously sufficiently broad to embrace such a group of essays, which have little unity, other than a consistent point of view. Professor Higgins is always accurate in statement, careful in analysis, and generally fair in conclusion, but not particularly subtle in thought. His essay upon the Papacy and International Law has a certain timeliness. His negative conclusions may be set aside since the proposed arrangement has become effective and the papacy is once more a state. His treatment of the Monroe Doctrine addressed to British readers follows the traditional lines and hardly pretends to add anything to one's information on the subject. Nevertheless, it furnishes a sympathetic British interpretation of it. The essay upon Grotius is slender, that on the Locarno Treaties is occasional. The specialist in international law will derive most benefit from the essay on enemy ships in port at the outbreak of war and on the arming of merchant vessels. The general reader will be repaid by a perusal of them all.

J. S. REEVES.

Lenin. By Valeriu Marcu, translated by E. W. Dicks. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. 412, \$5.00.) While Lenin is being transformed into a legend at home he remains a mystery abroad. A good-sized library could be filled with all that has been written about him since he first shot into world prominence, but much of this material is of greater interest to the student of post-war psychology than to the historian of the Russian revolution. Yet the basic data on which a life of Lenin must be constructed is increasingly available—it is now possible to separate the truth from the legend. Lenin's death in 1924 occasioned a flood of reminiscences by many of his colleagues and opponents; the complete works are now available, the letters are being published, and the Soviet government is piously gathering together every scrap of memorabilia it can find.

Marcu's book is an indication that it is now possible to write a life of Lenin without being an uncritical apologist or an equally uncritical accuser. Intended for the general reader and dispensing with references and bibliography it appears to be based on extensive reading of the published material and shows a clear understanding of Lenin's beliefs as well as of the complicated disputes of the revolutionary groups. The style is vivid, if somewhat mannered and overburdened with metaphor, and the profuse quotations from Lenin's writings and speeches are judiciously chosen.

The man who emerges from these pages is a man whose life was a strange and startling unity. Lenin, the student, the lecturer before workmen's clubs, the disciple of Plekhanov, the conspirator, the exile, the doctrinaire, the editor, the party leader, the head of the Soviet government—these are all one. The background of Tsarist tyranny and domestic discontent and revolutionary intrigue which Marcu has sketched in with great brush strokes shifts and changes—but never the central figure. He lived by and for "the Idea"—the inevitability of revolution and the certainty of seizing power. Where he differed from many of his fellow revolutionaries was in his absolute conviction regarding this point. They wavered; he didn't. And when the revolution came he thought it would take a few months before Socialism could be firmly established. When he discovered he was wrong he went right ahead anyway. A doctrinaire of purest water, intolerant of both criticism and the division of power, he had the great saving sense of reality. He knew when to change his mind. The founder of a new state, indeed of a new cult, his personality will be the subject of critical examination for many years. Marcu's book represents a notable beginning.

BARNET NOVER.

Europe: a History of Ten Years. By Raymond Leslie Buell. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 428, \$2.50.) The historical gap which lies between the standard text-books and the morning's newspaper is the hardest of all to fill. Many students would discuss the text

of the League of Nations Covenant as Woodrow Wilson knew it, who could not tell exactly how many members of the Council there are today; many could name the prime ministers of the chief countries of Europe at the outbreak of the Great War who could not name their successors at the present time; many could give a much better account of Bolshevism under Lenin than of Bolshevism under Stalin. It is for such, for those whose professional needs or personal interest in world politics make it desirable for them to close this chasm between "modern history" and "current events" that Raymond Buell has written of the decade since the armistice.

Such a book should be written impartially and lucidly, and must, from the nature of the case, be written rather hastily. Everything that Mr. Buell has written is clear and candid. He is too fine a scholar to stoop to propaganda or that disproportionate stress of minor issues which is worse than open propaganda. He is too good a publicist not to keep in mind his audience and make every endeavor to explain things "so that the stupidest member of the class can understand it", as the books of pedagogy always say. The arrangement of the book is excellent; the chapters follow a logical line of development beginning with the Great War and the peace treaties and passing on to the controversies over enforcement of these treaties, the attempts at compromise such as the Dawes plan and the Locarno pact, the internal condition of the Great Powers and the minor states with some special attention to the social experiments of Fascist Italy and Bolshevik Russia. The point of view throughout is that of a good liberal, an internationalist and lover of peace, with charity towards all nations and malice towards none.

Unfortunately haste of execution is evident as well as clarity of style and fairness of judgment. It was well done to point out that Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles "merely holds Germany responsible for causing the *damage* to the Allies as a *consequence* of the war caused by German aggression. It does not impose sole responsibility upon Germany for causing the war" (p. 396). But, if that interpretation be sound, as it seems to be, why say that this was one of the provisions of the treaty "which attempted to pass a moral judgment upon the German people" (p. 35)? If Clemenceau were altogether "intransigent in his stubbornness" (p. 25), why did the French people turn against him for compromising away so many of the claims of France (pp. 37-38)? Is there really any statistical doubt of Polish numerical preponderance in the part of Upper Silesia that went to Poland by plebiscite (p. 193)?

The chapter bibliographies are highly valuable for the very latest books on each subject. Perhaps, however, it was a mistake to confine these references so largely to books published within the past two or three years. One misses such books as C. F. G. Masterman, *England after War*, from the bibliography on Britain (p. 156), and R. H. Lutz, *The German Revolution*, from the bibliography on Germany (p. 176). There are a number of typographical errors in these reading lists.

Slosson, *Modern Europe* (p. 17) should be *Twentieth Century Europe*; and Graham, W. W. (p. 213) should be Graham, M. W. The second edition of this book, with some of its evidences of hasty workmanship eliminated, should be much better than the first.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

Diplomatic Europe since the Treaty of Versailles. By Count Carlo Sforza. [Institute of Politics Publications.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928, pp. x, 130, \$2.50.) This book consists of six lectures delivered by Count Sforza before the Williamstown Institute of Politics. They retain the freshness characteristic of semiformal delivery and, in view of the position formerly held by the author and the important events with which he was intimately connected, they possess the historical value of memoirs. Furthermore, an objectively-minded Italian was in a better position for philosophic analysis of the post-war decade than a representative of France, Germany, or Great Britain; and although he lacked the perspective which might be granted to the distant American, he knew a great deal more about the critical problems. Hence the importance of the book is far greater than might be indicated by its scant 97 pages of text.

Count Sforza's review is in topical rather than narrative form. He discusses in succession the relations of France and Germany, the international position of Poland, the successor states, the relations of Turkey with the Allies, the tendency of the small Baltic states towards union, the attitude of the Roman church toward nationalism and Geneva. He speaks with great frankness, and in occasional flashes throws new light on important problems. This is true of the interallied supervision of Silesia under General LeRond, of Italian negotiations with the Czechs and Yugoslavs, and particularly so of the situation at Constantinople, where Count Sforza was one of the Allied commissioners after the armistice. The factors in this latter problem he discusses in some detail as a result of his first-hand knowledge; on the larger issues he speaks with an authority befitting his position as ambassador to France and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Count Sforza is a liberal nationalist. He deplores naturally the economic confusion resulting from the break-up of Austria-Hungary and recognizes a good deal of political inconvenience in the creation of new small states in that region and along the Baltic. But he is insistent upon the ultimate benefit to be derived from the disappearance of what he calls "unsound and artificial constructions", and the development of "living entities . . . the real permanent material out of which a newly organized Europe will some day emerge". That organization will be based, he believes, upon the mutual concessions of national forces: "A division of Europe on the basis of nationalities is but the first step toward an associated Europe." He is under no illusion as to the difficulties involved, the mental divergency between France and Germany; the dangers resultant upon the miracle of Poland's resurrection (nevertheless, he says, "one

of the brightest moral lights in the Versailles Treaty"); the new resentments added to old hatreds in Southeastern Europe; the misunderstanding of the Mussulman by the West. He finds comfort in the growing realization of Europe that these are not simple problems of force, in the condemnation of chauvinism by the Roman church, and in the attitude of the smaller nations, which stand, he believes, among the truest sureties for peace. As the final development he sees "the end of a Europe thinking of being able to live outside some more or less loose federal bond".

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

A History of the Far East in Modern Times. By Harold M. Vinacke, Ph.D., Professor of International Law and Politics, University of Cincinnati. (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1928, pp. xxii, 479, \$7.50.) Professor Vinacke has here written one of our two best accounts in English of the recent history of the Far East. In three brief chapters he describes China and its culture before the coming of the Westerner, the impact of the Occident upon China, and the attendant changes down to 1894. In two more brief chapters he deals similarly with Japan. Then, in the next two chapters, he brings the story down through 1900. The major portion of his volume, therefore, has to do with events of the present century. As is natural for one trained in political science, Professor Vinacke devotes most of his attention to political and diplomatic developments. He does, however, also present excellent summaries of economic, intellectual, religious, and social movements in both Japan and China—changes which in the long run may well prove to be much more significant than even those in the realm of government and international relations. While his preface is dated June, 1928, his narrative goes no further than the spring of 1927. As is inevitable with a book attempting to relate events of the most recent times and to describe the ever-changing "current situation", a few of the later pages already need rewriting. Moreover, the prospective buyer should be warned that while from its title the volume professes to cover the Far East, in practice it interprets this rather indeterminate designation as not including the Philippines, French Indo-China, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, or the Dutch East Indies, but limits it to Japan, China, and Eastern Siberia.

Throughout the book the author has maintained an admirable detachment and lack of bias—an attitude by no means easy of achievement on many questions where nationalistic feeling has run high. Because of its comparative brevity and its extensive scope, the volume does not go at length into individual problems and questions, nor does it append many foot-note references to authorities. It is distinctly designed as a handbook and text-book. It is, however, based upon excellent monographs and secondary accounts, and upon an examination of at least some of the more important documents. Excellent brief critical bibliographies conclude each chapter. Occasionally—but only occasionally—one misses the title of a good recent book, such as Hail, *Ts'eng Kuo-fan and the Taiping*

Rebellion, our best account of that movement, and Steiger, *China and the Occident*. This is, however, not a particularly important defect. It is to be hoped that the book will have a wide use.

K. S. LATOURETTE

The Formation of the Chinese People: an Anthropological Inquiry. By Chi Li, Ph.D., Lecturer in Anthropology in the Tsing Hua Research Institute. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 283, \$5.00.) Dr. Li's work is the most competent contribution hitherto made to the physical anthropology of the Chinese and is distinguished for the originality of approach to a difficult problem. It is equally notable as the first production of a Chinese scholar who received his training in the department of anthropology of Harvard University, under Professors Dixon and Hooton. The book does not interest the anthropologist exclusively, but will appeal (and to a higher degree) to the historian; for the author's investigation is a remarkable contribution to the history of race-mixtures on the soil of China. He destroys the old prejudice that the Chinese have been unchanging for several thousands of years and that the modern Chinese represent a physical homogeneity.

On the contrary, the physical formation of the Chinese is a most complex problem. The term "China" indicates merely a political unit, while the most diverse races and entirely distinct ethnical and cultural groups have been welded together into what we are pleased to call simply the "Chinese". The author introduces, after W. G. Sumner, a new terminology by speaking of the Chinese proper as the "We-group" and of the non-Chinese or barbarians as the "You-group"—to denote the psychological phenomenon involved in the perception of "meum" and "tuum". Personally, I see no advantage in the use of these affected terms; the same idea can be expressed by "Chinese" and "non-Chinese" just as efficiently. Dr. Li first describes the physical traits of the living Chinese based on the data of his predecessors and his own observations and measurements of Chinese students in the eastern universities of the United States and Chinese laborers from Kwang-tung province in Boston. The results are lucidly presented in sixteen tables and four maps. The author's most interesting investigation is contained in chapter IV., in which he endeavors to trace the origin and movements of ten clans, based on their family names. Of the history of Chinese families we know but little, and this contribution to family history will be gratefully appreciated. It should be extended, of course, to several hundred families. One of the interesting results is that many Chinese clans of northern China intermarried from early times with people of Turkish, Tungus, and Mongol descent. The centres and migrations of the ten selected families are charted on 59 skeleton maps on which the provinces are outlined but unfortunately not named. Another peculiar practice is to quote historical periods by letters, while nowhere a table identifying periods A, B, C, etc., is given.

In chapter VI., in which the aboriginal or so-called barbarian tribes of southern China are passed under review, the author is less fortunate and commits many errors, as he is not very familiar with this field. I regret that he did not utilize my article "Totemic Traces among the Indo-Chinese" (*Jour. Am. Folklore*, XXX. 415-426), where a better translation and interpretation of the P'an-hu myth is given than his on page 243.

The author's supposition that there are Negritoes in south China is most improbable, and is not warranted by the evidence produced by him (p. 259). Hala-wusu (read Khara-usu) is not Tibetan, as stated, but Mongol; in Mongol (Khara-usu) means "black water", while the corresponding Tibetan term is Nag ch'u. This name of a river has nothing to do, as alleged, with a dark-skinned population. The influence of tribes of the Mon-Khmer group on Chinese, if any, is negligible; nor is there any evidence for the bold assertion that the ancient Yüeh in southeastern China were Shan-speaking people or bear any relation to Shan by which he obviously means the Tai group.

B. LAUFER.

The Soul of China. By Richard Wilhelm, translated by John Holroyd Reese and Arthur Waley. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928, pp. 382, \$3.75.) Keen insight, warm sympathy, and charm of style raise this attempt to interpret China, the baffling, above most of its contemporary studies. The author, a German missionary and teacher who went out to the infant Kiaochow colony soon after its acquisition, spent twenty-five years in China, in Shantung province, and in Peking. His book contains a survey of political developments in the first quarter of the century, with descriptive sketches of persons and places and observations on religion and philosophy. The comments of this missionary who christened no converts, this representative of European culture who learned to esteem the culture of the East, this lover of the past who saw the old China crumble about his head, are full of interest and suggestion. In preparing the English text no attempt seems to have been made to adopt the usual English equivalents for Chinese place and proper names, while at least three different spellings of Szechwan province may be observed.

The Luna Papers: Documents relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561. Translated and edited with an historical introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 8.] Volume II. (De Land, Fla., the Society, 1928, pp. xv, 383.) This second volume, added to that which was reviewed in the preceding volume of this journal (XXXIII. 920), completes the record of Don Tristán de Luna's unfortunate Floridian expedition of 1559-1561. The texts are presented with great care,

the translations are excellent, the index is adequate, and two facsimiles are given. The documents are interesting, and more than ample for telling the story, for, as is usual in such Spanish records, there is much repetition and superfluous verbiage. Especially is this true of the main *expediente* which, continued from volume I., occupies more than half of the present volume, recording interminable discussions between the shattered governor and his mutinous or reluctant officers and soldiers. The order in which the other documents are presented, rather casual than chronological, is open to the same criticism that was expressed in the review of the first volume. The clearest notion of what actually happened in the expedition as a whole is to be got from the next to the last piece, one of Woodbury Lowery's finds, embracing the straightforward narratives deposed by four common soldiers. But of course the documents emanating from the "men higher up"—the viceroy Velasco, Don Tristán himself, and his *maestre de campo*, Jorge Cerón—are necessary to complete and explain the story.

Obregón's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America, Entitled Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico. Mexico, 1584. Translated, edited, and annotated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. (Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928, pp. xxxvi, 351, \$10.00.) The authors of the present work have made an important addition to our growing collection of translated sources bearing upon the history of the Spanish Southwest and northern Mexico. Obregón's *Chronicle* is concerned with the early development of Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico and the author participated in many of the events which he describes. Hammond and Rey have rendered a service both to historians and ethnologists, a service which will be especially appreciated because the original of the work was not published until recently and even then in an imperfect edition.

The volume now presented is attractive and interesting. It contains a good map of the region treated and an excellent index. It is not free, however, from minor defects. There are a few misprints and entirely too many untranslated Spanish phrases. Moreover, in some instances, the authors have not been happy in the choice of English words for their Spanish equivalents. On page 205, for instance, *genuine* would have been a better choice than "truthful" for the Spanish word "*verdaderas*".

In view of these considerations and the non-existence of a perfect Spanish edition of Obregón's work, it seems unfortunate that no way has been found to give to scholars interested in this field the Spanish text along with the English. Until a good edition of the original is forthcoming we must turn to the volume now under review for the standard contemporary account of the region concerned. Fortunately, it will be found adequate for most purposes and particularly as parallel reading for students who have not mastered the language of Obregón.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Congressional Investigations: a Study of the Origin and Development of the Power of Congress to Investigate and Punish for Contempt. By Ernest J. Eberling, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, no. 307.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 452, \$6.75.) The investigational function of Congress, which seems at times, especially in campaign years, to overshadow that of law making, is analyzed by Dr. Eberling in six solid chapters. He treats the historical background of the inquisitorial power, showing that in England it grew up under the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*, a part of the common law, and that as such it was inherited by the colonial legislatures. He then discusses the development of the power through the accumulation of precedent, the evolution of present statutory provisions governing the practice, and the pronouncements of courts on legal questions involved. There are three main ingredients, as the author shows, in the function of investigation: compelling the attendance and testimony of witnesses; requiring the production of papers, and punishing for contempt. Though not expressly sanctioned by the Constitution, the power of investigation seems to be implied as ancillary to legislation and as indispensable in enforcing parliamentary privilege. Nevertheless there are grave constitutional issues involved in its exercise, especially the infringement of civil rights as guaranteed in the fifth and sixth amendments. Some of these constitutional questions are still mooted.

In practice Congress has made the widest use of its investigational power, extending it over the whole field of legislation. Schouler is quoted (p. 98) to show that even in Monroe's day "committees . . . snuffed about dark corners, [and] peeped . . . under beds . . . with a mousing alacrity", less eager to correct abuses than to collect damaging campaign material. Though in former days the House constituted itself the Grand Inquisitor of the nation, the Senate, with its freer rules and weaker party lash, has long since outrun the House in the exercise of this function. Under federal statutes, contempt of Senate and House has become a misdemeanor, and contumacious witnesses may be indicted and tried in the courts; yet each house still retains the power of direct punishment by order of the sergeant-at-arms committing the offender to jail. It is conceded that the power of investigation is subject to abuse, and various checks have been placed upon it. The production of executive papers may not be compelled; and testimony may not be forced from a witness whose impeachment is sought. In addition, the courts offer an effective check; for while confirming the legislative authority to investigate and to punish for contempt, they have set bounds to this power by holding it subject to judicial review and applying judicial remedies—*e. g.*, damages against the sergeant-at-arms for false imprisonment.

The book is based on careful study and makes a real contribution by way of tracing the evolution of a familiar governmental function and explaining its present status. It is attractively published and fortunately is not buried in a series. One must look closely to find that it is "number 307" of the Columbia Studies.

J. G. RANDALL.

The American Party Battle. By Charles A. Beard. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. viii, 150, \$1.50.) Professor Beard has here given us a popular review of party history, prefaced by a chapter on the nature of party and concluded by a brief prediction of future trends. The material is drawn largely from his *American Government and Politics* and stresses his well-known view of the economic basis of political development. It is a work which achieves distinction within its chosen compass; the perils of oversimplification have, however, not been entirely avoided. The novice may, for example, find difficulty in reconciling the concept that agriculture has been the essential basis of the Jefferson-Jackson-Bryan-Wilson tradition with the assertion that the Democratic party has become the organ of the "mobs of the great cities". Men have not joined political parties because of political theories (p. 139), yet "in politics it is beliefs" rather than actual interests "that count" (p. 137). We wonder, too, if Professor Beard would now wish to modify his statement that "religious ties are not often strong enough to bind opposing economic interests into the same political party".

The style is brisk and lively, admirably adapted to the requirements of the general reader. A list of texts on political parties is appended, but there is no index.

CARROLL H. WOODY.

College Life in the Old South. By E. Merton Coulter, Professor of History, University of Georgia. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xii, 381, \$3.00.) In his effort to describe the Southern college community and appraise its influence Professor Coulter has chosen the method of isolating a "typical" institution for minute investigation rather than spreading his attention over many colleges. He gains greatly in vividness and interest and avoids an unwieldiness which might be inherent in the other alternative. He loses somewhat, and inescapably, because few institutions, no matter how typical, can in themselves alone reveal the whole story. Nevertheless the author accomplishes what he sets out to do. We have here an accurate portraiture done in living colors. Considerable sympathy with human nature and a sense of humor add perceptibly to the interest of the narrative.

The institution chosen is the University of Georgia, or, as it was more commonly called in ante-bellum days, Franklin College. The college records are unusually full and intimate. In this case they have been skilfully used by a scholar whose knowledge of Southern history and life enables him to draw with a true perspective.

Of chief interest to the reader looking for the "typical" rather than local college history will be the chapters which treat of the regulation of student life, the student self-education in debating societies, religion in education, the relation of the university and the state, and the description of what a college town thought and did. The book concludes with chapters on the Civil War and the passing of the Old South and the coming of

the New. It can not be claimed that the author has found data that will greatly alter established conclusions in regard to higher education in the South. But he has given one of the best accounts that we have of conditions in an American college of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The author might have faced certain critical problems more boldly. Was Francis Lieber right, for example, when from the faculty of South Carolina College he complained that he felt far removed from active, progressive, and intellectual life? Or was Gildersleeve, in characterizing his Virginia experience as a long sleep, describing a situation which is sometimes, fairly or unfairly, charged against the ante-bellum Southern college? What, in brief, was the Southern college's rôle in the growing isolation of the slave states from world thought?

Then there is the problem of the South's failure to maintain an equality with the North in intellectual development. Jefferson early complained that in regenerating the public education of Virginia he felt like a "physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it". The South had a propertied class well situated to patronize art, letters, and higher learning. Why then the failure? Inasmuch as the University of Georgia suffered greatly from lack of appreciation and support Professor Coulter is brought face to face with this highly significant problem. It is impossible to summarize his answer (pp. 241-246) in this brief notice, but he proffers an explanation which merits weighty consideration.

College Life in the Old South is a book which should be accepted by the alumni of Georgia with pride and read with appreciation by all who are interested in Southern social history.

PAUL H. BUCK.

The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858. Edited by Otis G. Hammond. [New Hampshire Historical Society Collections, vol. XII.] (Concord, the Society, 1928, pp. 442.) One of the units assigned to the Mormon expedition organized by the Buchanan administration was the Tenth Infantry. Among its officers was Captain Jesse A. Gove, who in the course of the enterprise wrote his wife a long series of letters dating from June 22, 1857, to August 26, 1858, which, when printed, fill 188 pages. These letters became the property of the New Hampshire Historical Society and are now published by that organization.

Throughout the three stages of the expedition, the thousand mile march, the winter quarters at Fort Bridger, and the final advance to Salt Lake City, Captain Gove wrote almost daily and very voluminously; in fact these letters were in the nature of recreation after the activities of the day. He described in minute detail the country through which they were marching, the character of the officers, his mode of life, his horses, his servants, his food, and above all his camp bed with clean sheets, and his tent stove, which made it possible for him to maintain a considerable degree of comfort. The captain did not fail to impress upon his wife in

a wholly unconscious manner how highly he was regarded by his superiors and recounted their marks of confidence. The letters are very "human" and very enlightening although we may suspect that his accounts of the comforts of the winter quarters were somewhat exaggerated to allay Mrs. Gove's fears. Enough is included to indicate that the diet became rather limited for this epicurean who was fond of extensive menus and good cooking, both of which he had enjoyed on the march.

As to the reasons for the expedition and the nature of the negotiations with the Mormons there are only scattering references, but this missing detail has been supplied to some extent by the 192 pages of Utah despatches reprinted from the New York *Herald*, most of them written by the *Herald's* Washington correspondent, Simonton, who went out in the spring of 1858 with the commissioners sent to negotiate. Of these despatches Gove wrote at least four and perhaps one or two more.

The editor, Otis G. Hammond, director of the society, has presented an unusual source collection which is all the more valuable because few students of Utah history would have thought of going to New Hampshire for sources. Too often state historical societies confine themselves to printing material dealing solely with their own localities. Director Hammond and the New Hampshire Society are to be congratulated upon breaking down the bars of provincialism.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

In Cabins and Sod-Houses. By Thomas Huston Macbride, President Emeritus of the State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1928, pp. xvi, 368, \$3.00.) This book is a record of what some Iowa farmers, in the fifteen years preceding the Civil War, "thought of themselves, their own doings, and their relations to the world". The book is not a systematic treatment of the intellectual history of the founders of Iowa. It is written in a pseudo-poetical style, and the names of the characters in the informal, reminiscent sketches are fictionalized. None the less it is valuable in that it represents the characteristic idealization of the frontier by one who was himself a pioneer. The long prairie experience of the author enabled him to draw upon a rich store of memories. We are told that care was taken to check these memories with available records. The book would have profited by a preface describing in greater detail the materials, written and unwritten, upon which it is based. One wonders, for example, whether the interesting accounts of the lyceum debates are reconstructed from memory, or whether, as in the case of a remarkable frontier sermon, manuscript notes served as the basis for a literary reconstruction.

In these sketches the characters are tolerant, shrewd, beauty-loving, and happy. They strove to see the truth and to do the right. Intense individualists, there were among them social idealists who visioned a state educational system for the development of civic responsibility and efficiency. Always there was the appeal of the undiscovered, and "an ex-

temporized, voluntary action" to achieve it. The log school-house, built by the joint efforts of the whole community in a single day, and the porch of the general store, were centres of a lively intellectual barter. Here the prairie farmers eagerly learned lessons in geology from a coal-pro prospector; here they discussed comets, pondered on phrenology, spirit-rapping, politics, and religion, and debated formally in the lyceum such problems as the relative values of art and nature and the wisdom of political compromise. Their faith in spiritual, aesthetic, and intellectual values was no less than their faith in the future of Iowa.

The book has few shadows. Only the dark clouds of the Kansas trouble and of threatening war mar the almost idyllic picture. Nothing is said of the tyranny of frontier conventions. The note of conflict is almost never struck. Possibly one prairie neighborhood, under the influence of so remarkable a personality as the chief one in the book, may have been as lyrically fond of natural beauty, as good-humored, and as spiritual-minded as this one. But in some Iowa communities during this period, to judge by other accounts, there was quarreling, bitterness, and sordidness. The author makes too wide a claim when he presents his book as a portrait of the intellectual life of the founders of a state. The story tells indirectly, though the writer seems scarcely aware of it, of the cultural retardations imposed by a frontier environment. Yet the book is another evidence that the frontier did condition high purposes, dreams, and visions, and that, contrary to the indictment of certain literary critics, it can not be regarded simply as the progenitor of a Main Street civilization.

Like other publications of the Iowa State Historical Society this book is excellently printed.

MERLE CURTI.

The Lance of Justice: a Semi-Centennial History of the Legal Aid Society, 1876-1926. By John MacArthur Maguire. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 305, \$3.00.) This book is an excellent model for the history of a charitable organization. A mass of jumbled material in the society records and contemporary newspapers has been transformed into groups of telling concrete cases illustrating significant topics. The chapters conform to successive steps in the development of the Legal Aid Society of New York City from its origin for the relief of German immigrants. Largely because of one man, Arthur von Briesen, it achieved such success that many similar societies followed throughout the country.

In showing that systematic law offices for the poor, of which the New York society was the pioneer, constitute the best method for giving them their legal rights, Professor Maguire incidentally discusses their situation under Anglo-American law in other times and places. He supplements the earlier and more general book of Reginald H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919), by describing events since its publication—the

formation of a National Legal Aid Association (1923), the English official report on legal remedies for the poor (1928), and the international meeting of legal aid experts (1924) under the auspices of the League of Nations, whose secretariat is preparing a survey of the subject.

To the social historian of the United States Professor Maguire's book has a great value which might not be suspected from its title. His full account of the work of the Legal Aid Society discloses many facts about the poorer classes in New York City, portraying a vivid and detailed cross-section of American urban life. The book continually deals with the condition and customs of immigrants and the changing population of various regions of the city. It shows the astonishing variety of frauds perpetrated by swindlers—lotteries, love powders, phonographs, trade schools which taught nothing, dentists doing bad work, bucket-shops, jim-crack watches sold on the instalment plan, loan sharks, employment agencies which took fees for jobs which they could not supply. Nor is this survey of evils wholly discouraging. The Legal Aid Society, being much more familiar than the ordinary law office with the shortcomings of existing legal remedies, could accomplish much in securing legislation and administrative improvement. Professor Maguire thus throws much light on the history and problems of law reform in this country.

The chapter on the Seamen's Branch, describing the innumerable impositions practised upon sailors and the gradual advance in their legal position since 1900, is a significant contribution to the history of shipping. The war chapter reveals serious indirect results of the conflict, such as the plight of German seamen and domestic servants in English employ, cheating and extortion in connection with draft exemptions, the loss of seamen's property in ships sunk by submarines, difficulties in the administration of property arising from the absence or death of soldiers, and mental incompetency among ex-service men.

The book has a very full index. A brief bibliography of books on legal aid would be a convenient addition.

Z. CHAFEE, JR.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1896. By Chang-Wei Chiu, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics; and Public Law, no. 297.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 347, \$5.25.) When a young man from a remote foreign land, trained to speak a language wholly different from ours, brought up among other customs of life, habits of thought, and institutions of government, undertakes a technical study of one of our political devices, we are prepared to pass judgment on the product with some condescension and, if it is tolerable, to say it is "not bad". Approaching in that inevitable spirit Mr. Chiu's book on *The Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1896*, the reader has a surprise in store. His condescension will change to humility as he realizes the chances are a thousand to one that if he were to go to China under like conditions and attempt a like task, he would not

come anywhere near a like degree of success. Indeed, were the name not on the cover and title-page, he would conclude this to be the work of a painstaking, thorough, judicious scholar of our own, who had grasped the spirit of the institution with remarkable accuracy. In brief, Mr. Chiu has made an admirable contribution to our literature of political science.

The Speakership is the most significant institution in the legislative branch of American federal government. In the story of its development is reflected the course of change in embodying the popular will in law, and also the change in our political habits of thought and practice. We are so close to the years here in question that we do not yet realize what has taken place. Later it will be recognized that in the first quarter of the twentieth century partizanship ceased to be the dominant feature of legislative life in Washington. This does not mean that partizanship has disappeared, or has become unimportant. It may return to dominance as it did just a hundred years ago, but for the moment it remains in Congress only for mechanical purposes. As a result the Speaker to-day more nearly approaches the impersonality of the presiding officer in the House of Commons than at any time for a century.

It is a very complicated piece of machinery that he handles. The procedure of the House of Representatives is *sui generis*. Few of the members ever master its intricacies. Not one of them would fail to find in Mr. Chiu's book something that had not come to his attention. For an outsider to have discovered all the matters worth noticing, is remarkable. Admiration grows in observing the accuracy, the proportion, the intelligence with which the details are described.

ROBERT LUCE.

The Grain Trade during the World War. By Frank M. Surface, Economist for the United States Grain Corporation. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xxviii, 679, \$6.00.) During the World War there was a wide expansion of national powers in the United States and many new administrative units of government were established to meet wartime emergencies. All too frequently these administrative units were scrapped without any provision for an adequate historical record of their activities, with the consequence that invaluable documents are in danger of being buried in inaccessible archives, if indeed they have not already been lost completely. Fortunately this has not always been the case and Dr. Surface's book is one of the pleasing exceptions.

In this substantial volume Dr. Surface has traced the history and accomplishments of the Food Administration Grain Corporation and its successor, the United States Grain Corporation. After a brief survey of the world food situation at the time of the entrance of the United States into the war, Dr. Surface discusses in greater detail the steps taken by the Food Administration to stabilize cereal food prices and to render the greatest possible assistance to our associates in the war. This is followed by an account of the handling of each important problem as it arose and

of the European relief work after the armistice. The concluding chapters relate to special phases of the activities of the Grain Corporation, giving detailed information on finances and the period of liquidation. Nearly five hundred pages are devoted to the text proper and the remainder—about one hundred and eighty pages—to appendixes, containing documentary material. It might be stated at this point that the entire text is interspersed with letters, documents, statistics, and graphs. To the possible criticism that the narrative is interrupted too much by the amount of this material the reply can be made that the letters and documents thus printed are perhaps in this manner only made available to historians and economists. It is really as a documentary source-book that this volume will have its ultimate value.

It is very doubtful if any one but Dr. Surface could have written the book. A trained statistician, he was connected throughout the entire period of its existence with the organization he describes; he had access to the correspondence and documents in its files; and he was able by personal conversation with the officers of the corporation to gather much material unavailable to others. The book is not easy reading but to the historian of the economic phases of the World War it is indispensable.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads. By Walter M. W. Splawn, Professor of Economics in the University of Texas. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 478, \$5.00.) Looking to the possibility that in a time of stress and strain upon American railroads, or in a political or economic disturbance not now foreseen but always possible, the general public may be misled by a few adroit politicians to repudiate the principle of private ownership of railroads and resort to government ownership, Professor Splawn has written a book with the hope that it may make it easier for men to form opinions based upon facts and to act in accordance with reason rather than from emotional excitement. While the author in nearly all cases is fair and objective in his recital of facts the volume is a thesis supporting the present American policy of private ownership of railroads and opposing the adoption of nationalization now common in many foreign countries, except Great Britain.

Following a brief introduction, Professor Splawn takes the reader into every quarter of the globe and gives him for each country a thumb-nail sketch of the early history and economic development of its railroads. He admits that the presentation is uneven and sometimes sketchy or patchy. In all, the rail transportation history and policies of 74 separate countries are condensed into 287 pages of the book—less than four pages to each country, including in most cases one or more statistical tables and a map. The statistics are meagre and of questionable value without greater explanation and qualification than the writer could give in one volume. The maps, too, are of little help because they are so small in

scale and so difficult to read. It is to be regretted that more space was not given to Germany, France, Australia, and Canada, and less effort made to have the summary complete by including all of the many small and unimportant countries which afford little assistance in their experience to guide one who is seeking the wisest policy for the United States.

The somewhat tedious recital about foreign countries is followed by a well-written and interesting chapter on the indications afforded by foreign experience. Then there is a long chapter on American experience in government ownership and operation of canals. Next comes a brief summary of the development of the railway systems of the United States and a chapter dealing with government operation of American railways during the World War period. In that chapter there is an inclination to charge the government with responsibility for economic forces which were incidental to war, and to minimize the praiseworthy accomplishments of unified operation during 1918 when the adequacy of rail transportation played such an important part in military operations. The results of federal control in 1918 and 1919 can not safely be used as arguments either for or against peace-time nationalization.

It is in the concluding chapters that Professor Splawn is at his best in summarizing and discussing the points in favor of government ownership and in making a case for the negative side of the question. In such matters as the possible effect upon expenses and service and the possibilities of political interference, the treatment is excellent.

WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM.

West Virginia in History, Life, Literature, and Industry. By Morris Purdy Shawkey, M.A., Ped.D., President of Marshall College. Five volumes. (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company, 1928, pp. lviii, 418, 458, 376, 350, 379.) President Shawkey is well known in West Virginia because of his good work as a former state superintendent of education and as the present head of Marshall College. The compilation which now appears under his editorship, however, has slight merit. It must be placed in that catalogue of state histories which may satisfy the pride of an uncritical local constituency but fail utterly to measure up to the standards of serious scholarship.

Volumes one and two, written, with the exception of a single chapter, by the editor himself, contain a review of West Virginia history, a description of its agricultural and industrial life, a survey of its development and present facilities in education, an account of the state's participation in the World War, and a group of uncoordinated chapters on popular historical highlights and miscellaneous information of all sorts. Loose organization, repetition, and some inaccuracy are probably the results of the limited time the author states he was able to devote to the work (I. vii).

Inasmuch as the author confessedly made little effort to use source-material (I. v) one is not surprised to find no new contribution to West

Virginia history. The story is popularly and lightly told. Controversial topics are avoided. The author liberally introduces his own philosophical ruminations on history. The tone is eulogistic. Where good can be written, it is written. Where adverse criticism might be in order, there is silence.

When we come to the contemporary chapters there is improvement. The author is here describing events most of which he himself observed and in some of which he honorably participated. Especially what he says about education and his survey of schools and colleges in the state are informative. Here again, however, lack of a critical attitude and the eulogizing tone leave much to be desired. The chapters on the industrial transformation of the state, while correct in emphasis, are sketchy and do not get beneath the surface into explanation. The World War chapters reveal a state thoroughly organized and heartily participating in all forms of war-time activity.

Volumes three, four, and five are devoted to West Virginia biographies prepared by a "special staff of writers". More than ninety per cent. of these biographies and virtually every illustration in these volumes are of living people. The career of a twenty-two year old country storekeeper receives more space (with illustration) and is more glowingly described than that of the man (without illustration) who received the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States in 1924 after a meritorious career in law, politics, and diplomacy. This striking example is eloquent of the mode of preparation and explains perhaps why such compilations are commercially a success. There are about eleven hundred pages of biographies, averaging two to a page.

To the serious student the books are disappointing. West Virginia's place in the national scene is too firmly established to suffer by shabby eulogies written in her name. But some states have histories which do them honor and it is greatly to be regretted that the energy and money here expended might not have brought a work of lasting merit to the mountain state.

PAUL H. BUCK.

History of Alabama and Her People. By Albert Burton Moore, M.S., M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History in the University of Alabama. Three volumes. (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1927, pp. liii, 995, 781, 776, \$30.00.) Only the first volume of the three included in this work merits the attention of a reviewer; the last two volumes, consisting of poorly prepared and badly written biographical sketches by "a special staff of writers", doubtless constitute the grave offense against historical accuracy characteristic of works of this type.

Professor Moore's volume is a narrative history of Alabama from the period of aboriginal occupancy. It touches on every phase of the state's life and as a popular work has undoubted value, but it can scarcely be regarded as an important contribution to history. In addition it is open

to very serious criticism in several respects. The study is wordy and badly proportioned. The author's prefatory admission that he lacked time for revising and condensing his manuscript is verified in every part of the book. Much space, for example, is devoted to extended and detailed descriptions of Indian life, backwoods life, plantation life, agriculture, and slavery, which contain nothing that is new and little that is peculiar to Alabama. Too much space throughout the book is given to unimportant matters, while there is a striking paucity of critical analysis of movements and of the workings of parties and leaders.

So far as is apparent the material is drawn chiefly from secondary sources. Each chapter contains a "select bibliography" of such material but there is no general bibliography indicating what original sources were employed, and the few foot-notes, when not explanatory, refer almost entirely to secondary works. Much of the discussion contained in the work seems superficial. This is particularly true in relation to the later period. Nowhere does one perceive that indefinable but none the less easily recognizable touch given alone by complete mastery of the subject, and as a consequence one finishes reading the book without any sense of familiarity with the history of Alabama. The apparent inadequacy of material has been noted; what is used is poorly digested. That portion of three years which the author spent upon the work was too small for the task.

Against these considerations it must be borne in mind that the book was prepared for popular consumption rather than for critical specialists. There is abundant evidence of that in its form, content, and treatment. It must be noted as well that the treatment, even of highly controversial matters, is admirably calm and detached, lacking any trace of prejudice, or even of bias. That may well serve to make the reader charitable with respect to some of its faults.

J. G. DEER. H.

History of Kansas, State and People. By William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Five volumes. (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1928, pp. xlviii, 2592, \$37.50.) The most difficult phase of American history to get written and to get published is the history of the states. There are a few excellent state histories but most of them are of the old type, published by subscription, and consisting partly of history and partly of biographies of the subscribers. This is a work of the old type. Although there is no indication of the fact, it is a new edition of a work published in 1918 entitled *A Standard History of Kansas*. The former work was issued by the Lewis Publishing Company and the present one is issued by The American Historical Society. The American Historical Association has always regarded the name as an unwarranted attempt to exploit the prestige of the Association but it may appear legitimate to the publishers.

The history, consisting of the first two volumes, is "written and compiled" by Mr. William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. A little more than the first half is written by Mr. Connelley himself and the remainder is contributed by other hands. In this edition there has been prefixed a new chapter on "Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains" and there have been added chapters on the governor's administrations from Capper to Paulen, and special articles on Kansas in the great war, agricultural history, and road legislation. Otherwise the plates appear to be unchanged.

Of the twelve hundred pages of the history, half are devoted to the period preceding the admission of Kansas as a state and half of the first half to the history of the region preceding the organization of Kansas as a territory. This gives too much space to the earlier period. The chapters on the Indians are doubtless valuable as the author is a specialist in this field. The chapter on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is inadequate in that it is limited to one of the three elements that contributed to the result. The story of the territorial period is told from the standpoint of Lane and John Brown. The career of Lane may be defended but for the operations of Brown, whatever his motives, there is no defense. The account of the period of statehood falls short of what is needed, as Mr. Connelley would probably be the first to admit, but it is the only one obtainable at present. The index is inadequate and important papers, like the one by Judge Huggins on the Industrial Court, are not listed in the table of contents.

The biographical section, consisting of the last three volumes, was prepared "by a Special Staff of Writers". It consists for the most part of notices of the subscribers or notices inserted at their instance. The larger part of them are new. The names carried over from the first edition are presumably those of subscribers to this edition also. There is a plentiful supply of portraits, inserted for a consideration. The notices are thrown together without any arrangement. Apparently the distribution of the portraits was the controlling consideration. In this matter the publishers have been unfair to their subscribers. The usefulness of the work would have been increased if the notices had been arranged alphabetically and a geographical index provided, or better yet had been arranged geographically and an alphabetical index provided. The two parts of the work should have separate indexes.

The whole work will be useful in newspaper offices in Kansas. The historical part is worth procuring elsewhere, if it can be bought separately, but buying five volumes to get two makes the two come rather high.

F. H. H.

Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism. By John Carter. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928, pp. x, 348, \$2.50.) Addressed to the critics, both native and foreign, of American foreign policy and to those American officials who have not had an opportunity to vindicate

their programmes, this book "is designed to show that our economic expansion and industrial prosperity can be divorced from political expansion and economic imperialism, and that we may have developed institutions capable of promoting the peace of the world and the political demobilization of the nations". While admitting that he has indulged in a piece of speculative interpretation, the author claims that his opinions are based on information supplied by the works of other writers and by officials of the federal departments of State and Commerce.

The twenty-two chapters of the book have been arranged under three divisions, called respectively "The Basis of American World-Power", "The Struggle Between America and Europe", and "The Future of American Expansion". In the first division, or part I., the author attempts first to discuss such topics as the principles of imperialism and the character of empire, following which is a treatment of American expansion—"infantile imperialism"—including the policies followed and the doctrines evolved as a consequence. In the second division, the writer considers the danger which all the foreign policies of America faced in 1917 as a result of the World War, the offensive taken by the United States to save these policies, the counter-attack of Europe and her attempts at the political encirclement and the economic and moral isolation of the United States following the close of the struggle, the endeavors of Secretaries of State Hughes and Kellogg to meet the attack, and the successful fight of American business to capture the trade of the world. In the final division, the author plunges more deeply into the field of speculation and offers suggestions on the course American expansion might take in the future.

Although the general reader may find in the book points of interest, the student of history will discover little to merit his attention. The material usually classed as factual is worth little because where it is not available in more convenient form elsewhere the absence of citations to sources of information renders it useless. The selection of facts indicates a lack of insight and proportion, while their interpretation shows a disposition to prove a preconceived thesis, namely that the United States is almost always right and other nations usually wrong.

Despite a few errors—for example those on page 191, line 4, and page 219, line 26—the book is well edited.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

A Bibliography of Alaskan Literature, 1724-1924. By James Wickersham. [Miscellaneous Publications of the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines.] (Cordova, Alaska, 1927, pp. xxviii, 635, distributed by School of Mines, College P.O. at \$5.55.) Those who have but casual information about the literature, history, or development of Alaska, on examining Judge Wickersham's well-made book, will encounter three surprises: first, the scope of the work embracing more than ten thousand titles; second, the amount of published literature on and from Alaska;

third, the scholarship and skill sufficient to produce and publish such a technical and valuable book within the Territory of Alaska.

The titles are numbered serially, reaching a total of 10,380. The general literature is arranged in groups from "Adventure" to "Zoology", the items being alphabetized by authors within each group. The United States public documents relating to Alaska begin with number 6832 and end with number 10,380. A voluminous index facilitates immediate reference to any item or author. The author presents (pp. 1-37) in what he calls "Outlines of the History of Alaskan Literature, 1724-1924", a compact sketch of Alaska's history from the influence of Peter the Great to the territory's aspirations for statehood.

The two-century span is more than justified as the author traces Russian influence prior to 1724 and there are some titles included bearing dates subsequent to 1924, as numbers 267 and 267a, publications by former Governor Scott C. Bone in 1925 and 1926.

In addition to titles citing works on history and economics, there are, of course, citations to poetry and dramatics. One whole group is devoted to Jack London. The drama of this bibliography itself, hinted in the preface, is well known to the author's many friends. When Judge James Wickersham became delegate to Congress from the Territory of Alaska in 1908, he sent to the superintendent of documents for certain published items to aid in his work as delegate. That natural request uncovered the existence of a vast number of documents. He says that very soon he and some of his assistants "became chronic book collectors and students of Alaskan history and problems". For twenty years he has continued and now possesses the most perfect collection of Alaskan known to exist. He also assembled, far beyond his own collection, titles of many other works. For two years he gave his time to compilation and then Alaska's legislature opened the way for publication.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

Grain Growers Co-operation in Western Canada. By Harald S. Patton, Ph.D. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XXXII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. x, 471, \$5.00.) Dr. Patton's scholarly book in a large measure fills the long-standing need for an adequate account of the dramatic struggle for coöperation on the part of the grain growers of Western Canada. It is not that the subject has been overlooked heretofore by historians, but that all previous accounts of this movement (at least those that have come to the reviewer's attention) have suffered either from inadequacy of scope, from bias of special pleading, or from unscientific treatment of the economic issues involved. None of these charges can be made against the present work. It is comprehensive, impartial, well constructed and clearly written, and thoroughly scientific in temper.

Particularly noteworthy is the historical treatment of the subject. Starting with a vivid picture of economic conditions in Western Canada

at the opening of the present century, the author shows how the co-operative movement came into being and how it has grown step by step from small beginnings until now it dominates the entire grain trade of Canada. It is an account that no student can afford to ignore because it shows so clearly the difficulties that beset coöperative undertakings, the mistakes made by the Canadian agriculturists, and the factors that have contributed to the success of this movement in Canada.

Of greatest present interest are the sections dealing with the pool system of grain marketing that has made its appearance in the prairie provinces since 1921. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the author's treatment of the economic results of this development is unsatisfactory. While he dwells at length upon the savings in marketing costs achieved by the pools, Dr. Patton has very little to say regarding the accomplishments and potentialities of the pool system in raising the price of Canadian wheat in the world markets. The author, in fact, dismisses the subject with the statement that, since the Canadian crop comprises only 12 per cent. of the total world wheat production, the wheat pools have very little chance to exercise any material influence upon world prices.

With this assumption the present reviewer must take issue. A study of wheat consumption in the importing nations of Europe shows that the demand for imported wheat is much more inelastic than that for the native wheat. Thus, a change in the volume of exports from the surplus producing nations has a much greater influence upon so-called world prices than an equal change in the size of the European crop. As a result of this situation, the most significant factor in influencing prices is the percentage of the total exportable under control, and not the percentage of total world production. Since Canada produces between 40 and 50 per cent. of the present world surplus, the pools by controlling most of the Canadian crop have a unique opportunity to influence world prices. Doubtless it would be extremely difficult to show such an influence by statistical evidence, but, nevertheless, it is necessary that the attempt be made. The actual and potential savings in marketing costs are so small, as Dr. Patton has clearly shown, that the future success of the pool system of marketing in Canada is likely to depend largely upon its ability to enhance the price received for Canadian wheat in world markets.

JOHN F. FENNELLY.

Our Cuban Colony: a Study in Sugar. By Leland Hamilton Jenks. [Studies in American Imperialism.] (New York, Vanguard Press, 1928, pp. xxii, 341, \$1.00.) This might have been a good book on a worthwhile subject, but it is spoiled by the half-truths, innuendo, and partizanship of the sort one finds so often among circles of the self-approving *intelligentsia*, whose motto seems to be: "Whatever is, is *wrong*, especially if it is American!"

The book is one of a series now being gotten out by the "American Fund for Public Service", whose object is the "prosecution of studies

into American expansion and investment outside the United States". Two other works in this series have appeared almost simultaneously, one on Bolivia, and the other on the Dominican Republic. The editor, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, now makes his *début* in the Hispanic-American field, and says that the object of the series is to "make a careful study of the actual facts [*sic*], in order to find out just what contemporary imperialism really amounts to". One gathers the impression, however, that Professor Barnes is inclined to prejudge the "actual facts", implying a condemnation. The ostensible object of the series, of course, is "human enlightenment and social justice"!

Although in a sense this is a history of Cuba from the standpoint of American economic enterprise, the main emphasis comes on the Zayas period (1921-1925) and recent times. Throughout, the author takes occasion to express his disapproval of the American people, as witness the "uncouth nation" of '98, with the inferiority complex, "cloaking greed with idealism and imagination with vulgarity" (p. 50). Individual Americans are also bitterly criticized, notably leading Republicans. The Democrats suffer less. Not so, however, one prominent figure of the Wilson administration—a certain Herbert Hoover! The one definite recommendation of the book is for dropping the Platt Amendment (or Permanent Treaty). The author appears also to deplore the fact that Cuba has become an "American factory", though there is little of precise accusation against American business, despite an air as of some great wrong.

The best thing that can be said of this book is that it has made a wide use of materials. Unfortunately, however, it would seem that the author, or the association he represents, is not capable of an unbiassed presentation of facts. On the score of technique the book is full of errors. There is no bibliography, and little or no sense of form in style of entry in notes citing materials. The author's apparent unfamiliarity with Spanish reveals itself in frequent misspellings and in misplaced or missing accents, and much of incorrect English has survived the proof-reading. These are minor sins, however, in comparison with the book's invented atmosphere, its undue "smartness", and, above all, its evident bias.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

COMMUNICATION

February 26, 1929.

The Editor of the American Historical Review:

In a not unjustly severe review of Montague Summers's *History of Witchcraft and Demonology* and *The Geography of Witchcraft* Professor George L. Burr includes the following paragraph (*A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 324):

"But the most startling thing is not Mr. Summers or his book. It is that such a book could find a place in a great educational series on the history of civilization—a series announced as offering the ripest fruit of historical science—a series initiated by the rational *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, edited by a Cambridge scholar, and boasting as its 'consulting American editor' the champion of the 'new history'."

In fairness to Henri Berr, Mr. Knopf, and myself it should be stated that neither the editor of the basic French series, nor the American publisher, nor the "consulting American editor" bears any responsibility whatever for the inclusion of Summers's books in the series. The series is made up by the editor-in-chief, Mr. C. K. Ogden, who adds such books as he believes wise to the original French set. The only function of the "American editor" is to advise as to how many copies of each volume shall be purchased for the American edition and to obtain an occasional volume for the series from American scholars. The one volume for which he is responsible is W. Christie MacLeod's excellent *American Indian Frontier*, and we have awaiting publication two remarkable volumes by Professor A. C. Flick on the *Decline of the Medieval Church*. Others may be arranged for later.

Both Mr. Knopf and the "consulting American editor" were greatly shocked by the nature of the Summers volume and have protested vigorously to Mr. Ogden. Steps have been taken to prevent a repetition of this sort of thing as far as the American publication of the series is concerned.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) HARRY ELMER BARNES.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao died January 19 in Peking, at the age of 56. Early in life he was associated with the late K'ang Yu-wei in initiating the reforms that ended in the collapse of the Manchu régime in 1911. In 1898, at the age of 25, he wrote a memorial advocating revolutionary reforms in the examination system, thus paving the way for its final abolition in 1905. Barely escaping with his life the *coup d'état* of 1898, he lived in exile for some years, writing on political reform through the medium of periodicals which he edited. After the establishment of the Republic he devoted himself more exclusively to teaching, lecturing, and writing on historical subjects; his activities in the political field being confined to the founding of the *Chin Pu Tang*, and more recently the *Yen Chiu Hsi*—two parties which advocated more moderate views than those held by Sun Yat Sen and the *Kuo Min Tang*.

Mr. Liang was greatly influenced by two revolutionary works of his teacher, K'ang Yu-wei, "The Forged Classics of the Wang Mang Period" (*Hsin Hsüeh Wei Ching K'ao*), and "Confucius's Programme of Reform" (*K'ung-tzu Kai Chih K'ao*)—two works which may be said to have set in motion the whole Chinese historical criticism of our day. He was a stalwart defender of the *Chin Wen*, or "modern text" school which holds that not a few of the doubtful texts of antiquity were forged by Liu Hsin, for political reasons, in the first decade of the Christian era. The intensive study which both K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had made of the so-called "Han school" of historical criticism (of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), together with what they had learned of the Western approach, made them the natural founders of the present-day intellectual renaissance, especially on its historical side.

The latest edition of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's "Collected Writings" (*Yin Ping Shih Wen Chi*) appeared in 1927 in 80 volumes. Some scholarly contributions were published separately; the three in which he took the greatest pride being: "Methods of Investigating Chinese History" (*Chung Kuo Li Shih Yen Chiu Fa*), "Critical Scholarship during the Ch'ing Dynasty" (*Ch'ing Tai Hsüeh Shu Kai Lun*), and "Chinese Political Thought prior to the Ch'in Dynasty" (*Hsien Ch'in Cheng Chih Ssu Hsiang Shih*), all published in 1911-1912; the last is translated into French. One of his most recent works, "Methods of Studying the Important Classical Books" (*Yao Chi Chieh T'i Chi Ch'ii Tu Fa*) affords the best summary of the present-day criticism of the great ancient books that has yet appeared. At the time of his death he was engaged on a vast "Cultural History of China" (*Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih*) of which only parts have appeared in print.

In a little autobiographical sketch entitled "On Reaching the Age of Thirty", Mr. Liang remarked, "Prior to my visit to Shanghai at the age of eighteen, when a world atlas for the first time fell into my hands, I did not know of the existence of the five continents". And yet this young man, by extraordinary mental resiliency and an inimitable literary style, captured the intellectual leadership of all China, and retained it till he died. This ability to change with the times, manifested in his literary style as well as in his ideas, may be attributed, perhaps, to the strict self-application of a motto which he often quoted to others: "Do not hesitate to let your self of to-day pronounce judgment on your self of yesterday."

We are late in recording the death of Charles Florus Coan, on September 19, 1928, at the age of 42. He was head of the department of history in the University of New Mexico. His most important work was *A History of New Mexico*, published in 1925.

Frank Alfred Golder, professor of history and a director of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, died on January 7, at the age of 52. After his graduation from Harvard in 1903 he studied abroad. He taught later at the University of Missouri, Boston University, the University of Chicago, and at the State College of Washington. Since 1921 he has been professor in Stanford. In 1914-1915 he was engaged in an investigation in the Russian archives for the Carnegie Institution, and again in 1917. He was a member of the House Inquiry during 1917-1919; and in 1920-1923 a special investigator of the American Relief Administration in Central and Eastern Europe. In the field of Russian history and Russian-American relations he made contributions of permanent value, notably in *Russian Expansion in the Pacific, 1641-1850* (1914); *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (1917); *Bering's Voyages* (1922); and *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917* (1927). His latest book was *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, published last October. Dr. Golder left an enduring monument in the great Russian collection in the Hoover War Library. The content of this collection testifies both to his scholarly interest and to his wide acquaintanceship among European scholars and public men who, like his American colleagues, valued him not only for his attainments as a scholar but for the rare quality of his friendship. His death will be mourned by his colleagues in this country and by hundreds of men, women, and children, uprooted and scattered by war and revolution, to whom he gave succor and the comfort of his sympathy.

Walter I. Lowe died on February 22 at the age of 62. He has been professor at Colgate University since 1920. Before that he had taught at Yale, at Wells College, and at the University of Beaune, France, during the war.

Louis J. Paetow died suddenly on December 22, at the age of 48. He had taught at the universities of Colorado, Wisconsin, Illinois, and, since 1911, California. He was a fellow and vice-president of the Mediaeval

Academy, and served on the board of editors of *Speculum*. He was an active member of the committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*. In 1910 he published the *Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, and since then his chief interest has been in the further study of this subject. The second of his *Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris* (reviewed in this number), won for him the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies last year. In 1917 he published his well-known *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* and of this he was preparing a new edition. His translation of the letters of Robert Grosseteste, to be published in the series Records of Civilization, was so nearly completed that it is hoped that both this and the *Guide* may soon be ready for publication. One of his great achievements was in training and arousing the enthusiasm of students who are carrying on his work in the study of the Medieval universities.

Eduard Fueter died on November 28, at the age of 53. He had been professor at Zurich since 1903. Among his works the best known are *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, 1911 (second edition, 1925, French translation, 1914), *Geschichte der Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559*, 1919, and *Weltgeschichte der Letzten Hundert Jahren*, 1921 (English translation, 1922).

Hermann Reincke-Bloch died on January 1, at the age of 61. He had been professor at Strassburg, Rostock, and Breslau, in addition to holding important public offices. In 1892 he published his *Forschungen zur Geschichte Heinrichs VI.*, which was followed by other works on the history of the Hohenstaufens. He also wrote on other periods, both Medieval and modern. He took an active part in organizing the International Committee of Historical Sciences and was chairman of the committee on the International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography.

Dietrich Schäfer died on January 12, at the age of 83. He had been professor at Jena, Breslau, Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin. From 1872 on a long series of volumes attested his industry and learning. He was especially interested in the history of the Hanseatic League on which he wrote or edited more than a dozen volumes. In addition he wrote over fifty other works, several of which appeared in revised editions; of these possibly the best known are his *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 1907, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 1910, and his numerous publications in connection with the World War.

Professor Charles H. Haskins has been transferred to the newly endowed Henry Charles Lea Professorship of Mediaeval History at Harvard University.

Dr. W. I. Brandt of the University of Iowa is on leave of absence, assisting as associate editor, in the launching of the *Social Science Abstracts*.

Josiah C. Russell, of Colorado College, has been appointed head of the department of history in the New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: *Columbia University*, Professor B. B. Kendrick of the North Carolina College for Women, Professor M. M. Knight of the University of California, Professors L. M. Larson and A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, and Professor P. W. Slosson of the University of Michigan; *Duke University*, Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois; *University of Tennessee*, Professor W. A. Moody of Iowa State College; *University of Iowa*, Professor J. C. Andressohn of Indiana University, Professor J. E. Pomfret of Princeton University, and Professor J. L. Sellers of the University of Wisconsin; *University of Nebraska*, Professor Louis Pelzer of the University of Iowa; *Stanford University*, Professor C. A. Duniway of Carleton College, and Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota; *University of Washington*, Professor W. R. Livingston of the University of Iowa.

GENERAL

At the Conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West, University of Colorado, June 18-21, the topics and leaders for the round tables will be the Problem of Adequate Historical Collections, S. J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society; the Industrial Revolution and the Great Plains, W. P. Webb of the University of Texas; the West in Foreign Relations, E. C. Barker of the University of Texas; Geographic Influences, Carl Sauer of the University of California; the Problem of an Adequate Agricultural Survey for a Western State, Joseph Schafer of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Finance and the Frontier, F. L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

There will also be formal papers on Western Missions, Western Transportation, and the West in American Literature, presented by G. J. Garraghen, St. Louis University; C. B. Goodykoontz, University of Colorado; L. R. Hafen, Colorado State Historical Society; Lucy B. Hazard, Mills College; A. B. Hulbert, Colorado College; J. C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles; Louis Pelzer, University of Iowa. H. E. Bolton, University of California, will read a paper on "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands". F. J. Turner will preside at one of the meetings.

Professor Hutton Webster, in *Historical Selections*, has furnished a source-book containing 575 documents or parts of documents, ranging in date over about 4000 years; *e.g.*, there are some 26 from the ancient Egyptians and 18 on international relations, including the Locarno Conference. The range of topics is catholic: social, political, and economic conditions; science, philosophy, religion, and myths. Any student will find material to whet his interest and to induce him to read more (Heath, 1929, pp. xix, 973).

The contents of the December number of the *Historical Outlook* include an article by L. L. Bernard of Tulane University on What our Latin-American Neighbors Think of Us; one by L. K. Koontz of the Uni-

versity of California on George Washington as Santa Claus, relating to an order by Washington, Sept. 20, 1759, found in the Huntington Library, for "sundries" for the two Custis children; one by B. A. Arneson of Ohio Wesleyan University, entitled *Is the French Cabinet System a Failure?* and one by Clarence Perkins of the University of North Dakota, entitled *An Interpretation of the History of France for Americans*. The January number has a group of articles on the use, validity, etc., of tests in schools, one of these being a discussion, by Dean E. W. Thornton of the Fort Dodge Junior College, of *Informational Tests in American History*. There is also an article, by J. A. Kinneman of the Illinois State Normal University, entitled *the School Administrator sets Standards in History*. The February number contains an account, by Witt Bowden of the University of Pennsylvania, of the Meeting of the American Historical Association; an article by A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota entitled *Thirty Years after the Committee of Seven*; one by Sylva T. Hansen of the University High School, University of Iowa, on the Educational Policies of some Prominent Peace and Religious Organizations; and one by J. C. Fitzpatrick, entitled *George Washington as Santa Claus* again, pertaining primarily to a record, among the Washington manuscripts in the Library of Congress, of some Christmas purchases by Washington in 1783. In the March number K. S. Latourette discusses the place of Far Eastern history in the world history course in the high school.

Foreign Affairs for January contains an unusual number of articles which must be noted in an historical journal. Probably the one of greatest interest is Harold Nicolson's review of Ronaldshay's *Life of Lord Curzon*; from intimate acquaintance Nicolson portrays Curzon's character in a masterly manner. "A.E." writes on *Twenty-five Years of Irish Nationality*; V. Stefansson on the history of Iceland and its desire for independence; A. S. de Bustamante on *Arbitration in the Western Hemisphere*; R. J. Kerner, in a review of the memories of Masaryk and Beneš, on the *Winning of Czechoslovak Independence*; and W. Marx on the *Rhineland Occupation*. There is also an interesting group on *Soviet Russia*, and a summary by R. R. Platt of the *Guatemala-Honduras Boundary Dispute*.

The first number of the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (see *Review* for October) appeared in January and is excellent. Among the articles is one by Professor H. Pirenne on "*L'Instruction des Marchands au Moyen Age*". In the section "*À Travers les Livres et les Revues*" there is a general review of urban history by Georges Espinas, which is especially noteworthy.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains an article on the Catholic University of America, which includes a letter of Pope Pius XI. to the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of the United States, Oct. 10, 1928; a paper by F. S. Betten, S. J., on the Adoption of

the Roman Easter Calculation by the Island Celts; another, by J. M. Lenhart, O. M., Cap., entitled an Important Chapter in American Church History (1625-1650); and one by Sr. M. Ramona, S. C. N., M. A., on the Ecclesiastical Status of New Mexico (1680-1875). Among the documents are the address of Monsignor J. H. Ryan upon the occasion of his installation as Rector of the Catholic University of America, Nov. 14, 1928, and the addresses of Cardinal O'Connell and Mr. C. E. Martin on the same occasion.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January J. H. Johnston writes on Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians, and there is a Digest of Documents in the Archives of the Indies relating to negroes in Cuba.

During the past year *Agricultural History* in addition to papers mentioned in the January number of this *Review*, contained among others the following articles: Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco, by L. C. Gray; Those Kansas Jayhawkers: a Study in Sectionalism, by E. E. Dale; and Jared Eliot, by R. H. True.

A new series of monographs, dealing with the expansion of Europe into the New World, is planned by Adolf Rein under the general caption *Uebersee-Geschichte* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen). The first numbers, which have recently appeared and which seem to depart in some cases from the announced subject of the series are *Das Problem der Europäischen Expansion in der Geschichts-Schreibung* by Adolf Rein (pp. 38), *Amerikanische Interessen- und Prinzipienpolitik in Mexiko 1910-1914, ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Wilsonismus* by Hans G. Römer (pp. x, 150), and *Nordamerika im Urteil des Deutschen Schrifttums bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, eine Untersuchung über Kürnbergers "Amerika-Müden", mit einer Bibliographie* by Hildegard Meyer (pp. vi, 166). As number four, there is projected a study by Walter Gerhard of *Das Politische System Alexander Hamiltons 1789-1804*.

Professor Ralph Fanning has published an *Outline for the Study of the History of the Fine Arts in Western Civilization from the Earliest Times to the End of the Seventeenth Century*, through the State University Press, Columbus, O., 1928. The outlines are suggestive, and the bibliographical references well chosen; the book is arranged for students at Ohio State University, but should be useful to a wider clientele.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. S. B. Gras, *Unternehmertum und Unternehmergegeschichte* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXV. 3); Marc Bloch, *Pour une Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Européennes* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, December); Corrado Barbagallo, *Economia Antica e Moderna*, I. (Nuova Rivista Storica, September-December); J. S. Reeves, *Perspectives in Political Science, 1903-1928* (American Political Science Review, February); Constance Lathrop, *Seagoing Customs* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings,

January); E. Foerster, *Liberalismus und Kulturkampf* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 4); C. F. Carusi and C. D. Kojouharoff, *The First Armed Neutrality* (National University Law Review, January); *Militärs als Diplomaten* (Der Krieg, January); Paul Herre, *Kriegsschuldfrage und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Kriegsschuldfrage, February).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: A Vincent, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Orientale* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

An instrument of great value to every historian of antiquity is J. Marouzeau's *Dix Années de Bibliographie Classique: 1914-1924* (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 2 vols., 1927, 1928, pp. 1286).

A volume on ancient history, by Professor Laistner of Cornell, to be published this year, is announced by Heath. This is planned as an interpretation to 330 A. D.

In *The Prehistory of Aviation* Berthold Laufer treats very informally the Romance of Flying in Ancient China, Kites as Precursors of Aeroplanes, the Dawn of Airships in Ancient India, From Babylon and Persia to the Greeks and the Arabs, and the Air Mail of Ancient Times. The monograph is accompanied by 12 plates, curious and interesting, and is supplied with notes and bibliographical references.

The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga, by S. Langdon and J. K. Fotheringham, is a solution of Babylonian chronology by means of the Venus observations of the first dynasty (New York, Oxford Press).

The first fascicle of vol. II. of the "Histoire Générale", published by Gustave Glotz consists of an account of *La Grèce au Ve Siècle* by the editor (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 160).

An important publication is vol. II. of "Peuples et Civilisations", the general history edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac. The volume in question deals with *La Grèce et l'Orient des Guerres Médiques à la Conquête Romaine* by Professor Pierre Roussel of Strasbourg, director of the French school at Athens (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. 556). Paul Cloché and René Grousset have collaborated.

Eduard Meyer's wish for a systematic study of the literary sources for the period of the late Roman republic is to receive fulfilment at the hands of Fritz Taeger, who presents the first instalment of his undertaking under the title, *Tiberius Gracchus: Untersuchungen zur Römischen Geschichte und Quellenkunde* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. 152). The volume has been favorably received.

In the University of California *Publications in Classical Philology*, vol. IX. no. 6, Professor M. E. Deutsch discusses Caesar's choice of a son and heir.

Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXV. 3); Fritz Rörig, *Die Geistigen Grundlagen der Hansischen Vormachtstellung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 2); L. K. Born, *The Perfect Prince: a Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals* (Speculum, October); *id.*, *Erasmus on Political Ethics* (Political Science Quarterly, December).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The first number of the *Journal of Modern History* (176 pages) comes to hand just as this section of the *Review* is in galley-proof. Among the contents are two excellent longer articles: England and Denmark in the Later Days of Queen Elizabeth, by Edward P. Cheyney, and Mr. Oversecretary Stephen, by Paul Knaplund. There is also a short article by Chester P. Higby on the Present Status of Modern European History in the United States. For the Documents section Leo Gershoy contributes Three Letters of Bertrand Barère, and Samuel N. Harper, a Communist View of Historical Studies. Ernest W. Nelson has an excellent "bibliographical article" on Recent Literature concerning Erasmus, and Godfrey Davies and the editor, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "review articles", the first on 7 Recent Textbooks of English History, the latter on the Origins of the War, taking up the four books by Renouvin, Fischer, Wilson, and Fay. Fourteen book reviews and a bibliography (34 pages) of "books of consequence" which appeared in 1928, frequently with a brief annotation, conclude this number. The editor is to be congratulated on such an auspicious beginning.

The *Recueil des Plus Célèbres Astrologues et Quelques Hommes Doctes fait par Symon de Phares du Temps de Charles VIII.* is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of great importance for the history of science and particularly for that of astronomy and medicine. It has been published by Ernest Wickersheimer, of the university library at Strasbourg (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 302).

A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, by J. W. Allen (New York, Dial Press) treats the political theories and problems of Germany, Switzerland, England, France, and Italy, with especial attention to Bodin and Machiavelli.

The School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University has brought out a volume of lectures by James Brown Scott on Francisco de Vitoria, 1480-1546, and Francisco Suarez, 1548-1617, entitled *The Spanish Origin of International Law*.

A Voyage around the World in the Years 1740-1744, by Commodore George Anson, has been edited by G. S. L. Clowes, and published in a limited edition by C. E. Lauriat, Boston.

Letters of the Empress Frederick, edited by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, are the letters written to her mother, Queen Victoria, 1858-1900 (Macmillan).

The fourth volume of Professor Josef Šusta's *Svetova Politika* ("World Politics") *v Letech 1871-1914*, covering the period from Fashoda to Algéiras, has been issued by Vesmir (Prague, 1928).

R. F. Young has written a brief account of a Bohemian Scholar at Heidelberg and Oxford in the sixteenth century which is published by the School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London (1928). The account tells little about the university but sheds light on the educational activities of the "Unitas Fratrum" or Bohemian Brethren.

Historical Readings in Nineteenth Century Thought contains essays by Huxley, Spencer, Marx, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy, and the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on "The Condition of Labor". Each essay is preceded by a brief sketch, partly biographical and partly explanatory, by one of the editors, W. P. Hall and E. A. Beller (New York, Century Company, 1928).

The Hakluyt Society has in press *Spanish Documents concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1527-1568*. The volume contains 29 heretofore unpublished documents, from the Archives of the Indies, in English translation and edited by Miss Irene A. Wright, who furnished an excellent introduction.

Our Own Times, by H. C. Thomas and W. A. Hamm, the third volume of the "A B C of History", traces the events since 1870. It is a readable sketch, including social and economic changes, and forms a good introduction to the history of the period (Vanguard Press, 1928).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. G. E. Rope, *Some Thoughts on the Renaissance* (Catholic World, January); Gaston Dodu, *Les Idées de Charles V. en Matière de Gouvernement* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); E. Kohlmeyer, *Die Bedeutung der Kirche für Luther* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 4); H. Luthje, *Melanchthons Anschauung über das Recht des Widerstandes gegen die Staatsgewalt* (*ibid.*); L. E. Halkin, *Le Plus Ancien Texte d'Édit Promulgué contre les Luthériens* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); Otto Haintz, *Karl XII. und Peter der Grosse vor Pultawa 1709* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); D. B. Horn, *Saxony in the War of the Austrian Succession* (English Historical Review, January); Carlo de Antonio, *La Prima Visita di Napoleone Imperatore a Torino Aprile 1805; dal Diario Inedito di un Gentiluomo Piemontese* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); J. Holland Rose, *The Political Reactions of Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition* (English Historical Review, January); Guy de Traversay, *La Première Tentative de République Rhénane*, I., concl. (Revue de Paris, November 15, Dec. 1); Gaetano Vitali, *Guglielmo II. e Bismarck*, I. (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Graf Max Montgelas, *Bismarck und Schweinitz*, I., cont. (Kriegsschuldfrage, January, February); Horst Höhne, *Joseph Chamberlain und Die Grosse Politik bis zur Eröffnung der Deutsch-Englischen Bündnisbesprechungen* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Politik und Geschichte, I. 7, 1); William L. Langer, *Russia, the Straits*

Question, and the European Powers, 1904-1908 (English Historical Review, January); B. Nikitine, *L'Union Soviétique et l'Orient Musulman; Pactes de Garantie* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October).

WORLD WAR

In *An Outline History of the Great War* Major G. V. Carey and Captain H. S. Scott, have given an outline of the main British campaigns, and have attempted in the last chapter "to summarise very briefly the attitude and experience of those who walked through the valley of the shadow of death". Each chapter has suggestions for reading; there are eight illustrations, seventeen maps, and an index of seventeen pages. In spite of the great compression the account is clear, and is enlivened by passages such as the one (pp. 155-156) on Sergeant-Major Skinner's heroism (Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. viii, 279, American agents, the Macmillan Company).

An exhaustive study of *Tannenberg; das Deutsche Heer von 1914, seine Grundzüge und deren Auswirkung im Sieg an der Ostfront* has been published by Walter Elze (Breslau, Hirt, 1928, pp. 370). The work, which has the coöperation of the Reichsarchiv, consists of two parts, an exposition and a collection of sources.

In the series Economic and Social History of the World War the Yale University Press has published Boris E. Nolde's *Russia in the Economic War*, and *Studies in the War History of a Neutral*, vol. IV., *Netherlands and the World War*, containing two parts, the "Effect of the War upon Banking and Currency", by Dr. G. Vissering, and "War Finances in the Netherlands, 1918-1922: the Costs of the War", by Dr. H. W. C. Bordewyk.

A monograph of exceptional interest is Marshal Pétain's account of *La Bataille de Verdun* (Paris, Payot, 1929).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Egon Gottschalk, *Der Völkerrechtliche Gehalt der Kriegsschuldfrage* (Kriegsschuldfrage, February); Vaso Trivanovitch, *The Responsibility for the Sarajevo Assassination* (Current History, March); Georg Vogel, *Der Einfluss Nicolson's und Crowe's auf die Politik Sir Edward Grey's bei Kriegsausbruch, nach den Randvermerken in den Englischen Akten* (Europäische Gespräche, November); *Mobilisierung-Krieg* (Der Krieg, February); Joh. Victor Bredt, *Die Italienische Rückversicherung* (Kriegsschuldfrage, December); Edmond Delage, *Le Drame du Jutland*, I., concl. (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15); H. A. de Weerd, *Winston Churchill, a British War Lord* (Current History, January); Friedrich Ritter von Wiesner, *Das Serbische Memorandum vom Jahre 1919 über die Kriegsschuld der Mittelmächte* (Kriegsschuldfrage, December); Oskar v. Wertheimer, *Graf Stefan Tisza und der Eintritt Italiens in den Weltkrieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); S. B. Fay, *Revelations in Latest British War*

Documents (Current History, January); Stéphane Lauzanne, *Marshal Foch's Story of the Armistice* (Living Age, February).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Low and Pulling's *Dictionary of English History*, first published in 1894, has been revised and enlarged by F. J. C. Hearnshaw and is published by Cassell of London.

Vol. 13, no. 1 (January) of the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contains a Hand-list of the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928.

The papers published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser., vol. XI. (London, 1928) are of unusual interest. T. F. Tout in his presidential address dwelt on the Human Side of Mediaeval Records, with many an apt illustration. A. E. Stamp, on the thirty-fifth anniversary of his entrance into the Public Record Office, gave an account of its work and reminiscences of its early days and the scholars who had worked in it. The titles of the other papers, each one a valuable contribution, are the Anglo-Russian Relations during the First English Revolution, by Madame Inna Lubimenko; the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century, by Miss E. M. Carus-Wilson; a Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a borough, by Gladys A. Thornton; Polydore Vergil's Will, by E. A. Whitney and P. P. Cram; and the Origins of Parliament, by H. G. Richardson.

As a separate from the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, Humphrey Milford publishes its annual Italian Lecture, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, in which Dr. Mario Praz traces, with great literary learning, the growth and development in Elizabethan literature of the legend of Machiavelli as the inventor of the practices of which he essayed to give scientific description.

A valuable psychological study is Helmut Kittel's *Oliver Cromwell, seine Religion und seine Sendung* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1928, pp. 262).

The History of Science Society has published a bicentenary evaluation of the work of *Sir Isaac Newton, 1727-1927* (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins).

Select Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1830-1860, edited by Kenneth N. Bell and W. P. Morrell is published by the Clarendon Press.

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's Raleigh Lecture, read last October before the British Academy, of which he is now president, is published by Humphrey Milford, separately from the *Proceedings*, as a pamphlet entitled *The Whig Historians*. Much the greatest part of it is concerned with Macaulay, lesser portions with Hallam and Trevelyan.

The first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, edited by J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians was announced for publication in March.

The Quacks of Old London, by C. J. S. Thompson (Philadelphia, Lippincott), is a history of mountebanks, charlatans, and magicians in the seventeenth century.

The seventh volume of the *Bibliotheca Celtica*, published by the National Library of Wales, is a register of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages for the years 1919 to 1923. It also includes about 200 items for the years 1909-1918 not recorded in the earlier volumes. It is a book of 468 pages (Aberystwyth, 1928).

Lowell J. Ragatz of the George Washington University, author of the volume on the *Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean* recently published by the American Historical Association through the Century Company, has brought out a valuable pamphlet of twenty-five pages folio, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763-1833* (London, the Bryan Edwards Press; Washington, D. C., Paul Pearlman), as an accompaniment to his volume of text and a supplement to Sir William Young's *West-Indian Common-place Book* (London, 1807). It embraces seventy-one statistical tables, of great value to the student of the subject.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* (Melbourne, Australia) for June, contains three articles on Melbourne, an account of the Police in Port Phillip and Victoria, 1836-1913, a paper on the Formation of the First Federal Ministry, and a brief note by Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, on Sir James Stephen on a White Australia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Cary, *La Grande-Bretagne Romaine: Nouvelles Fouilles et Recherches* (Revue Historique, September); Maurice Caudel, *Le Développement des Juridictions Administratives en Angleterre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); Oscar A. Marti, *Passive Resistance of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians during the Period of the Restoration, 1660-1672* (Journal of Religion, October); Sir St. Clair Thomson, *The Strenuous Life of a Physician of the 18th Century* [John Coakley Lettsom, 1744-1815] (Annals of Medical History, January); J. Holland Rose, *Captain Cook and the Founding of British Power in the Pacific* (Geographical Journal, February); Sir Henry Newbolt, *Captain James Cook and the Sandwich Islands* (*ibid*); Denis Gwynn, *Edmund Burke and Catholic Emancipation* (Catholic World, January); A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *John Morley und Edward Grey* (Europäische Gespräche, November); Veracissimus, *Il Quinto Volume dei Documenti Diplomatici Inglesi* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Geoffrey Baskerville, *Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper* (English Historical Review, January).

FRANCE

General reviews: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France; Histoire Moderne, 1498-1660* (Revue Historique, September); G. Pagès, *Histoire de France, de 1660 à 1789* (*ibid.*, November).

A fresh study has been made of *Monsieur, Comte de Provence*, by Joseph Turquan and Jules d'Auriac (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1929, pp. 345).

A little-known chapter of French history finds its narrator in Jean Lognon, who writes concerning *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age: Essai sur l'Expansion Française dans le Bassin de la Méditerranée* (Paris, Perrin, 1929).

How France, broken into hundreds of feudal states, ultimately achieved her unity, is set forth by G. Dupont-Ferrier, professor at the École des Chartes, in *La Formation de l'État Français et l'Unité Française, des Origines au Milieu du XVIe Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1929, pp. 280).

French history will be made more vivid by the *Iconographie des Rois de France*, part I., *De Louis IX. à Louis XIII.*, by Lieut.-Col. Ch. Maumené and Comte Louis d'Harcourt (Paris, Colin, 1929, pp. 300).

An interesting monograph on *La Monarchie d'Ancien Régime en France de Henri IV. à Louis XIV.* has been published by the learned Georges Pagès (Paris, Colin, 1928, pp. 217).

Professor R. B. Burke of the University of Pennsylvania has made a translation of Goulet's *Compendium*, which Rashdall describes as "the earliest historical account of the University of Paris"; but, as Rashdall also noted, the volume is valuable as a sketch of the university in 1517 and not for the earlier history. Robert Goulet was a professor of theology at Paris and consequently was able to give a very complete account of the university, and occasionally added other details of interest. The volume is published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928, under the title *Compendium Universitatis Parisiensis of Robert Goulet, A.D. 1517*.

Of interest to social history is *La Femme et la Société Française dans la Première Moitié du XVIIe Siècle* by Gustave Fagniez, with preface by M. Funck-Brentano (Paris, Gamber, 1929, pp. 416).

A translation by K. L. Montgomery of vol. I. of Henri Bremond's literary history of religious thought in France, is published by Macmillan under the title *Devout Humanism*. It is a study of French Catholicism during the seventeenth century; the sources, main currents, and development of a religious renaissance.

As vol. XXXI. of the "Archives de la France Monastique", Dom. G. Charvin publishes with introduction and notes Dom Martène's *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, of which he was one of the most learned and active members. Vol. I., *Des Origines de la Congrégation à*

l'Élection de Dom Grégoire Tarrisse comme Supérieur Général, 1612-1630, is now ready (Ligugé, Abbaye Saint-Martin; Paris, Picard, 1928, pp. xxxiv, 287).

The Magnificent Montmorency, by Cyril H. Hartmann, is a biography of Henri, second Duc de Montmorency, who was condemned by one of Richelieu's special tribunals in 1632 (New York, Dutton).

In the May-June (1928) number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, M. Georges Lefebvre has followed up his study, in the preceding number, of the results of research upon the distribution of landed property in France under the Old Régime by an equally remarkable review of the progress made in investigating the sales of public lands during the Revolution, whether these lands came from the nationalization of church property or the confiscation of the property of the emigrants. Incidentally he offers some pertinent criticisms of the method according to which several of the volumes of the collection on the economic history of the Révolution have been edited.

One of the most valuable recent publications in Revolutionary history, the fruit of years of research in the archives of provincial cities and obscure towns, is L. de Cardenal's *La Province pendant la Révolution: Histoire des Clubs Jacobins, 1789-1795* (Paris, Payot, 1929).

Henri Foulon de Vaulx, the specialist in the problem of the dauphin's disappearance has published a critical study of the subject, entitled *Louis XVII., ses Deux Suppressions* (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 528).

The first number of the resuscitated *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* contains two articles, "Les Polonais à la Moskova" by Général M. Kukiel, and "Le Roi de Rome ou le Rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815"; an address made by the editor, M. Édouard Driault, at the opening of the Musée Napoléon in Rome. He has also recently published two volumes, *Le Roi de Rome*, and *La Vrai Figure de Napoléon* (review, XXXIV. 157), both through Morancé of Paris. There is a review of the latter in this number of the *Revue* by E. Le Gallo, and an explanation by M. Driault, reprinted from the *Courrier de Paris*, of his purpose in writing the book.

To the growing list of books illustrating Napoleon's religious policy should be added *Les Congrégations Religieuses au Temps de Napoléon*, by Léon Deries (Paris, 1929), which recounts the efforts of various orders abolished by the Revolution to reconstitute themselves on French soil. The author's attitude is sympathetic rather than purely objective. His work is based upon documents preserved in the archives as well as upon the monographic literature of the orders themselves. It appears that Napoleon showed less opposition to "congrégations" of women than to those made up of men. Indeed, certain charitable orders of women, especially sisters in charge of hospitals, had maintained a continuous existence throughout the Revolution, submitting to a change of garb and

being treated as individuals rather than as members of an order. One is surprised to find that on July 4, 1793, even the redoubtable commune of Paris voted 6200 livres to the sisters at the Hôtel-Dieu. Especially interesting are the chapters on the "Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne", whose work for education was noteworthy, and on the Trappists, who were placed in charge of relief work in the passes of the high Alps.

A new collection of biographical studies, in the genre so beloved of the French heart, will be called "Les Leçons du Passé" and will specialize in counter-revolutionists. The editors are P. Bessand-Massenet and Marcel Boullenger; the first number, *Georges Cadoudal* is by G. Lenôtre (Paris, Grasset, 1929).

The *Mémoires* of Madame de Genlis, friend of the Duc d'Orléans, tutor of Louis Philippe, author and educator, are issued, with preface by J. Lucas-Dubreton in the collection *La Vie et les Mœurs au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Firmin, 1928, 2 vols., pp. 254, 228).

A fresh addition to the "Récits d'Autrefois" is made by P. de Vaisière's *Conjuration de Cinq-Mars*; though it is a work of popularization, the author has consulted unpublished documents (Paris, Hachette, 1928, pp. 125).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André Bellessort, *L'Avignon des Papes* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); Gaston Dodu, *Le Roi de Bourges ou Dix-neuf Ans de la Vie du Charles VII.* (Revue Historique, September); C. G. Picavet, *Le Français et les Langues Étrangères dans la Diplomatie au Temps de Louis XIV.* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); M. Langlois, *Madame de Maintenon et le Saint-Siège* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); J. Carreyre, *Le Concile d'Embrun, 1727-1728*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Commander A. H. Miles, U. S. N., *A Great Forgotten Man* [Admiral De Grasse] (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, January); Generale Filareti, *Idealità e Interessi nella Rivoluzione Francese* (Nuova Rivista Storica, September); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Souvenirs sur la Révolution*, I. (Revue de Paris, December 15); Albert Mathiez, *Notes Inédites de Blanqui sur Robespierre* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, July); Albert Mathiez, *La Terreur Blanche de l'An III.* (*ibid.*, September); Ernest d'Hauterive, *Dernières Conversations de Sainte-Hélène; l'Empereur Commente son Testament* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Amédée Thierry*, concl. (*ibid.*, December 1); Comtesse des Garets, *Souvenirs sur l'Impératrice Eugénie*, I, concl. (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15); Georges Collas, *Bibliographie des Oeuvres de l'Abbé Duïne* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Il Regno di Napoli dal Luglio 1799 al Marzo 1806 by P. Pieri (Naples, Ricciardi, 1928, pp. 314) is highly praised.

A. Segre has written a life of *Vittorio Emanuele I.*, the fruit of exhaustive research (Turin, Paravia, pp. 322).

Un Re in Esilio; la Corte di Francesco II. in Roma is based on the diaries of P. Calà Ulloa, chief minister of the Neapolitan king from 1861 to 1870; the introduction and notes are by G. Doria (Bari, Laterza, 1928, pp. vii, LX, 248).

A number of essays by German and Spanish scholars on various topics in Medieval and modern history, but mostly concerned with ecclesiastical subjects, are published by H. Finke, in collaboration with K. Beyerle and G. Schreiber as *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Spanische Forschungen zur Görresgesellschaft, Reihe I., Bd. I., Münster, Aschendorff, 1928, pp. 392).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Louis Bertrand, *Philippe II. à l'Escorial*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, 15); *Nel Centenario di Nigra*; Delfino Orsi, *Il Mistero dei Ricordi Diplomatici di Costantino Nigra*; Carlo Richelmy, *Lettere Inedite di Costantino Nigra*; Pio Spezi, *Costantino Nigra Traduttore*; Alessandro de Bosdari, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); Francesco Pellati, *Scavi e Scoperte in Italia* (*ibid.*, January 16).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND AUSTRIA

Europäische Gespräche for November-December contains a sixty-page "Bibliographie zur Auswärtigen Politik".

Vol. II. of the second edition of Heinrich Brunner's well-known *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, carefully and ably revised by Claudius Freiherr v. Schwerin, is now available (Munich, Duncker, 1928, pp. 934).

Thanks to the accidental collapse of an unimportant chest in the rooms of the ministry of state, a supposedly mythical correspondence has come to light, making possible the publication by Gustav Mayer of *Bismarck und Lassalle, ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (Berlin, Dietz, 1928, pp. 108).

Theodor von Sosnosky, in a scholarly and readable biography (*Franz Ferdinand, der Erzherzog-Thronfolger*, Munich and Berlin, 1929, R. Oldenbourg, pp. 255), has gathered together almost all that can be known about the Archduke Franz Ferdinand—at least until the archduke's private papers are made accessible to historians. In his account of the archduke's sphinx-like personality, his political views and influence, and his tragic trip to Sarajevo, Dr. Sosnosky's views and conclusions agree closely with those in the second volume of Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*.

Vol. II. of Michael Doeberl's *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (third revised edition) covers the years from the Peace of Westphalia to the death of King Maximilian I. in 1825 (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 636).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Stolz, *Die Wiener Nahrungs- und Genussmittelpolitik im Mittelalter* (Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VIII.); Gustav Roloff, *Abrüstung und Kaiserplan vor dem Kriege 1870* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Theodor Eschenburg, *Die Daily-Telegraph-Affäre; nach Unveröffentlichten Dokumenten* (ibid.); *The Kaiser's Letters* [translated from the *Berliner Tageblatt*] (Living Age, March); Hans von Dallwitz, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen*, II., III. (Preussische Jahrbücher, November, December); Maurice Lair, *Le Premier Président du Reich; Fritz Ebert* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December); Emilio Re, *Ludovico Pastor* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); T. G. Masaryk, *Message to Czechoslovakia on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence* (Slavonic Review, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Histoire de la Belgique Contemporaine, 1830-1914*, is a work of popularization, which is not without serious value in view of the competence of its authors. For vol. I. (Brussels, Dewitt, 1928, pp. xii, 408), Viscount Ch. Terlinden, professor at Louvain, treats the formation of the kingdom; Alfred de Ridder, director-general at the ministry of foreign affairs, studies the relations of Belgium with the great European powers; F. Baudhuin discusses the economic history of the country; and Professor G. Eeckhout of the University of Ghent, gives an exposition of the genesis and evolution of representative institutions since 1830.

A new volume in the Carnegie Endowment's Social and Economic History of the World War, Belgian series, is that on *Déportation et Travail Forcé des Ouvriers et de la Population Civile de la Belgique Occupée* by Fernand Passelecq (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 492).

Noteworthy article in periodical: Frank Pierrepont Graves, *The Story of the Library at Louvain* (Scientific Monthly, February).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie [1915-1916]* (Revue Historique, September).

S. Platonov is perhaps the leading contemporary Russian historian; his *Histoire de la Russie des Origines à 1918*, translated from the Russian, forms a part of the "Bibliothèque Historique" (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 992).

La Saint Siège et l'Orient Russe, 1609-1654, by Professor E. Šmurlo, contains many documents drawn from various archives, printed in the original Latin and Italian, preceded by commentaries on these documents (in Russian) divided into 18 chapters, and by French summaries of these commentaries likewise arranged, and followed by a chronological table and indexes for each section. The whole forms a notable addition to the

material bearing on the relations between the Holy See and Russia in this period (Publications des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Prague, Orbis, 1928).

The place of poetry in politics receives a curious illustration in the fact that the great Russian poet Pushkin's anti-Polish trilogy was officially used by the Tsar's government in its attempted Russification of the annexed territories; the trilogy and its history are studied in *Pouchkine et la Pologne* by Venceslas Lednicki, professor at Cracow University (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. 210).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lis Jacobsen, *Les Vikings, suivant les Inscriptions Runiques du Danemark* (Revue Historique, September); Stefan Freiherr Sarkotić von Lovćen, *Der Hochverrats-Prozess von Banjaluka* (Kriegsschuldfrage, January).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The publishing house of Christo G. Danov, the oldest in Bulgaria, has announced the publication of an historical collection (in Bulgarian) under the title "Readings in Bulgarian History". To appear during the first year of this new collection are the following: *Prehistoric Bulgaria* by Raphael Popov, *Ancient Thrace and Roman Domination in Bulgaria*, by Ivan Pastouhov, *The Roman Empire of the East* (Byzantium) and *The Slavs* by Ivan Kepov, *The Bulgarians, From Asparuh to Omurtag*, *From Omurtag to Boris*, the three by Professor Ghesa Feher, *King Boris*, by Nicolas Stanev, *Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius and their Disciples* by Tzvetan Stoyanov.

La Bulgarie announces the publication of an important historical work by G. D. Balastchev, entitled *La Bulgarie pendant les Dernières Decades du Xe Siècle*. In the appendix are translations of the sources used.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edward Beněs, *Central Europe after Ten Years* (Slavonic Review, January); *A Croat View of the Jugoslav Crisis* (*ibid.*); G. Tschubinaschwili, *Zur Frage der Kuppelhallen Armeniens* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVIII. 1-2).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

In the second and third volumes of his *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Robert Streit, O. M., dealt with Catholic missions on the American continent. Vol. IV. of this monumental work is concerned with *Asiatische Missionsliteratur, 1245-1599* (Aachen, Missionsdruckerei, 1928, pp. 21, 626). Father Streit gives a bibliographical description of 2052 documents and other sources, together with biographical notices of the more important missionaries.

Valuable material on the beginnings of Portuguese activity in India was discovered by G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch in 1923, revealing the wealth of sources on this period in possession of the Lisbon ar-

chives and those of the Jesuit order. A portion, consisting mainly of contemporary letters is now published as *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552; Neue Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesenherrschaft und Franziskanermission auf Ceylon* (Leipzig, Verlag der Asia Major, 1928, 2 vols., pp. xxviii, 727).

The Duke University Press has issued *A Pioneer Tobacco Merchant in the Orient*, by James A. Thomas. The book is the story of Mr. Thomas's experiences in building up the tobacco trade in Oriental countries, chiefly in China.

G. E. Stechert (New York) has recently published *Ancient Chinese Political Theories*, by Kuo-Cheng Wu, and *Russo-Chinese Diplomacy*, by Ken Shen Weigh.

Vol. XIV., no. 1 (January) of *Shirin* has among other articles, in Japanese, one on Two Great Historians in the Modern Age, Tokugawa Mitsukuni and Arai Hakuseki, by H. Miura, and a Chronological Study on the Historical Records in Ancient China, by S. Shinio.

Noteworthy article in periodical: A Siamese Official, *Siam: her History and Religion* (Mid-Pacific Magazine, February).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Stéphane Gsell has advanced his great work, the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* by the publication of vols. VII. and VIII., *La République Romaine et les Rois Indigènes* and *Jules César et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigènes* (Paris, Hachette, 1928).

In the Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, M. M. Knight, writes on *Water and the Course of Empire in North Africa*.

AMERICA

The Seventieth Congress in its final session made the usual appropriation of \$7000 for the printing of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, and passed legislation authorizing the completion and printing (for which, however, appropriations must be made hereafter) of the papers in Washington archives relating to the history of the territories—the early history of the present states in their territorial period—an enterprise which, in accordance with previous legislation, has been carried to a certain extent by the Department of State. The bill for providing a new and adequate edition of the *Writings of Washington*, recommended by the Washington Bicentennial Commission, was passed by the Senate, but at so late a date that it was not passed by the House.

The Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington (reprinted from Year Book no. 27, December, 1928) contains an account of the work done during the last twenty-three years under the direction of Dr. Jameson. Probably few members of the Association, even those best informed,

realize the extent of the publications and aid to research recorded in this brief report: the various guides to the archives, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America*, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, etc.*, the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, the *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery and the Negro*.

It is expected that the second volume, 1650-1697, of the late Dr. Frances G. Davenport's *Treaties between European Powers bearing on the History of the United States* will appear within the month. The volume, of 365 pages, ends with the Treaty of Ryswyk.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: an address by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, on the Papers of the Continental Congress, delivered in the Manuscript Division in January; photostats of many letters of George Washington preserved in historical collections elsewhere; photostats of Durham Parish (Charles County, Maryland) Vestry Book, 1774-1824; a letter of Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lafayette, June 23, 1781; 36 volumes of manuscript records of Georgetown, D. C.; letters of Oliver Wolcott, jr., 1792-1815; a typewritten copy of a journal of George Hunter, on journey up the Red and Washita rivers with William Dunbar, 1804; photostat of letter of William Henry Harrison to John Armstrong, Oct. 5, 1813; some seventy letters of John Randolph of Roanoke to Richard Kidder Randolph, with letters by William Henry Harrison, William Sullivan, and others to the same; log of the brig *Annawan*, Valparaiso to Stonington, Conn., 1833, Nathaniel B. Palmer, master, with narrative of a previous voyage in the South Pacific, 1831-1832, by George Hubbard, second mate; a group of letters to George Bancroft, Mrs. George Bancroft, and Capt. Alexander Bliss, 1843-1868; "The Flag and the Cross, a History of the United States Christian Commission", dated 1894, by James Grant, a member of that commission; letters of Joseph Christmas Ives to his mother, 1862, and related Civil War correspondence; a diary of Mrs. Betty Herndon Maury, Fredericksburg, Va., June 3, 1861-Feb. 8, 1863; and Hanson Hard's account of a journey from Paducah, Ky., to Mobile and back, in the spring of 1864, while a prisoner to the Confederates. Also, papers of Edmond C. Genet, William J. Bryan, and Robert Lansing, several thousands of each. But by far the most important accession (and indeed the most valuable gift the library has ever had) is a large and highly remarkable collection of original documents from the early days of Spanish conquest and settlement in Peru and Mexico, presented by Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York. The Peruvian portion, embracing more than a thousand pieces, chiefly of the sixteenth century, abounds in documents of the *conquistadores*—the Pizarros, Almagro, and others; the Mexican contains many that spring from the family and companions of Cortes. More recently, Mr. K. Minassian of New York has presented

to the library a small but valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts, chiefly Arabic, together with interesting specimens of Babylonian clay tablets.

Students should also be made aware of the enormous increase of the library's materials for American history through photographic reproduction of documents in foreign archives and libraries, though no adequate enumeration is possible in these pages. The great enterprise on which the library has embarked for this purpose, and which since September, 1927, has been under the conduct in Europe of Professor Samuel F. Bemis, has, through his energy and organizing skill, already brought within its walls photographic reproductions, in sheets or in films, of more than 90,000 pages of such materials. These include documents from the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London (for instance, the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the British legation in the United States down to 1837); from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales, and the Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris; the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Ministerio de Estado in Madrid; the Archivo General de Indias in Seville; the Algemeene Rijksarchief in the Hague; the Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem; the Staatsarchiv in Hamburg; the Public Archives of Canada; and the Archivo General y Público in Mexico. The processes are going on with increased rapidity in the present year, and are to continue for at least three years more, and will in many respects make work in the Library of Congress an effective substitute for visits to foreign archives.

Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Buenos Aires, vol. VI., no. 36, contains the conclusion of an inventory of documents in the Foreign Office relating to America.

A Guide to the Sources for Early American History, which is being prepared by Professor E. B. Greene of Columbia University, and Mr. Richard B. Morris of the College of the City of New York, is in press for publication by the Columbia University Press.

Articles in the December number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society are: the Catholic Church in the United States during the Civil War (1852-1866), by R. J. Murphy; and Brevet Major-General St. Clair A. Mulholland, Patriot and Catholic, by Anne Easby-Smith. General Mulholland (1839-1910), author of the *History of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers*, was an artist as well as a soldier (he had a part in the preparation of the Cyclorama of the Battle of Gettysburg), and it was two water-color scenes of his, discovered in the small town of Pahala, Hawaii, that inspired this article. The bibliography of Americana in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society is continued, the present instalment pertaining to the years 1830-1847.

No 31 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (pp. xxxv, 334) contains, besides records of the society's thirty-third,

thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth annual meetings and other customary matter, several interesting contributions. G. R. G. Conway, of the City of Mexico, develops from the Archives of the Inquisition in that city and other sources the story of Hernando Alonso, a Jewish *conquistador* and respected companion of Narvaez and Cortes, who was burned for Jewish practices in 1528. This is followed by a list, drawn up soon after 1603, of a hundred *sambenitos* of Jews condemned between 1528 and that date. Dr. Cecil Roth discourses on the Life and Writings of Abraham Wagg, a Jew living in New York, who made attempts toward peace between England and America in 1778; Dr. M. J. Kohler, on the doctrine that Christianity is a Part of the Common Law, apropos of the decision of the House of Lords in *Bowman v. Secular Society* (1917). The secretary, Mr. A. M. Friedenberg, contributes twenty-seven letters, in English and German, 1850-1852, of a Jewish pioneer in California, Alexander Mayer, a native of the Rhenish Palatinate.

The *Forty-First Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1919-1924) contains the annual-administrative reports of the chief, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, for the years 1920-1924, and two "Accompanying Papers". Dr. Fewkes's reports are of value for their general survey of the investigations carried on by the bureau, their interpretation of results, their suggestion of researches that should be made. Among the investigations in progress, are those in Florida (particularly about St. Petersburg), in Tennessee, and at Santa Barbara, Cal., and the collecting and recording of native texts of Iroquoian peoples and of the Makah Indians of Washington. Among the desiderata suggested by Dr. Fewkes are ethnological studies of the early peoples of South and Central America, the plotting of the trails by which communication was carried on between Indian tribes, and the study of the foods used by the Indians. The two accompanying papers are: *Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region*, by H. K. Haeberlin, J. A. Teit, and Helen H. Roberts, under the direction of Franz Boas; and *Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee*, by William Edward Myer, who died in 1923. The two sites excavated and studied are in the Cumberland valley, south of Nashville. As to who the people were who occupied these sites, Mr. Myer reached only tentative conclusions. Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, who examined the skeletal material, states that it "brought to light a most puzzling set of apparent facts, and strongly emphasizes the great necessity for further explorations in this region".

Vol. XXVII. of the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society, for 1928, contains 29 papers, of which three-fourths are by the historiographer, Michael J. O'Brien, dealing mainly with early Irish settlers or noted Irishmen and their descendants. The index of persons mentioned filling 14 pages, three columns to a page, shows a pious desire to rescue from oblivion some obscure individuals who played a part in our early history. One of the most interesting papers is on Charles O'Connor, the well-known lawyer, by J. C. Walsh (New York, 1928).

Vol. XXI. (for 1927) of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* contains a bibliography of New York City newspapers (1820-1850), by Louis H. Fox. For each title he gives the period of publication, the political complexion, and a reference to where copies can be found. He also furnishes an interesting introduction. The volume of 131 pages is published by the University of Chicago Press, 1928, in an edition of 425 copies.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Vol. I. of *A Social and Economic History of the United States*, by Professor H. J. Carman of Columbia University, is announced by Heath for publication this spring. This volume will cover the period from colonial times through the Civil War.

Père Marquette, a biography by Agnes Repplier, has been published by Doubleday, Doran (Garden City).

The Institut Français de Washington (see *Review*, XXIII. 742) has, as its second cahier of Historical Documents, published forty-seven letters written by Lafayette, from the original manuscripts in the Virginia State Library and the Library of Congress, under the title *Lafayette in Virginia* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. xi, 64). For vol. XX. of this *Review* (pp. 341-376, 577-612) W. G. Leland edited 61 letters from Lafayette to Luzerne, 1780-1782, which he found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. The letters now published by the Institut Français do not throw as much light upon military affairs as did his letters to the French minister to the United States. But they do show Lafayette in a most favorable light and illustrate the characteristics which so endeared him to the American people. Professor Gilbert Chinard furnishes an excellent introduction. The Institut has in press a volume on *Houdon's American Work* (cahier III.) and one on *Admiral de Grasse and the Victory of Yorktown* (cahier IV.), and has in preparation volumes on the French Missionaries, Franco-Canadian Immigration, and the Louisiana Purchase.

The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815, by O. W. Elsbree is published in Williamsport, Pa., by the Williamsport Printing and Binding Company.

The Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.) has published a history of the suppression of West Indian pirates, by G. W. Allen, under the title *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates*.

The whole history of the "pocket veto" is treated in full detail in *Doc. no. 493*, 70 Cong., 2 sess., a pamphlet of 43 pages, by R. P. Reeder, of the Department of Justice.

A limited edition of *Andrew Jackson and the Bank of the United States*, by Stan. V. Henkels, has been privately printed (Philadelphia).

A revised edition of T. R. Hay's *Hood's Tennessee Campaign*, which received the Robert M. Johnston Military History Prize awarded by the American Historical Association, is published by Walter Neale (New York).

Macmillan announces a biography of *Andrew Johnson, the Champion of Lincoln's Cause*, by Lloyd P. Strykes, to be published in two volumes, in April.

The "America Letters", a revision of a paper read at Oslo by T. C. Blegen, has been published by the Norske Videnskaps-Akademi (1928). Very interestingly it shows the importance of such letters and suggests coöperation in Norway and this country in collecting as many as possible.

It was a labor of love for Joseph Gorayeb, S. J., to prepare *The Life and Letters of Walter Drumm, S. J.* His life (1870-1921), was comparatively uneventful but the letters portray the man. The keynote to his attitude is given in the letter in which he recounts his interview with Pope Pius X., who admonished him, "Fight for the traditional teachings of the Church!" This he did as professor at Woodstock, as lecturer at the Brooklyn Institute, and in his writings (New York, America Press, 1928).

Middletown, a Study in Contemporary American Culture is the outcome of a survey made in 1924-1925, and directed by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Middletown is the name used to designate a city of about 38,000 inhabitants in the Middle West; from the accurate data given some students will discover the actual place. Economic, social, religious, and political conditions are surveyed and contrasted with those in the 1890's. Some of the material was obtained by questionnaires, much from direct observation by members of the staff. The future historian will find this book very useful, but will question whether the drab account reflects all the conditions faithfully and how far, for example, it would be justifiable to generalize about the facts of the business class from a comparatively small number of instances. The authors realized the latter difficulty and offered the testimony only as significant indices. This pioneer study is excellent and the Institute of Social and Religious Research has performed a valuable service in making it possible (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1929).

The Ghetto, by Louis Wirth, originated in a sociological study of the ghetto in Chicago, but the author found it desirable to study the history of the origin of ghettos and of their influence. Unfortunately he was not well equipped for an historical study. Opinions will differ as to whether he has been more successful in depicting the natural history of the ghetto and the psychology of the Jews (Chicago University Press, 1928).

Ray Stannard Baker's second instalment of his *Biography of Woodrow Wilson* is published, like the first, in the *New York Herald Tribune*

before publication in book form. It brings the story down to the campaign of 1912. The instalment began in the number for Sunday, January 6.

"Les États-Unis et la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale", by Dr. H. B. Learned, a paper read at Oslo, Aug. 15, 1928, was published in the *Revue de Droit International*, July-September, 1928. The *Paris Figaro* devotes a column to this paper in its number for Jan. 6, 1929.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Professor S. E. Morison contributes to the January number of the *New England Quarterly* an article entitled Elbridge Gerry, Gentleman-Democrat, an enlivening account of Gerry's career, and a graphic portrait of the gentleman who was Democrat *malgré lui*. M. E. Curti's article, Non-Resistance in New England, is essentially the story of Rev. Henry Clarke Wright and his New England Non-Resistance Society (organized in 1838 as a betterment of the American Peace Society), the fundamental tenets of both societies being effectually smothered by the Civil War. O. W. Long contributes an article on William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894). Among the documents is a Child's Diary on a Whaling Voyage, edited, with an introduction by M. W. Jernegan. The diary records the experiences and observations of a young girl (only six years old when the voyage began) through a period of nearly two and a half years on board a New England whaler, which sailed from New Bedford in October, 1868, and rounded Cape Horn. The author of the diary is Laura Jernegan Spear.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1926, 1927, and 1928 contains, besides the proceedings proper, a number of historical papers. One of these is by Frederick Tupper of the University of Vermont on Royall Tyler [1757-1826], Man of Law and Man of Letters. Professor Tupper concerns himself chiefly with Tyler as a man of letters and quotes liberally from his writings. There are two papers on William Czar Bradley (1782-1867), one an address in 1927 by F. L. Fish of the Vermont supreme court, the other a paper read before the society in 1867 by Rev. Pliny H. White, and originally published in the *Green Mountain Freeman*; in addition there is an oration delivered by Bradley, July 4, 1799. Two articles concerning Lieut.-Col. Joseph Wait (1732-1776) are here reprinted, one being biographical data taken from the *Rutland Evening News* of Feb. 13, 1909, the other a paper by E. N. Bragg, published in the *Springfield Union* May 21, 1922. Another paper of a biographical sort is an address delivered by D. B. E. Kent Aug. 24, 1927, at the 125th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Davenport, inventor of the electric motor. A documentary publication of interest is the Journal of the Managers of the Scotch American Company of Farmers, a company which was organized in 1772 and shortly afterward planted a colony in what is now Caledonia County, Vt.

The Business Historical Society of Boston has recently acquired by gift some sixty packing cases of the records of Bigelow, Kennard, and Company, of Boston, one of the oldest jewelry firms in the country. Among these records have been found some letters written from New Mexico about 1854 by Major (afterward Major-General) James Henry Carleton, containing some interesting accounts of events and activities on that frontier. Some account of these letters is given in the February number of the society's *Bulletin*. In the same number is a description of some of the contents of the collection of materials pertaining to weights and measures gathered by Mr. S. S. Dale of Brookline, Mass.

The Boston Athenaeum, which acquired some four or five years ago a large collection of the papers of Commodore Isaac Hull, plans to publish a selection of these papers in a volume to be illustrated and to be edited by Dr. G. W. Allen.

Of G. G. Putnam's series of articles on Salem Vessels and their Voyages appearing in the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute, that in the January number relates chiefly to voyages to Europe, Africa, Australia, and the South Pacific islands. The papers of G. W. Allen on Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates, and those of F. B. C. Bradlee on Marblehead's Foreign Commerce, 1789-1850, are continued. The Institute has also published *Trades and Tradesmen of Essex County, Massachusetts*, by W. H. Belknap.

Volume XXII. of the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society contains the "Records of the particular court of Connecticut, 1639-1663". The first ten years of these records were printed many years ago with the first records of the general court of Connecticut. This volume is now difficult to obtain and in printing the records of the particular court from 1650 to 1653, it seemed best to reprint the earliest portion, in order that all of the records of the particular court might be contained in one volume. These throw much light upon the early controversies and misdemeanors of those days. Among the actions brought before this court were several indictments and trials for the crime of witchcraft. The volume of 312 pages is indexed both for names and subjects (Hartford, 1929). The society has recently come into possession of the official letters and orders issued by Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, from March 8, 1861, to June 2, 1862. These are in three small folio volumes, containing about 500 pages, presumably in the handwriting of his secretary. They consist for the most part of orders to commanders of vessels of blockading and other squadrons, and of navy yards. With a few exceptions, it is believed that these orders are unpublished. The printing of this manuscript is contemplated by the society.

The Rhode Island Historical Society expects before long to publish a manuscript journal of the Rhode Island ratifying convention of 1791, edited by Robert C. Cotner.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has an article by L. M. Sears on the Neapolitan Mission of Enos Thompson Throop, 1838-1842, being mainly an analysis of the despatches of Throop detailing his negotiations in behalf of the tobacco trade, the chief object of his mission, with comments upon the protracted controversy between the government of the Two Sicilies and Great Britain over the sulphur trade. In the same issue is an address by Peter Nelson on Learned's Expedition to the Relief of Fort Stanwix, delivered at the unveiling in September of a memorial to the memory of General Learned and his brigade at Van Schaick's Island, Cohoes. Another address, by O. Q. Flint, is concerned with Worcester Local History.

The New York Historical Society has received an interesting collection of letters written by Col. William Douglas, July, 1775, to Dec. 5, 1776, while he was with the Continental Army. The earliest ones are printed in the quarterly *Bulletin* for January, and others will follow in succeeding issues of the *Bulletin*.

In the February number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library R. W. G. Vail gives some account of the Frederic Remington collection of sketches and paintings, together with a biographical sketch of Remington. There is also an article setting forth the information obtained with regard to the disposition of the Irisarri books, in consequence of the inquiry put forward in the *Bulletin* of February, 1928. Of the list of references to material in the New York Public Library pertaining to modern Egypt, compiled by Ida A. Pratt, part VI., which appears in this issue, is of materials in economic history, industries, magic and superstition, religion, Arabic inscriptions, and Arabic papyri. The *Bulletin* also has a list of the publications of the library now in print. The library has recently acquired the Sherman and Fassett collections of Political Papers, the latter amounting to over 42,000 pieces, for the period from 1906 to 1912.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains an account of the laying of the corner-stone of the society's new building (Nov. 16, 1928), with the addresses of Mr. M. C. Taylor, the Rt. Rev. E. M. Stires, and others. Among the contributions in this issue, other than continuations, are: one by C. E. Banks on the Ancestry of Thomas Willett, First Mayor of New York; one by L. P. de Boer, furnishing the Passenger List of Colonists to the South River (Delaware) Colony of New Netherland, 1661; and an extended genealogical paper by H. S. F. Randolph on the Howser Family.

The Columbia University Press has published a history of the *Early German Theatre in New York, 1840-1872*, by F. A. H. Leuchs.

The October number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society includes an account, by Mrs. E. M. Field, of two famous man-

sions of Elizabeth, that of Gen. Winfield Scott and that of Elias Boudinot, sometime President of the Continental Congress; an article by W. W. Scott on the Founding of Passaic 250 Years Ago; a contribution of A. van D. Honeyman concerning New Jersey Indians, including a letter (1864) from an Indian woman, Marian Peters; an article, by J. C. Connolly, on the Whale Industry in New Jersey; another, by John Neafie, on Captain Peter Nafey and his Whaleboat Crew in the Revolution; and three poems on the battle of Monmouth. The January number contains the address of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker on the Battle of Princeton, wherein the full significance of the battle is pointed out; a circumstantial account, by J. F. Folsom, of the Burr-Hamilton Duel; and a paper by Mrs. Reuben Knox entitled New Jersey's Rich Historical Treasury, a presentation of numerous outstanding facts in the history of the state. The papers of the late Dr. J. C. Honeyman on Zion, St. Paul, and other early Lutheran churches in central New Jersey are continued.

Historic Roadsides in New Jersey, a condensed description of colonial and Revolutionary landmarks, has been published (1928) by the Society of Colonial Wars in that state, and can be obtained from the secretary, W. L. Glenney, 916 Madison Avenue, Plainfield, N. J. The historic sites in each county are listed; 39 illustrations, an historical map, a bibliography, and an index add to the value of this guide for students and motorists.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by G. D. Harmon of Lehigh University entitled President Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas. Professor Harmon reviews the appointment of Walker, his course as governor of Kansas, the criticism of him on the part of Buchanan's Cabinet and other Southern statesmen, and argues that Buchanan's own course was ultimately changed, by threats from certain Southern states, from one of supporting Walker to that of repudiating him. In the same number is an illustrated article, by H. E. Gillingham, entitled Some Early Brickmakers of Philadelphia, and I. R. Pennypacker presents the fourth of his papers on Military Historians and History, discussing a number of recent works on phases of the Civil War. The magazine prints also two letters from Washington, one (July 20, 1775) to his brother, the other (May 4, 1782, with an addition May 8) to John Dickinson, president of Delaware, and a letter to Washington from Fielding Lewis (Nov. 14, 1775).

The *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association, Autumn number, contains some materials concerning Anthony Benezet, Quaker schoolmaster of Philadelphia, particularly an account of Benezet and the Quakers as seen by a French Diplomat (Barbé-Marbois) and of a publishing project of Benezet. H. J. Cadbury contributes an article on Heathen Names for Days of the Week and Months.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* reprints in the January number (from *Blackwoods Magazine*) the narrative of Thomas Ridout, "An Account of my Capture by the Shawnese Indians" (1788). The Letters of Tarleton Bates, 1795-1805, contributed and edited by Mrs. E. M. Davis, are the letters of a young Virginian resident in Pittsburgh, who was killed in January, 1806, in a duel with Thomas Stewart. An account of this duel, "The Last Duel in Pennsylvania", from the pen of the late T. L. Rogers, also finds place in this issue of the *Magazine*. There is also a brief article, by E. J. Long, on Conrad Weiser (died 1760), interpreter and "good will ambassador" among the Indians.

Announcement was made in the issue of this journal of October, 1927 (p. 235), that the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society had planned to publish the manuscript material in its possession relating to the early settlement of the Wyoming Valley under the auspices of the Susquehanna Company. At that time it was not contemplated that the material to be published would extend to more than two volumes. Since then, however, the society has accumulated, chiefly by way of photostat copies, a large amount of additional material relating to the subject, and has accordingly enlarged the scope of its projected publication to include the whole of this material, which, it is believed, will run to ten or twelve volumes. The editorship of the publication, at first undertaken by Dr. W. F. Dunaway, has now been entrusted to Mr. J. P. Boyd. It is expected that volume I. will be ready in the autumn. The society has published *Pioneer Days in the Wyoming Valley* by Mary H. Joyce.

The Wilmington Trust Company has published in handsome form, with illustrations of currency, etc., a brief treatise on *Colonial Finance in Delaware* (pp. 68), by Hon. Richard S. Rodney, associate judge of the supreme court of the state.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains, besides continued articles, a contribution by L. D. Scisco, People of Early Charles County, being an epitome of personal references in liber A of the Charles County court records.

The *Bulletin*, vol. XVII. no. 2 (December), of the Virginia State Library is a *Check-List of Virginia State Publications, 1927*. The list is confined to publications issued at state expense by agencies under state control and is the second issue of such an annual list.

Among the contents of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: a record of Deaths of Virginians, from 1832 to 1844, taken from Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*; the New Kent Military Classes in 1782, giving the names of those included in the respective classes, from 1 to 24, with the "exempts"; two Confederate letters, one from E. D. Cottrell, a soldier, to his mother (1862), the other from John M. Gregory to John R. Armistead, dated at Charles City Court House,

June 19, 1862, and describing at some length conditions in the country. Gregory was acting governor of Virginia from March, 1842, to January, 1843, and judge of the sixth judicial circuit of Virginia, 1860-1866. There are also two letters of President John Tyler, both dated Dec. 19, 1859, and addressed to John Ward Dean, secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, one accepting membership in the society, the other giving a tentative genealogy of the Tyler family.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are some materials (including a letter written from York Town in 1846) pertaining to the operations at or near Hampton during the War of 1812, contributed by Mr. J. H. Guy of Richmond; a group of Civil War letters, chiefly from J. A. Cotton, a private in a Georgia regiment, and written from Winchester in 1861; articles of agreement of the Dismal Swamp Company in 1763; the will of Governor Richard Bennett (1674), contributed by W. E. McClenny; and numerous genealogical contributions.

The January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a Brief History of the Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England, by Alfred Rive, and a continuation of the letters of Moncure Robinson, these letters being of the period 1828-1833.

In an article in the January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* C. W. Ramsdell describes what has been done for the preservation of Texas history through the acquisition of materials as well as the preservation of official records. The principal agencies through which this has been done are the Texas State Library, the University of Texas Library, and the various historical societies of the state. In the same number of the *Review* G. G. Johnson gives some interesting glimpses of Recreational and Cultural Activities in the Ante-Bellum Town of North Carolina; W. N. Franklin discourses upon Some Aspects of Representation in the American Colonies, pointing out the significant factors in the struggle for representation in the New England, Middle, and Southern colonies, respectively; and A. R. Newsome presents the second of his papers on Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811. Among the Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, is an article on the Illegality of Courts of Oyer and Terminer, taken from the *Cape Fear Mercury* of Sept. 22, 1773.

Among the recent accessions of the North Carolina Historical Commission are: 13 letters of George E. Badger, 1857-1860; 46 volumes of Beaufort County records; 857 Edgecombe County Wills; 256 Robeson County Wills; 80 pages (copies) of North Carolina items in eighteenth-century New England newspapers; 11 additions to the Iredell manuscripts, 1779-1842; and *A Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of North Carolina on the Navigation of the Roanoke and its Branches*, by "A Citizen of Pittsylvania", Richmond, 1811, pp. 66.

The Memorabilia of Fifty Years, 1877-1927, is a collection of the records which Bishop Edward Rondthaler of Winston-Salem, N. C., has annually made of the events of the preceding twelvemonths, and has been published as a part of the celebration of his "Service Jubilee". Miss Adelaide L. Fries (224 South Cherry Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.), of whom the volume may be obtained, states that the *Memorabilia* properly belongs with the *Records of the Moravians of North Carolina*, which she has been editing for the North Carolina Historical Commission.

James B. Duke: Master Builder, by John Wilber Jenkins, emphasizes three phases of the late Mr. Duke's career: the expansion of the tobacco industry, the development of Southern and Canadian water-power, and the creation of Duke University (Duke University Press).

A History of Taxation in North Carolina during the Colonial Period, 1663-1776, by Coralie Parker, is published by the Columbia University Press.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* has a letter from Edmund White to Joseph Morton, dated at London, Feb. 29, 1687/88, relating in part to Lord Cardross and the destruction of the Scots colony of Stewarts-Town by the Spaniards, and more particularly to the slave trade. The correspondence of Henry Laurens in this issue, which extends from January, 1747, to January, 1748 (the letters of January, 1748, bear inadvertently the date 1747), pertains principally to Laurens's extensive business affairs. The principal item in the Garth correspondence is an elaborate memorial of chief justice, Charles Shinner, May 2, 1767, defending himself against the charges recently brought against him. A documentary item is Tomb Stone Inscriptions from Holy Cross Church, Stateburg, S. C., contributed by Marie H. Heyward.

The December number of the *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin* consists of four historical contributions, one from each of the members of the department of history in that college: The First Confederate Capital, by H. A. Trexler; The Blount Conspiracy, by W. B. Posey; The King's Casual Revenues in the Southern Colonies, by C. A. Karraker; and The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute, by L. F. Sensabaugh.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* reprints in the July number the *Faithful Picture of the Political Situation of New Orleans at the Close of the Last and Beginning of the Present Year, 1807*, a pamphlet first printed in New Orleans and reprinted in Boston in 1808. It is the text of the Boston reprint that is here reproduced, with ample and scholarly annotations by J. E. Winston of Newcomb College. The authorship of the pamphlet, according to Professor Winston, lies between Edward Livingston and Judge James Workman, the evidence pointing to the latter. A Visit to Lafitte, "an authentic narrative of stirring adventure", is a reprint from the *Knickerbocker Magazine* of March, 1847, and is contributed to the *Quarterly* by Rear-Admiral Elliot Snow, U. S. N. The

narrative pertains to the pursuit of pirates on the Gulf coast in the winter of 1819-1820 by the U. S. S. *Lynx*, under the command of Lieut. J. M. McIntosh, who is presumed to be the author. W. A. Read contributes an article entitled More Indian Place-Names in Louisiana. The series of Documents concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1718-1737, is concluded.

In the October number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* S. G. Noble of Tulane University, in a paper on Governor Claiborne and the Public School System of the Territorial Government of Louisiana, maintains that Governor Claiborne's educational policy, which was based on the belief "that universal education, provided by the state, offered the only safeguard to democracy", anticipated the policy of the federal government in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. An article on the Spanish Land Laws of Louisiana is contributed by F. P. Burns of the New Orleans bar. From M. L. Bonham, jr., comes an article entitled "The Rebel Reefer Furls his Last Sail", being a sketch of the late James Morris Morgan, author of the *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, together with delightful excerpts from letters, written during the last 12 years of his life, to Professor Bonham. In the series of documents pertaining to the distribution of land in Louisiana by the Company of the Indies, 1717-1736, this issue of the *Quarterly* presents the Jonchère Concession, Oct. 26, 1719, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, with an introduction by H. P. Dart. Another document is the will of Pedro Francisco Olivier Devezin (1776), translated with an introduction by Laura L. Porteous.

WESTERN STATES

In the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* A. P. Whitaker, in an article entitled New Light on the Treaty of San Lorenzo: an Essay in Historical Criticism, offers an explanation of the action of Spain in that matter which for the most part clears up the obscurity which has hitherto surrounded it. By means of documentary materials not hitherto used he shows that neither Great Britain nor France had any part in the Spanish surrender, that Godoy was, in all probability, not ignorant of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, and that his yielding to the demands of the United States was primarily because of the critical situation of the Spanish government. R. C. Miller offers an evaluation of the historical work of James Ford Rhodes, giving to his article the secondary title: a Study in Historiography. A. H. Hirsch, in his article, Efforts of the Grange in the Middle West to Control the Price of Farm Machinery, 1870-1880, contributes a valuable chapter to the economic history of the period. He points out that this contest between the farmers and the manufacturers, wherein the manufacturer appears to have been the wiser of the two, laid the foundations for some of the most important business policies of the following decades. Other contents are a discourse by W. E. Barton, entitled A Noble Fragment: Beveridge's Life of Lincoln, and some notes on the Lord Gage collection

of manuscripts (temporarily housed in the Public Record Office, London), by C. E. Carter.

The Division of Social Sciences of Ohio University has undertaken the publication of the *Ohio Social Science Journal*, of which the first number was issued in February. There is one article of historical interest, part I. of the Reminiscences of A. B. Walker, who, born in Vermont in 1800, removed with his parents to Ohio in 1810. The reminiscences were written in 1876.

The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, organized in 1918 and reorganized in 1928, has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin*, of which the first number was issued in January and contains a list of the historical works in the society's collection.

The item of chief importance in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is the concluding instalment of J. A. Coffin's paper on the Senatorial Career of Albert J. Beveridge. Other articles are: Andrew Hoover comes to Indiana, by Grace J. Clarke, and the Wabash and Erie Canal in Wabash County, by Mrs. Leola Hockett. The principal item of a documentary sort is the Civil War Diary of Sergeant James Louis Matthews.

The September number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* is a general index to the contents of volume V. of the *Bulletin*; the December number records briefly the action of the Indiana Historical Society and others with a view to obtaining an appropriation by the state for the erection of a new state library and historical building; and the January number contains a further statement respecting the projected celebration of the George Rogers Clark anniversary (Feb. 25, 1929) and some account of the activities of various historical societies.

The October number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society has a paper of monographic extent, by A. P. Nasatir of State College, San Diego, Calif., on the Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783. F. R. Hall of Purdue University is the author of a study of Genet's Western Intrigue, 1793-1794. The Laws in Force in Illinois prior to its Statehood is an address by W. W. Edwards, dean of the Lincoln College of Law, delivered at the college June 14, 1928. Fundamentalism and Modernism in a Pioneer College, by President C. H. Rammelkamp of Illinois College, is a chapter in the early history of that institution. Mrs. F. G. Bale contributes an article entitled Galena's Memories of General Ulysses S. Grant.

The January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* has, besides continuations, an article on Colonial Maryland, by H. S. Spaulding, S. J., one on the First American Foreign Missioners, by Marian Habig, O. F. M., and an Introduction to American History, by L. J. Kenny, S. J.

The January number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an instalment of the Memoirs of Micah Taul (1785-1850), colonel in the War of 1812, member of Congress from Kentucky, 1815-1817, contributed by Mrs. J. R. Davis of Brewton, Ala. The memoirs were written in the beginning of 1848. In the same issue are the tax lists of Wayne County, Ky., 1801, signed by Taul, who was then clerk of the county court, and the vital statistics of the same county for 1852-1858. W. R. Jillson contributes Reminiscences of Lexington by Samuel D. McCullough; Alice E. Trabue contributes a collection of inscriptions from Kentucky tombstones, and Nina M. Visscher some notes, largely culled from Kentucky newspapers, pertaining to Revolutionary soldiers.

The *History Quarterly* of the Filson Club has as the principal article in the January number part I. of Minute Book A, Jefferson County, Ky., 1781-1783, contributed, with an introduction, by A. L. Prichard. Jefferson County was one of the three counties into which the county of Kentucky was by act of the Virginia assembly divided in May, 1780, and this minute book (which is not the original, but a certified copy made in 1816), embodying the court records, includes wills, deeds, inventories, records of polls, etc.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published a reprint of the *Geological Reports of Douglass Houghton, First State Geologist of Michigan, 1837-1845*, edited by George N. Fuller (Lansing, 1928, pp. 700).

Articles in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Winter number, are: Railroads of Michigan since 1850, by E. A. Calkins; the Story of Michigan's Marketing, by J. A. Russell; the second of W. A. Spill's papers on the University of Michigan: Beginnings; a biographical account of Moses Coit Tyler, by T. E. Casady; an account of the Early Years of Adrian College, by Rev. A. W. Kauffman; an initial paper on Lansing in the Good Old Seventies, by H. A. Haigh; and an article by W. A. Terpenning entitled Types no longer Typical, being a presentation of some early "types".

Dr. M. M. Quaife's series of Detroit Biographies in the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* includes Pierre Joseph Celoron (January number) and John Askwith (March).

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Miss L. P. Kellogg discourses upon the Mission of Jonathan Carver, and Mrs. M. J. Monroe writes a Biographical Sketch of Edmund Jussen (died 1891), immigrant of 1847, prominent in law and politics in Columbus and Madison. The document in this issue is an instalment of the Journal of General William Rudolph Smith, one of the commissioners appointed in 1837 to treat with the Chippewa Indians at the head of the Mississippi, recording his journey from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi.

The *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. III, no. 3 (pp. 213-416), is a study of the *Neale and McClaughry Mound Groups*, by W. C. McKern. These two mound groups, which are located in Marquette County, Wis., were excavated and studied in great detail and the results are here set forth. There are numerous plates, diagrams, and other illustrations.

In the December number of the *Peninsula Historical Review*, published by the Door County, Wis., Historical Society, and conducted by H. R. Holland of Ephraim, Wis., Mr. Holland makes a detailed attempt to fix the location of the Indian village, which the first French explorers who visited it (in 1656) called St. Michael, which, the author states, "is not to be confused with Mission St. Michael, established among the Menominees by Allouez in 1670".

In the December number of *Minnesota History* I. H. Hart relates the story of Beengwa, Daughter of a Chippewa Warrior, Beengwa being the Indian name of Mrs. George Curtis, and the Chippewa warrior being Augenosh, who had a conspicuous part in the battle of 1842, within the present limits of St. Paul. Alice E. Smith gives a history of the attempt by John Sweetman, wealthy Irishman, to establish (1880-1882) a colony of his countrymen at Currie, Minn. The *Virginia*, the *Clermont* of the Upper Mississippi, by W. J. Petersen, is an account of the first successful navigation (1823) of the waters of the Upper Mississippi, as far as Fort Snelling. A Frontier College of the Middle West: Hamline University, 1854-1869, is a paper read by H. D. Asher at Winona in 1825. In the section entitled Minnesota as Seen by Travellers is a second letter of George T. Borrett (see the January *Review*, p. 444), descriptive of St. Paul.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has acquired a letter-book (1859-1861) of William Penn Clarke (1817-1903), active participant in affairs in the Civil War period (see this journal, vol. XXXII., p. 711). The letters, many of which are to statesmen of the period, including Lincoln, are of value for their glimpses of Iowa politics. The society, in coöperation with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs, has designated the third week in April as "Iowa History Week", this being the fourth year of such an observance.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* J. M. Pfiffner brings to a conclusion his studies of the City Manager Plan in Iowa. Such a careful study of the plan as carried out in various forms and degrees, though confined to the single state of Iowa, is an exceedingly useful text for the study of municipal problems elsewhere. In the same number of the *Journal* is the first instalment of a study by Dorothy Schaffter of the Bicameral System in Practice.

The January number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a group of documents pertaining to the Survey of the Iowa-Minnesota Boundary Line (1852), together with an account of the survey written in 1927 by David

B. Sears, who as a boy accompanied the surveying party; an article by Dr. Charles Keyes on the Scientific Achievements of Frank Springer (1848-1927); and an historical account by C. C. Stiles of the Bonds of the State of Iowa.

The December number of the *Palimpsest* has a sketch of the town of Lowell, by O. A. Garretson, and an article on Literary Place Names, by A. W. Read. In the January number is an illustrated article on Fashions in the Fifties, by Ramona Evans, while the February number is occupied with accounts, by B. E. Mahan and Pauline Graham, of Play-Party Games, School-Day Games, etc.

The February number of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* is wholly occupied with Documents relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden, Ia., translated and edited, with an introduction, by Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota. The colony of New Sweden, founded by Cassel in 1845, was the first permanent Swedish settlement, and other settlements followed, directly or indirectly, through Cassel's influence. The documents (reprints), which are given in the original as well as in translation, are (to use the English titles): Extract from a Letter from a Traveler (1845), A Description of the United States of North America (1846), and a Letter from America (by Peter Cassel), 1848.

The Missouri Historical Society reports as among its recent accessions: the William Greenleaf Eliot Collection (1849-1882), chiefly pertaining to the period of the Civil War and including a group of papers of the Sanitary Commission and letters of Frémont, Hitchcock, Halleck, Schofield, Sherman, Hancock, and others; the Martha Jones Collection (1800-1815), chiefly pertaining to the lead mines at St. Genevieve; the George G. Pride Collection (1858-1902), much of it relating to the Civil War, with letters from Charles A. Dana, George B. Boomer, Generals Grant, McPherson, Rawlins, and others; General Daniel Bissell papers (1802-1821), being photostatic copies of correspondence between the War Department and General Bissell; and photostatic copies of Lincoln manuscripts in the possession of Mr. W. K. Bixby.

In the February number of *Collections* E. C. Taylor of Washington University discusses Mark Twain's Place in American Literature, Stella M. Drumm writes concerning the work of Robert E. Lee as a young engineer in the improvement of the Mississippi River at St. Louis, quoting extensively from Lee's reports, and F. A. McNeil gives a history of Fort Jefferson: the Extreme Western Post of the American Revolution. A list of soldiers of the War of 1812 buried in Missouri is contributed by Iona B. Wilson.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the January number the first part of an article by W. G. Bek on George Engelmann, Man of Science; one by B. M. Little on the National Old Trails Road at Lexington; one

by W. E. Smith on the Blairs and Frémont; one by R. V. Magers on an Early Missouri Political Feud; and one by P. S. Rader on the Great Seal of the State of Missouri. George Engelmann (1809-1884) was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, came to America in 1832, and became a distinguished botanist. Mr. Little's article is chiefly concerned with early Lexington and the monuments and markers of the National Old Trails Road. Mr. Smith's paper is part of a two-volume work, shortly to appear, dealing with the Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics. The political feud concerning which Mr. Magers writes is that between Thomas H. Benton and David Barton. Mr. Rader's history and description of the great seal of Missouri leaves little to be desired; nevertheless it is permissible to point out one incidental error. Referring to the motto "United we stand, divided we fall" (adopted by both Kentucky and Missouri) as having been taken from the poem of George P. Morris, "The Flag of our Union", but as having had an earlier form, "By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall", in a poem of John Dickinson, published July 4, 1776, Mr. Rader remarks: "So that phrase was really born on the day the Declaration of Independence was signed." As a matter of fact the Declaration of Independence was not signed by members of Congress until Aug. 2, 1776, a fact pointed out by Thomas McKean, one of the signers, as long ago as 1796, and otherwise established by abundant evidence.

The St. Louis Catholic Historical Society has brought out a *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* from 1673 to 1928, by the Rev. J. E. Rothensteiner.

The October number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi, by L. A. Tohill, one on Magical and Sleight of Hand Performances by the Arikara, by G. F. Will, and some letters from two brothers, Henry and Heman Kellogg, members of the 105th Illinois Volunteers, written from Gallatin, Tenn., in February and March, 1863. J. D. Squires furnishes a brief biographical sketch of the Kelloggs. The January number contains, besides a continuation of Mr. Tohill's article, a group of Civil War letters written by Ira Butterfield, a corporal in a Wisconsin regiment.

In the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* David Donoghue discusses the Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas. The author declares himself "convinced by their own statements that the explorers never left the flat Llano Estacado, that they never traversed the rolling plains of Oklahoma, Kansas, or Nebraska", and sets himself the task of correlating the various accounts of this eastern portion of Coronado's journey and of showing "that the routes proposed by previous historians are clearly impossible". Harriet Smither offers a study of English Abolitionism and the Annexation of Texas, using mainly the correspondence of Ashbel Smith, Texan chargé to England and

France from 1842 to 1845, and W. C. Holden discourses in an interesting manner upon Frontier Journalism in West Texas. Edith L. Kelly and Mattie A. Hatcher present the third instalment of the papers of Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala, pertaining to the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833.

In the December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* is an interesting account, by Carolyn T. Foreman, of the Choctaw Academy, established in 1825 by Col. R. M. Johnson at Blue Springs, Ky., removed to White Sulphur Springs near by in 1831, and conducted there until 1841. The article contains numerous extracts from correspondence, wherein (alas!) the long *s* is presented as an *f*. This journal begs, with all deference, to suggest that good usage does not require the reproduction of the long *s* in texts of the present day, and much less does it sanction the substitution of an *f* therefor. Another article of especial interest is Pioneer School Teaching at the Comanche-Kiowa Agency School, 1870-1873, being the reminiscences of the first teacher, Josiah Butler. The list of Early Post-Offices of Oklahoma, contributed by Grant Foreman, is continued.

Bulletin 84 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language* (pp. 255), by J. P. Harrington. The author describes the work as "a reconnaissance report", based on field work done in 1918 in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the present home of this small tribe, whose original habitat was in western Montana.

The *Colorado Magazine* of January is occupied with a single article, by P. S. Martin, which gives an account of the 1928 Archaeological Expedition of the State Historical Society of Colorado and its results. Among the articles in the March number are: the Founding and Early Years of Grand Junction, by J. H. Rankin; Early Central City Theatricals and other Reminiscences, written by T. F. Dawson from an interview with Hal Sayre; Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency in Colorado, by L. R. Hafen; and Western Experiences and Colorado Mining Camps, an interview with Wolfe Londoner in 1884 for H. H. Bancroft.

In the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* J. P. Clum gives a reminiscent account of the Apache Indian Es-kim-in-zin, France Sholes discourses upon the Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century (to be continued), F. W. Hodge writes concerning French Intrusion toward New Mexico in 1685, and a letter of Thomas A. Dolan, in charge of the Indian agency at Cimarron, New Mexico, to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 21, 1873, gives an account of the proceedings in a council with the Jicarilla Apache Indians, establishing the Jicarilla reservation. The letter is accompanied by the text of the agreement with the Indians. The *Review* reprints, from the *Magazine of Western History*, A. F. Bandler's paper on the Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Niziza, and, from the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*,

David Donoghue's article on the Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas.

The January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* includes a paper by J. N. Cobb on the History of Fisheries in the State of Washington; one by H. H. Gowen entitled an American Pioneer in Japan (Edward M. Sheldon); an account, by A. P. Taylor, of How Hawaii Honored Captain Cook, R. N., in 1928; some remarks of T. C. Elliott on Sir George Simpson's Place in the History of the "Old Oregon" Country; extracts, contributed by J. N. Barry, from Dr. Charles Pickering's *Races of Mankind and their Geographical Distribution*, giving an account of his journey to Fort Colville in 1841; and the concluding instalment of J. W. Watt's Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps during the Sixties.

The December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Superstitions and Ceremonies of Indians of Old Oregon, by John Gill; some autobiographical sketches of William Henry Rector, pioneer and influential in the establishment of the woollen industry in Oregon, with an introduction by Fred Lockley; the Journal of Captain Charles Bishop of the *Ruby* in 1795, with introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott; the third instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne*; and an article by F. G. Young in behalf of an Oregon Pioneers Centennial Memorial, "A Project of Surveying and Planning", reprinted from the *Commonwealth Review*.

The *History of the Pioneer Sheep Husbandry in Oregon*, by A. L. Lomax, professor of business administration in the University of Oregon, has been reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXIX., no. 2. The author's aim in this pamphlet is to present authoritatively the historical and economic data of sheep husbandry in Oregon in the period prior to the beginning of statehood. While sheep were not taken along with the first wagon trains, they presently became a regular accompaniment of the immigrant expeditions, partly for the establishment of flocks in the new country, partly for food on the journey in the event of emergency. The Hudson's Bay Company had a notable part in the establishment of the industry in western Oregon, as did also the settlers themselves in the Willamette Valley, and in 1848 a flock was driven from Missouri to Oregon by Joseph Watt. Within a few years sheep raising became firmly established in the Willamette Valley.

In the *California History Nugget* of October is an account of the voyage in 1542, under the command of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, of the *San Salvador* and *La Victoria*, Pioneers in the North Pacific.

The *Annual* of the Historical Society of Southern California for 1926 (vol. XIII., pt. 3) is devoted to Jedediah Strong Smith. There is a brief sketch of his life by J. C. Parish, a remarkable bibliography, and two letters written by Smith. In the *Annual* for 1927 (vol. XIII., pt. 4), is a brief but interesting diary (1852-1856), of Marcellus Bixby who

went from Maine around the Horn to California in 1852, edited by W. Westergaard. There are also entertaining rambling "remarks" by Major Burnham, a scout famous both in our West and in Africa, as well as other articles of local interest.

The *Report* of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii, 1927-1928, contains two letters from William Miller, British consul general for the Sandwich Islands, to the Foreign Office, dated Feb. 27 and May 20, 1844, giving his view of conditions in Hawaii; and a series of despatches, eighteen in number, from January, 1873, to April, 1874, from Henry A. Pierce, minister resident of the United States in Hawaii, to the Secretary of State. These despatches, it is explained, supplement those of Pierce printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1873, and 52 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, no. 77. The commission has in preparation a general history of Hawaii.

CANADA

Professor G. M. Wrong's work, *The Rise and Fall of New France*, in two volumes, has come from the press (Macmillan) and will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

Interest in Canadian history is steadily increasing in this country, but as yet it does not receive the attention which it deserves nor does it receive as much attention as the Canadian scholars evince in the history of this country. It will be of interest to many to read the article in *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. XXXVI, no. 1 (January), by Professor R. G. Trotter on Canadian Interest in the History of the United States.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for February contains the following articles: Antecedents of the Spanish Monopolistic Overseas Trading Companies, 1624-1728, by R. D. Hussey; the South American Commission, 1817-1818, by W. Stewart; the French Revolution and Mexico by J. Rydjord. In the "Notes and Comment" Carlos Concha gives an account of the oldest university in South America, Lima, founded in 1551.

Jamaica in 1928: a Handbook of Information, by Frank Cundall, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica (published for the Institute by the West India Committee, London; tenth year of issue, pp. 224), being designed for the information of visitors and intending residents, is largely devoted to expositions of the arts and crafts, sports and pastimes, professional and social life, education, manufactures, trade, and commerce, agriculture, natural history, etc., of the island, but there are also chapters of an historical character, namely, colonization of the Caribbean, Jamaica as a Spanish Colony, Jamaica as a British Colony, "A People in the Making", being an account of the various races in the West Indies, with characterizations of the people of Jamaica in particular.

Naboth's Vineyard, by Sumner Welles, is a history of the Dominican Republic, 1844-1924 (New York, Payson and Clarke).

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published (Havana, 1928) *Pi y Margall y la Revolución Cubana*, by Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre.

Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois, who is preparing a life of Miranda, would be grateful to anyone who would inform him of the location of Richard Rush's manuscript entitled "Notes of a Conversation with General Miranda".

The Venezuelan government has decided to publish a complete edition of the letters of Simon Bolivar. By executive decree Dr. Vicente Lecuna, of Caracas, has been entrusted with the task of editing the collection.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Franz Boas, *Migrations of Asiatic Races and Cultures to North America* (Scientific Monthly, February); W. C. Macleod, *Origin of Servile Labor Groups [Northwest Coast]* (American Anthropologist, January); F. W. Blackmar, *The Socialization of the American Indian* (American Journal of Sociology, January); Lieut. H. E. Dow, U. S. N., Retired, *The United States and Seapower* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Barbé-Marbois, *Chez les Peaux-Rouges Onéidas*, II.-concl. (Nouvelle Revue, November 15-December 15); J. M. Lenhart, *An Important Chapter in American Church History, 1625-1660* (Catholic Historical Review, January); R. S. Rait, *Nursing-Fathers of the United States* [James I., Charles II., and George III.] (University of California Chronicle, October); A. D. Belden, *George Whitefield: his Influence on his Times* (Biblical Review, January); Herbert Thoms, M. D., *Albigence Waldo, Surgeon: his Diary Written at Valley Forge* (Annals of Medical History, December); Rear-Admiral Joseph Foster, *The Continental Frigate Raleigh* (Granite Monthly, November); E. S. Corwin, *The "Higher Law" Background of American Constitutional Law* (Harvard Law Review, December, January); R. P. Taylor, *Bards in Ermine: John Marshall* (American Law Review, November); Emily S. Whiteley, *Between the Acts at Ghent* (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); C. W. Hackett, *The Development of John Quincy Adams's Policy with respect to an American Confederation and the Panama Congress, 1822-1825* (Hispanic American Historical Review, November); Lieut.-Commander L. C. Dunn, U. S. N., *The United States Navy and 104 Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); H. C. Nixon, *Precursors of Turner in the Interpretation of the American Frontier* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Mrs. C. W. McMahon, *Gen. Leonidas Polk, C. S. A.* (Confederate Veteran, February); Mrs. L. C. Wardlaw, *Plantation Life before the War* (*ibid.*, December); Mrs. J. P. Wickham, *Wade Hampton, the Cavalry Leader, and his Times* (*ibid.*); Mrs. J. P. Wickham, *Commanders of the Confederate Navy: Charles Read of Mississippi* (*ibid.*, February); Lieut.-Col. L. C. Duncan, U. S. A., Retired, *The Strange Case of Surgeon Gen-*

eral Hammond (Military Surgeon, January, February); the late Rear-Admiral O. W. Farenholt, U. S. N., Retired, *Some Autobiographical Notes* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); John Scales, *Shipbuilding in Dover* [New Hampshire] (Granite Monthly, November); E. J. Bowman, *Efforts to Christianize the Indians of Pennsylvania in Colonial Times* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, January); W. S. Middleton, *The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793 in Philadelphia* (Annals of Medical History, December); J. B. Brebner, *Paul Mascarene of Annapolis Royal* (Dalhousie Review, January); Anon., *Colonial Coast Forts on the South Atlantic: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida* (Coast Artillery Journal, January); H. A. Trexler, *Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Patronage* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. S. Wilson, *Breaking the Solid South* (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); W. Frances Scarborough, *Old Spanish Missions in Texas, V.: San Juan Capistrano* (Southwest Review, January); Stanley Vestal, *The Indians of Oklahoma* (*ibid.*); M. Ramona, *The Ecclesiastical Status of New Mexico, 1680-1875* (Catholic Historical Review, January); R. K. Wyllys, *On the Trail of the California Filibusters in the Mexican Archives* (*ibid.*, January); Gaillard de Champris, *Saint Vincent de Paul et ses Trois Derniers Historiens* [Lavedan, Redier, and Renaudin] (Le Canada Français, January); Herbert Heaton, *The Playing Card Currency of French Canada* (American Economic Review, December); Albert Depréaux, *Norvins, l'Historien de Napoléon, Secrétaire Général de la Préfecture de Saint-Domingue* (*ibid.*); P. V. Shaw, *José Bonifacio and Brazilian History* (Hispanic American Historical Review, November); Helen Douglas-Irvine, *The Landholding System of Colonial Chile* (*ibid.*).

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

The Cambridge Ancient History, V., VI., by D. C. Macgregor (English Historical Review, January); R. B. Burke, *Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, by Lynn Thorndike (Speculum, October); R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, IV., V., by Paul Fournier (Revue Historique, November); L. J. Paetow, *Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris*, by Mario Casella (Archivio Historico Italiano, November); and by R. Boussuat (Moyen Age, May); F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, by J. F. Laun (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 3); J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, by Z. N. Brooke (English Historical Review, January); T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, III., IV., by C. G. Crump (*ibid.*); Hilaire Belloc, *James the Second*, by Wallace Notestein (Saturday Review, January 12, 1929); Sir J. Fortescue (ed.), *The Correspondence of George III.*, by S. E. Morison (New England Quarterly, January); Allen French, *The Taking of Ticonderoga*, by John Pell (*ibid.*).

The
American Historical Review

WHAT CHINESE HISTORIANS ARE DOING IN THEIR
OWN HISTORY¹

AN important phase of the "new thought movement" in China today is an insistent demand for a scientific re-evaluation of the nation's cultural heritage. A concerted effort is deemed necessary to preserve the continuity between the present and the past, and to forestall a too violent break between the old order and the new; thus confirming the truth of Ruskin's words that: "the power of every great people, as of every living tree, depends on its not effacing, but confirming and concluding, the labors of its ancestors." In so far as the movement aims to reconstruct the past by the methods of literary and historical criticism, it is a very old one, dating back to the so-called school of "Han Learning" which flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and aimed at the overthrow of the subjective Sung philosophy by scholarly, objective criticism of the original texts. Unfortunately this critical movement was interrupted after 1800 by the unmistakable decay of the ruling dynasty, by the ensuing political turmoil, and by the too violent commercial impact of the Occidental powers. But the modern revival began with the publication in the early 'nineties of K'ang Yu-wei's "The Forged Classics of the Wang Mang Period", and "Confucius' Ideals of Social Reform", which reopened the problems of historical criticism where the great eighteenth-century scholars had left off. The work was continued by his pupil, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, but in the last ten years has been carried on with new vigor by Dr. Hu Shih and other Western-trained students who have written voluminously on historical method. The reform movement of a generation ago adopted a slogan which was much used by scholars like Chang T'ai-yen, and officials of the type of Chang Chih-tung; namely, "the preservation of the best elements in the nation's past" (*pao-t'sun kuo-t'sui*). It expressed a hope which these leaders long entertained, that in spite of the adoption of

¹ Paper read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 31, 1928.

the purely technological aspects of Western civilization, a large measure of the original purity of the Chinese culture might be preserved. Time, however, proved the impracticability of this negative concept. Before long, therefore, the slogan was changed so that it no longer read the "preservation", but the "reorganization of the national heritage" (*cheng-li kuo ku*), for it became increasingly clear that only by a sweeping reorganization could anything be salvaged.

The first problem that confronts the Chinese investigator is the sheer mass of printed and manuscript material that lies at his disposal. This, of course, is to be expected in a country that has the longest unbroken history of any nation in the world, and that began printing books six centuries and more before printing was practised in Europe. It is not surprising, then, to find that even a thousand years ago the Chinese literati were oppressed with the mass of their literary records; for so long ago as that a native scholar heaved a sigh and exclaimed: "Where shall one begin in the study of the seventeen dynastic histories?" Today, however, the number of these dynastic histories is twenty-six, comprising nearly four thousand books; not to speak of the far greater number of private histories, and multitudinous other works of an historical nature. The problem of compassing Chinese literature was serious enough when the native culture was all the culture a Chinese needed to know, but it became positively bewildering when in the space of a generation the culture of a whole new Western world was added to it. Naturally the two cultures could be coördinated and made manageable only by the most thorough-going re-evaluation and reorganization.

More important, however, than the magnitude of written materials is their lack of systematization and the consequent difficulty in using them. Those who do have occasion to make use of the older Chinese literature are quite unanimous in saying that, in the light of modern requirements, very little of it was written with a definite plan. As in the case of Western literature before the advent of departmentalized knowledge, facts of every description are all too readily jumbled together in beautiful confusion. To be sure, a few great historians like Ku Yen-wu of the seventeenth, and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng of the eighteenth century emphasized the importance of orderly arrangement and ease of access to materials. One thinks at once of the monumental helps to scholarship which that generation of writers produced: the K'ang-hsi dictionary of 44,000 characters; the world's largest printed encyclopedia (*T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*)² in

² Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum estimates that this encyclopedia contains between three and four times the number of words in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition). It should be added, however, that the articles are not

5000 volumes; Ku Tsu-yü's "Elements of Historical Geography", published in 1667 in 80 volumes; the *Ching Chi Tsuan Ku* glossary, and the *P'ei Wen Yün Fu* phrase-dictionary in which any important word or phrase in the Chinese language can be traced to its source, and its uses in the classical literature exhibited. But there are many wants which need to be supplied: we need classified indexes to all the places, names, and facts recorded in the dynastic histories; we need to facilitate the process of finding words in dictionaries, articles in encyclopedias, and books in libraries; and all the standard literature of antiquity needs to be repunctuated, the texts collated, and difficult passages annotated in the colloquial style. It was formerly supposed that a good scholar could do without such helps, for it was assumed that he carried these very elementary facts in his mind. This, of course, is no longer practicable now, if, indeed, it ever was in the past.

Still more important than ease of access to materials is the ability to handle them in a scientific manner. It is quite true that outside the realm of the physical sciences the so-called school of "Han Learning" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries employed critical methods that were in no respect inferior to the best scholarship in Europe at the same time. The only difficulty was that the realms in which those scholars carried their methods out were too restricted—that is to say, there were some fields into which they did not dare to venture. They did not hesitate, for example, to apply the most rigid scientific tests to the literature of history and philosophy, but they drew the line at a few of the most ancient classics, assuming that these, at least, were beyond the reach of the critic. One of the chief concerns of the modern historical movement has been to approach even the most ancient documents in the spirit of doubt rather than of belief and so break down every self-imposed barrier to knowledge. So popular has this attitude become that Mr. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung, a very able teacher in the Peking National University, and an ardent sponsor of the new freedom, has himself taken the name and is always referred to in contemporary literature as "Mr. Doubter of Antiquity" (I-ku hsien-sheng). This doubting approach to the past laid the foundation for another important reform in Chinese historical method which Dr. Hu Shih often refers to as the "bold use of hypothesis" (*ta tan-ti chia-she*). The older scholarship was usually too blinded by the vain search after finalities to appreciate the advantage of setting up hypotheses merely to see original in the sense of having been written for this work alone, but are abstracts taken from the whole range of Chinese literature as it existed before 1726 when the encyclopedia was first published. See Giles, "An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia, *Ch'in Ting Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*", published by the British Museum.

whether or not they could be knocked down. But those who were not too proud to use this method—men like Wang Ch'ung in the Han period (first century A.D.), Liu Chih-chi in the T'ang (eighth century A.D.), Cheng Ch'iao in the Sung (twelfth century A.D.), and Ku Yen-wu, Tai Chen, Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng, and T'sui Shu in the Ch'ing period (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)—are now hailed as the great creative minds of their day. The vitality of the present renaissance is no better attested than in this new doubting approach to the past, and the abandon with which the younger scholars now break into print with new hypotheses.

As one might suppose, the first problems demanding investigation were those about which doubts were most numerous, and the accumulated debris of antiquity was heaviest; that is to say, the problem of Chinese origins. In 1924 a symposium on this question appeared in the *Nu Li Chou K'an*, conducted by Ku Chieh-kang, who had studied for a time under Dr. Hu Shih. Mr. Ku was then only thirty-one years of age, and had never studied abroad, but his firm grasp of the best traditions of native scholarship, together with what he had learned of Western methods, made it possible for him to conduct the symposium in the most rigorous scientific manner. These studies were published in 1927 in a remarkable book entitled *Ku Shih Pien*, or "Discussions in Ancient History". Reviewing this work in the *Hsien Tai P'ing Lun* a few months later, Dr. Hu Shih declared it to be the most epoch-making study of ancient Chinese history that had appeared in China for a century and a half. As an example of the best type of modern historical criticism in China, and as a record of the whole "new thought movement" of the past ten years, it deserves to be put into the English language. One would obviously be unfair to Mr. Ku if one undertook to state his conclusions without the necessary supporting evidence, but a few outstanding thoughts may here be set down as showing the trend of his and others' investigations.

In the first place, he is convinced that the first four sections of the *Shu Ching*, or "Classic of History", which traditional scholarship has always assumed to be the oldest literary fragment of Chinese antiquity—dating back at least to the twenty-third century before our era—are in reality only idealistic reconstructions of the fourth or fifth centuries before Christ. He believes that the whole of the so-called "model emperor lore" arose during the Spring and Autumn³ period under the ardent desire of Chinese philosophers like Confucius, Mo-ti, and Mencius to substitute a moral for a military solution of

³ That is to say, the period covered by the "Spring and Autumn Annals", 722-481 B.C.

the interminable conflict that was devastating China in those times. Just as the ancient Hebrews sought justification for their noblest ideals by pointing to an idealized future, so the ancient Chinese sought it by pointing to an idealized past. We need not suppose that in either case there was any effort to deceive; the people of that day were more concerned to have moral certainty than to have historical accuracy. Then, too, the scantiness of literary records in that time made it easier to fill the gaps of antiquity with conjecture than to search laboriously for facts; just as the destruction of the ancient literature in Ch'in times (third century B.C.) opened the door to forgery in the ensuing Han period. The studies of Mr. Ku and others now make it possible to strip off the successive layers of accretions of which our older conceptions of Chinese antiquity were built up. The emperor known to history as the Great Yü is the only one of the so-called "model emperors" to be mentioned in the earliest literary record, namely the *Shih Ching*, or "Classic of Poetry". The Han clans encountered the Yü lore when they began to move south of the Yang-tze river, say about 900 B.C., and this cult of Yü is still active in Chekiang province where the tomb of the Great Yü is reputed to be. The Yao and Shun lore, on the other hand, although chronologically earlier, actually made its appearance in history much later, perhaps shortly before the time of Confucius. This accounts for the very significant fact that neither Yao nor Shun are mentioned in the "Odes", nor outside the supposedly spurious sections of the "Canon of History". In the same manner the chronologically much earlier Shên Nung is actually unknown till he is mentioned in the book of Mencius; Huang-ti does not appear until Ch'in times; and P'an-ku, the Chinese Creator, is unknown to literature written before the Han dynasty (206 B.C.). This curious phenomenon was pointed out more than a century ago by the great critical scholar, T'sui Shu,⁴ but its full significance was not apparent until our own day.

With the collapse of the elaborate chronological framework of antiquity goes the alluring concept of an ancient golden age and of a

⁴ No better proof is needed of the mental distraction that overtook China in the past century of harassing contact with the West than the fact that the works of T'sui Shu, the most courageously critical of eighteenth-century historians, were lost to Chinese scholarship for exactly a hundred years, or until 1921 when they were rediscovered and again brought to the attention of the world by Dr. Hu Shih. It is true that a part of T'sui Shu's work had been incorporated in the *Chi Fu T'sung Shu* collection of reprints, but it had escaped the notice of even so penetrating a scholar as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Today it may confidently be said that T'sui Shu's indomitable spirit has become the model of this generation of historical writers. It is worth noting, however, that long before his works were rediscovered to China an original edition of 1822 lay on the shelves of the Library of Congress. In 1928 the library secured another original edition from Japan, and it is known that at least one other copy of the same edition has recently appeared in Peking.

vast, unified empire under the sway of benevolent rulers, which haunted Chinese history, and dominated Confucian political theory for more than two thousand years. Gone is that beautiful picture of emperors who rose to power by sheer merit, who ruled by virtuous example rather than by force, and who voluntarily relinquished the throne when they discovered others more competent and virtuous than themselves. These were the kind of kings the philosophers wanted the warring satraps to be, but most assuredly they were not the kind of kings that ruled in China in the twenty-eighth century before Christ. Likewise the picture of a vast empire under one united rule did express a long unrealized ambition that was finally achieved by Ch'in Shih Huang in 256 B.C., but it was never once realized previous to his day except in the imagination of philosophic historians.

If we accept these far-reaching conclusions, we must be prepared, at the same time, for a very appreciable shortening of traditional Chinese chronology. It is still possible to speak in terms of three millenniums of recorded history, but it is manifestly impossible to speak of four or five millenniums as the uninformed still do. The oldest extant inscriptions—those on oracle bones discovered in Honan in 1898—perhaps go back to 1200 B.C. The oldest literary classic—the “Book of Poetry”—has poems which perhaps reach back to the tenth century before our era. But all hope of pushing authentic Chinese history to an antiquity greater than this must rest on the results of future scientific excavation⁵ of which almost nothing has so far been accomplished.

The study of the “Odes” has undergone radical changes during recent years, and is typical of an entirely new emphasis in Chinese literature. The traditional connection of Confucius with these poems is now very generally discredited. The reference in Ssu-ma Ch'ien to a sweeping expurgation at his hands is not borne out by a study of the “Odes” as we now have them, nor by the recorded words of Confucius himself, who commonly referred to them as “the three hundred poems” as though these were all that were known in his day. It may be, however, as the “Analects”⁶ seem to imply, that Confucius had a share in rectifying the music by which the

⁵ Excavations of an accidental nature, and mostly for commercial purposes, have been in process for more than two thousand years. But the provenience of very few of the jades or inscribed bronzes which have come from beneath the ground is now known. Until such objects can be studied *in situ*, and it can be definitely established from what cultural centres they arose, it will be perilous to draw any far-reaching conclusions from them.

⁶ This is the name which Legge, the eminent translator, gave to the first of the Four Books called *Lun Yü* or “Discourses and Dialogues” of Confucius.

"Odes" were anciently sung. The age-old attempt to interpret these poems as part of the Confucian canon—ignoring the fact that they are for the most part folk-songs expressing the deepest feelings and longings of the common people—did a great deal to blind the Chinese of former dynasties to their true meaning. These meanings are found today, not from a meticulous study of individual words, but from the sense and the rhythm of the whole sentence. Investigation is directed toward an understanding of the customs and social aspirations that prevailed in various strata of society at the beginning of the Chou dynasty when the poems were first sung, thus giving to these poems an entirely new historical significance, and regarding them as our most reliable source for a knowledge of pre-Confucian times. The officially prepared "Canon of History" (*Shu Ching*) can thus be checked on the social side by the more natural and truer picture of antiquity preserved for us in the "Odes"; in the same manner as the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan (seventh to fourteenth century A.D.), dynastic histories can be better understood when studied in conjunction with the poems, novels, and dramas produced in the same times.

The authoritative place which the "Odes" hold for a study of the Western Chou period (1122-770 B.C.) is now claimed for the "Analects" in the Spring and Autumn period. Most of what we know about the life and times of Confucius is dependent on this source. Yet, curiously enough, neither the "Analects" nor the book of Mencius were looked upon as first-rate classics until the T'ang and the Sung dynasties (618-1280 A.D.), for it must never be forgotten that the Four Books took their position above the traditional Five Classics only after Chu Hsi (died 1200 A.D.) and others used them to combat, and finally to absorb, the Buddhist world view. Prior to that time books like the *Chou-li*, the ancient text of the *Shang Shu*, and the "Classic of Filial Piety", which are now regarded as spurious, held a position of comparative superiority. But valuable as the "Analects" are today, they also have not entirely escaped the subversive hand of the critic. As long ago as the eighteenth century the indomitable T'sui Shu brought forward convincing proof to show that not a little of the material in the last five of the twenty sections of the "Analects" belongs to a later time. Certain misinterpretations of the life and character of Confucius, which are now current in the West, can be traced to irrelevancies and misstatements of fact that appear in these sections. Moreover, in the fifteen authentic sections there are certain closing paragraphs which have suffered corruption in the process of transmission. It is well known that prior to the invention of paper, individual sections of a work often circulated separately. Being then inscribed on slips of bamboo, or on rolls of

silk, it was easy for the loose ends of paragraphs to be mutilated and for irrelevant annotations to creep into the text.

There is much divergence of opinion among Chinese scholars on the question of Confucius's authorship of the "Spring and Autumn Annals". The "Analects" give no warrant for connecting the name of Confucius with them. Three statements in the Book of Mencius are sole authority for believing that Confucius ever wrote them. Mencius, however, is by no means an infallible historical guide. Born more than a century after the death of the master, he lived in an age that was moved by the appeal to antiquity, and he did not refrain from making that appeal when it gave point to his moral teachings. Students like Dr. Hu Shih, who perhaps are more concerned with the philosophical than with the historical aspects of the "Spring and Autumn", are convinced that it exemplifies admirably Confucius's manner of "rectifying terminology" (*cheng ming*), i.e., making words correspond to realities. Others like Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung and Ku Chieh-kang hold with the great social reformer, Wang An-shih, of the eleventh century that the Annals are merely a series of "disjointed court records" (*tuan lan ch'ao pao*) of which Mencius and Mo-ti inform us there were many others in their day. Furthermore, Confucius himself declared that he was a "transmitter and not a creator". Those who think of Confucius in terms of these highly charged sayings of his which have come down to us in the "Analects", find it difficult to believe that the prosaic "Spring and Autumn Annals", whose longest entry consists of forty words, and whose shortest comprises only one word, could have come from his hands. The tendency is to disassociate the name of Confucius from every one of the ancient classics, and to assume that his sole connection with them was to use them as text-books for the exposition of his social and political ideas.

The very complicated problem of the relationship of the *Tso Chuan* to the "Spring and Autumn Annals" seems to have reached a stage in which a solution is in sight, if, indeed, a solution has not already been found. The evidence is all but conclusive that the *Tso Chuan* was not originally intended as a commentary to the "Annals", but was a part of the *Kuo-yü*, or "Narrative of the States", which was written in the time of the Warring Kingdoms (third to fifth centuries B.C.). That is to say, the *Tso Chuan* and the *Kuo-yü* formed originally one book, so much so that even today the two have maximum significance only when they are regarded as one work. The "History of the Former Han Dynasty" makes it indisputably clear that it was Liu Hsin (first century B.C.)—a scholar whose name is associated with many forgeries of antiquity—who first ex-

tracted the materials from the *Kuo-yü* and adapted them, with indifferent success, as a commentary to the "Spring and Autumn Annals". The material which he could not so employ he retained in the "*Kuo-yü*", which remains today a singularly uneven and emasculated work. The lack of success that followed Liu Hsin's efforts must be attributed to the difficulty he encountered in fitting a narrative history of principalities, such as the "*Kuo-yü*" originally was, to the barest of annals like the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. It naturally transpires, as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao¹ well points out, that events are recorded in the "Commentary" which are not even mentioned in the "Annals"; that facts are omitted from the "Commentary" which are referred to in the "Annals"; and that still other facts are brought out which contradict the "Annals". While the "Commentary" should, strictly speaking, cover only the period included in the "Annals" (772-481 B.C.) it records events that are known on other evidence to have occurred prior to and subsequent to those dates.

The two most important recent studies on the *Shih Chi*, or "Historical Record" of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, are the late Wang Kuo-wei's efforts to reconstruct the chronology of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's life, and the late T'sui Shih's very rigorous analysis of the literary sources, entitled *Shih Chi T'an Yüan*. The question of chronology is still the most crucial one, for until it is known with reasonable certainty when Ssu-ma Ch'ien died, it will be impossible to determine when the record should close, and what parts of it should be attributed to other and later hands. With this question is also involved the difficult problem of the identification of place-names mentioned by the historian, with a view to determining the course of his extensive travels. Wang Kuo-wei has fixed on the year 98 B.C. as the one in which the historian endured his humiliation; and the year 88 B.C.—or the fifty-seventh of his life—as the year in which he died. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao holds that in no case could he have carried the narrative later than 101 B.C., and with even more probability concluded with the year 122, when the unicorn was alleged to have appeared to Han Wu-ti, after the analogy of Confucius in the "Spring and Autumn Annals". In any case, it is clear that Ssu-ma Ch'ien had no time before his death to complete all of the one hundred and thirty sections traditionally attributed to him, and most certainly had no hand in recording events that occurred as late as 86, 33, and even 20 B.C. T'sui Shih has isolated ten sections which he believes to be indisputably late, and lists the names of some twenty scholars who are known to have had a hand in adding to or altering parts of the text; not so much, perhaps, with

¹ See his *Yao Chi Chieh T'i Chi Ch'i Tu Fa* published by the Tsinghua Weekly, 1925.

a view to falsification as to bring the material up to date. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's great history—the first of all China, and the model of all the succeeding dynastic histories—so usurped the field that for many years after his death no one essayed to write a new one.

This is the vast and interesting task of cultural re-orientation that confronts the Chinese scholars of our day. Addressing his fellow students in one of his most charming essays, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao writes, in a vein of sly irony, "Why should anyone care to pass an uneventful and humdrum existence, ensconced in a Western mansion on some monotonous, square avenue in New York or Chicago, when one has the opportunity, like Columbus of old, to discover another continent all by one's self and for the first time?" With this view no Westerner needs to quarrel, but it is not amiss to express the hope that the discovery of this new continent will cease to be longer regarded as the sole inheritance and preoccupation of Chinese scholars. This unknown land merits the coöperative search of students in every country of the world, each bringing to the task the knowledge which his particular cultural background affords.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL.

ENGLISH MANORIAL FORMS ¹

A STUDY of the material available for English manorial history—of court rolls, charters, surveys, and bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century, printed, in manuscript, and of photographs of ancient fields taken from the air—will show on even cursory examination striking differences in the form and structure of village units in Medieval England. This paper is a plea for the vigorous study of local customs and arrangements, after the fashion set by Professor Stenton and others, and a protest against yielding to a somewhat insidious temptation to cover England too generally with the Seeborn types of manorial organization, types which were common in parts of the midlands and the south, but not necessarily elsewhere.²

Until such studies of local customs have been carried further than their present limits, generalizations regarding the causes of differences in agrarian forms are apt to be dangerous. It is clear, however, that three fields of investigation, which have already proven fruitful, are capable of yielding more abundant information. The study of the village or manor may be pursued profitably, first, in relation to the natural characteristics of the countryside in which it is found; secondly, in relation to the racial elements once strong in the neighborhood, and, thirdly, in relation to the character of the lordship established over it.

Of the influence of the natural characteristics of the countryside, the villages described in *Boldon Book*, at the close of the twelfth century, are good examples. Mr. Lapsley, their able commentator, finds five types to which such villages belonged: the pastoral village, with tenants performing week work and paying cornage, the agricultural village, where the community as a whole performed services but paid no cornage, the forest village where special forest service was performed at the *magna casa* or great hunting lodge of the bishop, and the nascent borough.³ The fifth class is of less interest in this connection. Other examples are the villages of the fen country, with their many plots of arable fields divided by dikes constructed to keep out the salt and sweet water, whose maintenance was a heavy customary burden;⁴ and the woodland villages of Essex with

¹ Read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Indianapolis, December 28, 1928.

² See H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems*, especially the map and appendix II.

³ Victoria County History, *Durham*, I. 269 *et seq.*

⁴ N. Neilson, *Terrier of Fleet* (Brit. Acad. Records IV.), p. lix *et seq.*

their many estover customs.⁵ The age of the village must in large measure depend upon the character of the countryside, as is obvious—"anciently arable" being found more often in country susceptible of easy cultivation—but it is important to remember that waste regions often had some peculiar "use" or "custom" of their own, existing from time beyond the memory of man, which necessarily conditioned the development of settlements within their limits, and thus lent to them a flavor of great antiquity. Good examples of "use" or "custom" of this kind, which will be spoken of again, may be found in the weald and marsh land of Kent, in the forest of Coup-land, and in the Fenland.

The importance of racial influence in determining village forms and methods of agriculture in particular regions is difficult to estimate, and the discussion of it apt to become somewhat theoretical; yet, however difficult it may be to follow Meitzen and assign particular forms of settlement to particular races, some importance must surely be allowed to such influences, at least as a contributory cause of difference. Of value here are photographs taken from the air which disclose ancient field forms, square fields and strips, which are no longer decipherable from the ground level.⁶ The possibility, on the other hand, of a natural development from one agricultural form to another, inherent in processes of husbandry, and underlying and independent of all superficial racial conquest or change, has been suggested by a high authority,⁷ and may well have been operative. Such natural development would not, however, necessarily exclude completely the coincident action of other forces.

An important variation from the usual manorial form, although perhaps it may be considered social rather than agrarian in its main features, is the custom that distinguished Kent from other counties. The question arises as to whether the Kentish peculiarities were due to original differences in settlement, geographical or racial, as described above, or, as seems to me more likely⁸ in view of the wide distribution of particular features of that custom outside of Kent in regions that can be reduced to no common geographic or racial unity, to the fact that Kent, lying in the pathway to the Continent, advanced quickly, and attained an early self-consciousness and entity that

⁵ W. R. Fisher, *Forest of Essex*; J. H. Round, "Forest of Essex", *Journ. British Archaeol. Assoc.*, n. s., III. 36.

⁶ O. G. S. Crawford, *Air Survey and Archaeology*; E. C. Curwen, *Air-Photography and Economic History*. Curwen follows in part, in interpretation, Seebohm, *Customary Acres*.

⁷ G. J. Turner, introduction to the *Feet of Fines of Huntingdonshire*, p. cxxii.

⁸ "Custom and the Common Law in Kent", *Harvard Law Review*, XXXVIII. 482 et seq.

enabled her to withstand the equalizing and standardizing influence of the Norman conquerors, and to preserve to a late date characteristics once prevalent elsewhere. Is there perhaps some basis of truth in the legend of Swanscombe Wood and the recognition of Kentish custom forced by the men of Kent from an astute conqueror?⁹ It will be recalled that Cornwall, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire also had once their custom,¹⁰ but being less favorably placed apparently succumbed to Norman influences and lost their peculiarities quickly.

The third possible cause of variation in village organization, the character of the lordship, is a matter of some interest, in need of more definite information than we at present have. Was there an appreciable difference in the position of peasants on lands belonging to the church and on lay land, and, if so, on which side did advantage to the peasant lie? On one hand is to be considered the constant pressure of a lordship that never dies and is always on the spot, a point emphasized by Maitland;¹¹ on the other, is to be considered the ameliorating influence of the humanitarian ideas of the church, a point raised by Mr. Coulton,¹² who yet questions the existence of any very marked benefit derived therefrom, and even asks if the greater freedom of the Danelaw can be explained in part by the destruction of churches there, accomplished by the Danish invaders.¹³ The study of numerous surveys of lay lordships, especially of those contained in the inquests *post mortem*, should go far towards answering this question, and towards restoring a balance at present inclining too far in the direction of the use of ecclesiastical material.

Whatever their origin, the variations in village forms and manorial organization, which are the main theme of this paper, may be conveniently considered from the following points of view: first, the general organization of the manor and its relation to the village; secondly, the classes of society within the manor; thirdly, the teneemental units, that is to say, the normal holdings of different classes within the manor; fourthly, assarts and approvements; fifthly, rents and services; sixthly, the demesne; seventhly, judicial arrangements.

Such a division may be convenient for purposes of discussion, but it is clear that these elements of agrarian life were interdependent, and that the consideration of any one of them can not be bounded by

⁹ Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, ed. 1826, p. 19 *et seq.*: Brit. Mus., Harl. MSS. 692, fol. 98.

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 226; *Year Book*, 30-31 Edward I., pp. 165, 545; cf. p. 67; 33-35 Edward I., pp. 239, 457; Bolland, *Year Book Studies*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 320.

¹² *Mediaeval Village*, chap. XII., especially p. 142.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

hard and fast lines. It is also evident that the adequate discussion of any one of them would require a volume. The remarks that follow are desultory reflections on special points that are in need of elucidation, or that are suggestive of matters of particular interest.

Of attempts to define the manor the safest is Professor Stenton's, "it is impossible" to define the manor,¹⁴ or Round's, "it is not a technical term".¹⁵ It is rather a general term for a substantial estate of one lord. The manor was "primarily a rural mansion with appurtenant rights over its lord's tenants".¹⁶ If it had any essential feature besides lordship, it was perhaps the *aula* or hall for the holding of the *halmote*. The *villa*, the geographical village, and the *villata*, the people living therein, usually imply some inhabited nucleus, although the *villa* may appear as the equivalent of the tithing, or of the *borgha*, which in less settled regions of Kent replaced the tithing.¹⁷ That the *villa* was a definite geographical entity with boundaries is made clear in perambulations for the partition of intervillar waste,¹⁸ and in pleas in court, especially in the common cases of procedural outlawry where the accused pleads that the writ describes him as *commorans et conversans* in a wrong vill, or in one that does not exist.¹⁹

Specific information from different parts of England of the relationship of vills and manors, whether they were coterminous, or one inclusive of several of the other, and the relation of both to parish boundaries, would have value. In general the manors that go back in origin to royal vills granted to the church or retained by the king, and that sometimes themselves served as the centres of administrative districts, like the chief vills of the Kentish lests, or the many vills there and elsewhere whose names correspond with those of the hundred in which they lay; were most often of one lordship and coterminous with the vill. Also it is clear that such coincident vills and manors were more common in the well-manorialized midland and southern region than in the Danelaw, East Anglia, or the north and far west, where, on account of conquest and scattered settlements, homogeneity was difficult to attain. The effect of the Norman

¹⁴ V. C. H. *Derbyshire*, I. 310, with reference to Maitland's more technical definition, and see also *Hampshire*, I. 442.

¹⁵ V. C. H. *Hertfordshire*, I. 296 *et seq.*; compare D. C. Douglas, *Mediaeval East Anglia*, p. 56.

¹⁶ Turner, *Feet of Fines*, p. xlv; compare V. C. H. *Hampshire*, I. 442.

¹⁷ *Rot. Hund.*, I. 215, 217; *Feet of Fines*, p. lxxvii; Neilson, *Cartulary of Bilsington* (Brit. Acad. Rec. VII.), p. 22.

¹⁸ Neilson, *Terrier of Fleet*, p. xviii.

¹⁹ *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 265; *Y. B.*, 12-13 Edward III., p. 17; 18-19 Edward III., pp. 75, 523; P. R. O. De Banco Rolls, no. 836, m. 150.

tendency towards standardization was probably to create or restore coincidence wherever possible.

Recent important studies have done much to make clear the character of the agrarian units in the Danelaw and East Anglia.²⁰ In East Anglia the village was large and nucleated, to use Maitland's happy term, but its strip-holding and rotation of crops were worked by units of tenements, not by the three-field system. Thus in Fleet in Lincolnshire there were thirty-nine *inlikes* or tenement units, in which the strips of the *werklands* lay. A *werkland* lay often in ten or twelve *inlikes*, and some rotation of cultivation amongst the *inlikes* must have been customary. In the Danelaw occurred the discrete manors with satellites of *sokeland* and berewicks. There are many other regions of hamlets which would repay more study than has been given them. Sometimes unusual little jurisdictional groups appear, like the salt boilers on the sea in the village of Fleet, called the *Metehough* or *villa bulliatorum*. Salt boiling was an important activity in that region, and *haga et area* were attached to each *werkland* and *moleland*.²¹ Moreover, the coalescing of small manors to form larger units goes on, as well as the "fission" of vills and the formation of new manors. The assimilation of these new manors to some well-known type, as in Kent, for example, to Aldington, and the extension to them of tenure in socage or gavelkind "as of such and such a manor", are important, and are of especial interest in view of the wording of some colonial charters.²² Is the frequent early occurrence of the phrase in Kent due to the considerable colonization in weald and marsh in progress in that county?

Can we then trace the relative age of vill and manor, or, rather, can we sometimes find traces of a time before lordship had developed, when the village group was the vital unit? It is held that the manor was somewhat late and artificial in East Anglia, the Danelaw, and the north. It is the *villata* there that attests charters, makes by-laws, serves as a unit for the geld, goes to the tourn, enters into agreements with the lord.²³ In his recent volume on Ramsey court rolls Professor Ault shows a village assembly in Walsoken, Norfolk, which is not manorial.²⁴ But most interesting of all perhaps is the fact that it

²⁰ F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Danelaw* (Oxford Studies, II.); *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (Brit. Acad. Rec. V.); D. C. Douglas, *Mediaeval East Anglia* (Oxford Studies, IX.).

²¹ *Terrier of Fleet*, p. lxi *et seq.*; *Rot. Hund.*, I. 292.

²² *Cartulary of Bilsington*, p. 23.

²³ Stenton, *Documents*, p. lxii *et seq.*; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 161 *et seq.*, p. 210; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 198; *Cartulary of Bilsington*, p. 18 *et seq.*

²⁴ W. O. Ault, *Court Rolls of Ramsey Abbey*, p. xlvii.

is the *villata* that is endowed with ancient rights of common in the intervillar waste, and makes regulations for the use of that waste.²⁵

Concerning the second suggested topic, the classes of society in the thirteenth-century manor, much investigation has been carried on, and we know a great deal about the economic and legal characteristics of different groups. The difficult sokemen have been in part explained, as tenants representing an earlier organization than the manorial, slowly being assimilated within the manor to the position of ordinary villeins.²⁶ The jurisdictional aspects of their position have not yet perhaps been made perfectly clear, and the characteristics of those living on ancient demesne certainly need further elucidation. Of the unusual classification of peasantry in Kent, and the Year Book dictum regarding villeinage there, the writer has suggested an explanation elsewhere.²⁷ A question which is of a good deal of interest and deserving of study is the origin of the class of molmen. They occur fairly generally; for example, on the manors of Glastonbury, Ely, Durham, Burton; in East Anglia, in Lincolnshire, and as *smalmolmen* in Middlesex. The rent *mala*, from which they take their name, is common also in Kent.²⁸ A number of passages seem to explain that they are a class of unfree tenants who have at an early time commuted the bulk of their rents and services for a money rent. *Mala* is rent "paid by our ancestors for all unjust dues and exactions", as the *Black Book* of St. Austin puts it,²⁹ the result of a definite agreement with their lord. A very interesting indenture, mentioned by Mr. Douglas, records a definite contract between certain molmen and their lord regarding works.³⁰ Possibly the molmen omitted the usual stage of labor service intermediate between *gafol*, or tribute paying, and complete commutation. Are then the *censuarii* and *firmarii* members of the same class? Are ancient sokemen included in its number? The molmen of Fleet certainly resemble the sokemen of the Spalding Cartulary, living in the vicinity. What were the early conditions that led to such commutation?

²⁵ See especially *Terrier of Fleet*, introduction and map, showing circles of intercommoning villages in Fenland.

²⁶ Douglas and Stenton, *op. cit.*; Corbett (*Cambridge Medieval History*, III. 354) sought to identify them with the liesings of the Danelaw, but their appearance in Kent would probably raise a difficulty in this identification. See V. C. H. *Hertfordshire*, I. 265 *et seq.* for Round's discussion of their distribution.

²⁷ "Custom and the Common Law in Kent," *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Michael de Ambresbury Rentalia*, pp. 7, 12, 126; Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, *pass.*; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 424, 773; *Cal. Inq. p. Mortem*, Henry III., no. 813; V. C. H. *Durham*, I. 280; II. 181 *et seq.*; *Terrier of Fleet*, p. lxxviii, and *Customary Rents* (Oxford Studies, II.), s.v. molmen.

²⁹ G. J. Turner, *Black Book of St. Augustine* (Brit. Acad. Records, II.), I. 59.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

Other matters regarding the tenants on the manor would certainly become clearer if studies of local material were made. We should know more of the position of cottars, of those cottars who held arable and were of the old enfeoffment, and also of those who were newly settled on waste and demesne, on an old assize, or a new assize;³¹ of those tenants who worked for other tenants, even perhaps for villeins;³² of the men "whose number increased and decreased", who came at certain seasons of the year; of the *undersettes*, *anilepymen*; *selfods*; *pocarii*; *latini*; *kenewoldings*; *gresmen*; *enches*—of all of these and many others.³³

Of tenemental arrangements three main systems may be traced; that of hides and virgates, that of carucates and bovates, that of sulungs and *juga*. Other systems seem to be represented by the *stangs*, left over, we are told, from the days of paring and burning;³⁴ the *dales* or *doles* of marshland,³⁵ the *wistae* of Sussex,³⁶ the *daiwerks* of Kent and Essex,³⁷ the *manlots* of East Anglia³⁸ which correspond with the bovates. There must also be added the very large number of tenements taken late from the waste or the demesne, and measured in acres.³⁹ Recent research seems to have established a good deal that is interesting with regard to tenements. Of the three chief systems, that of the hide and virgate is considered the oldest, and can perhaps be traced below the other later impositions. It held, speaking generally, in the great block of Saxon counties, or, more specially, as Mr. Turner suggests, in the region of the three-field system of agriculture.⁴⁰

The system of bovates and carucates is found in the Danelaw, but also in Cumberland and the lowlands of Scotland where the Danes did not go. The sulungs and *juga* were confined to Kent. Modern opinion seems to hold that the bovat and the virgate, the smaller

³¹ *Rot. Hund.*, II. 674, 870, *et pass.*; *Domesday of St. Paul's*, *pass.*; *Reg. Prior. B.*; *Marie Wigorn*, p. 47a, *et pass.*

³² *Rot. Hund.*, II. 402, 748, *et passim* in Beds and Bucks.

³³ *Mich. Ambres. Rent.*, p. 108; *Cal. I. p. M.* Edward I., vol. II., nos. 371, 457, 633; P. R. O. Vacancy Roll, 1141/1; *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 56, 182; *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, pp. 168, 174, 180, 232; *Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS.*, Tiber. B. ii, ff. 117, 167, 238; *Claud. C.* xi, ff. 60, 89, 93, 94, 290, 297; *Harl. MSS.* 3977, ff. 37, 38; *Add. MSS.* 1005, f. 69; *Mon. Anglic.*, III. 315; *Customary Rents*, p. 10.

³⁴ G. J. Turner, *Feet of Fines*, p. cxix; *Fleet Terrier*, pp. lv, 159 *et seq.*

³⁵ *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 56, 61, 99, 128, 159 *et seq.*; see Stenton, *Documents*, p. xlv.

³⁶ *Battle Abbey Customal*, p. 29.

³⁷ *Bilsington Cartulary*, pp. 26, 214, 217.

³⁸ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 50-58, 213; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 9.

³⁹ *Y. B.*, 13-14 Edward III., p. 173, where a writ abates because fenland is claimed in bovates.

⁴⁰ *Feet of Fines*, pp. cxxii-cxxiii.

divisions, were older than the hide and carucate, and that the larger allotment of hide and carucate made to the family, with definite obligations of tribute and service affixed, was not a measure of economic necessity.⁴¹ The relation of these units to the system of assessment is a difficult problem in which there is still room for much study. Was there something in England resembling the tunc pound? Mr. Douglas's work on the East Anglian bovate and the *manlot*, on the leet and the twelve carucate hundred, is of much importance in this connection. What place had the lests of Kent and the leets of Sussex, the ridings or trithings of the north, in an original scheme or schemes? And are not the hundreds of Kent, for example, of later development than the lests? What part exactly has partibility of tenement played in the splitting up of compact tenements, and is such disintegration always more rapid on the free tenement, deprived of what Mr. Douglas calls the "cohesive force of the lord's will"?⁴²

Of all aspects of manorial life common assart and the use of the waste seem to the writer best to repay study devoted to them. The two main uses of the waste were for pasture and colonization. The study of pasture rights will some time lead to the great work on early commons which is needed. There is much to be learned with regard to common within the manor, but more with regard to common in the intervillar waste, or, as it is later called, common *pur cause de vicinage*. The grouping of neighboring villis according to the kind of pasture rights enjoyed—those, namely, with very ancient rights for all tenants of ancient arable land to turn out all the cattle levant and couchant within their villages during all the year, and those others which paid under differing conditions sums of money for specific numbers of cattle during restricted seasons—seems to have been the custom in all parts of England.⁴³ The attempt of the royal administration when such districts were afforested to cut down ancient rights of common pasture and the corresponding common use of woodland was, I believe, a chief cause of the hatred of royal forests, and of the constant agitation against afforestation.⁴⁴ It would too be of interest to know whether the systems of dennis in Kent and the weald of southern England had parallels elsewhere. The denn was an outlying part of the village, situated in the woodland, and used for swine pasture. It might lie at a distance of half a county from its parent vill, and it had its own different and peculiar rents and services. The question of the right of the tenants of the denn to cut the timber trees

⁴¹ *Fest of Fines*, p. lxi.

⁴² *Mediaeval East Anglia*, p. 67.

⁴³ See especially *Terrier of Fleet*, introduction and references to similar customs elsewhere.

⁴⁴ *Bilsington Cartulary*, introduction, pt. I., especially p. 33 *et seq.*

without the assent of the lord, or *vice versa*, the lord's right to cut at his own will, became a subject of litigation in the king's courts, and furnishes admirable evidence of the possibility of independent action on the part of groups of tenants.⁴⁶

The use of the waste for assart and colonization has received even less attention than its use for common pasture and will prove a most interesting field of work. Where a large territory lay open to settlement there was room for a definite policy. In the archbishops' innings in Walland marsh in Kent, south of Rhee Wall, for example, protection against the sea had to be secured by regulations regarding walls and sewers, and such regulation became the basis of later royal ordinances: ⁴⁰ the tenure of gavelkind was extended to land so inned, the plots show a certain uniformity in size, and the tenant who took one had to put in gage and pledge for its proper maintenance all his tenements and chattels elsewhere, and, unless he had a house in the village to which it was appurtenant, had also to build on his innings. He took a corporal oath that he would fulfil the conditions of his enfeoffment.

Rents and services still offer an admirable field for research, notwithstanding the fact that much study has already been given them. Labor services of the tenants for the lord are usually divided into week work and boon work, but this division is not necessarily exhaustive. All labor that was not boon work was not necessarily week work; much was performed by the task, *ad tascham*,⁴⁷ a certain number of days of work, "daywerks", being required in a particular season, or a total of "works" required in a whole year, or a total assignment made of land to be ploughed or reaped. Sometimes these works are designated as "great or small works".⁴⁸ In Kent, and other regions where partibility of inheritance or some other cause had split up the land into small tenements, week work would have been difficult to manage, and a more flexible arrangement was clearly almost a necessity. But even where the two- and three-field system prevailed and land was held in hides and virgates, week work was by no means universal. Thus a study of Oxfordshire as it appears in the Hundred Rolls in the survey of the seventh year of Edward I.⁴⁹ shows that week work was of far from uniform occurrence or importance, and also that it was the first service commuted, a fact natural enough in view of its cumbersome nature. Seasonal works,

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16 *et seq.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, introduction, pt. II.

⁴⁸ For the term see *Ramsey Cartulary*, I. 288, 296, 336, 337.

⁴⁹ C. Edward I., Files 77/3; 128, 457; *Rot. Hund.*, II. 457, 464.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 688 *et seq.*

on the other hand, are frequent, and are rendered to the lord until a comparatively late date.

The relation of week work, then, to *gafol* or original tribute on one hand, and to commutation on the other, becomes important. Was it a necessary stage through which all manorialized villein land passed, or was it in some cases non-existent, and in its place may we find a heavy *mol*, *mala*, *redditus*, dating from an early time and commuting early obligations other than the *gafol* or food rent, which had not yet crystallized into week work? We should then find villeins divided according to their labor services into three classes: first, a class, very numerous on church lands, who performed both week work and boon works, and paid customary rents which were in some cases commutations of occasional services; secondly, a class less common, perhaps, but still very numerous and unmistakably of villein status, who paid a *mala* or *redditus*, a fixed and heavy rent, for their tenement, as well as boon works and perhaps occasional daywerks, but no week work; and thirdly, a class of those who had once performed week work which had later been commuted, either permanently or in given years at the lord's will, and who still performed boon works. These classes can be conveniently studied in the surveys of 1279 in the *Hundred Rolls*, and much light is thrown on the second class by the information available regarding molmen. The possibility of early and fairly general commutation of week work as found in the third class should be noticed. That labor services in general were a better indication of villein status than anything else is probably true, but, in view of the foregoing variations, Mr. Douglas would seem to me to over-emphasize the value of week work as a test.⁵⁰ Vinogradoff's position is probably safer when he says that "agricultural service may be regarded as a symptom of villeinage"; that, for the courts, agricultural service was "a presumption of villein tenure till proof to the contrary was forth coming", but that a "hesitating jurisprudence" was fastening on, and sometimes producing simultaneously, "many discordant tests of status", merchet, reeveship, borough English, alienation of cattle, week work, food obligations.⁵¹ An interesting case is that of Wye in Kent where the test of a servile tenement was the carting service it performed.⁵² In Farnham there was no week work included in the ancient tenure.⁵³ The origin of week work and of other villein services on the lord's demesne is still obscure. Was

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, ch. III.

⁵¹ *Collected Papers*, I. 112 *et seq.*

⁵² *Batt. Abb. Cust.*, p. 122, and compare V. C. H. *Hertfordshire*, I. 269 *et seq.*: P. R. O. Misc. Books, Augm. Office, vol. 57, fol. 30b.

⁵³ *Cal. I. p. M.*, Henry III., no. 502.

it imported by the church from the Continent, as sometimes stated,⁵⁴ or may it have been the result of the substitution of *gafol* works for some of the *gafol* rent in kind? Thus it might even have become attached to definite bits of land, which would come to be considered the lord's special strips. An analogy can be drawn from the *cyricscat werks* of the Anglo-Saxon charters, and from the difficult *studewerks*.⁵⁵ As Mr. Stephenson remarks, many obligations of the villein became servile only as he himself became a serf.⁵⁶

According to much of the evidence, the rent in kind or *gafol* was probably of great age, antedating manorial arrangements. The very long survival of original food rents on the manors of Bury St. Edmunds has recently been shown by Mr. Douglas.⁵⁷ Condition rents as indications of villein status were probably of later development, and served as by no means certain tests; the heriot, for example, of which Mr. Coulton says much that is interesting, was certainly in origin no servile rent.⁵⁸ Mr. Stephenson emphasizes the importance of tallage at the lord's will, but I question somewhat his identification of *stuch* or *stud* as a local western variation for tallage.⁵⁹ It occurs in the form of *studewerks* in the Ely manors,⁶⁰ and one wonders whether it can be connected with the mysterious *stockikinde* of Kent, which occurs in juxtaposition with *gavolkinde* in Bayham charters.⁶¹ In connection with another group of rents attention should be called to Miss Cam's recent article on the importance of great private lords as vicegerents of government in the maintenance of the principles of the collections of public fines and dues.⁶² On certain particular rents further light is needed; for example, on the very curious payment of *fulstingpound*, which seems to suggest the early appearance of a somewhat advanced principle of insurance.⁶³ A pound is paid every year by the *villata*, or an annual twelve-penny rent by the individual, in order that a villein, if amerced for any offense not involving the shedding of blood, may pay no more than twelve pence. The custom occurs in rural districts and can not well

⁵⁴ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 320-321.

⁵⁵ *Customary Rents*, pp. 9, 70; Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, fol. 55.

⁵⁶ *Mélanges Pirenne*, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 378.

⁵⁸ *Medieval Village*, pp. 75-76, 119, 128, 156, 172; *Customary Rents*, s.v. heriot.

⁵⁹ *Mélanges Pirenne*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, fol. 55.

⁶¹ *Bilsington Cartulary*, quoting from Otho A. ii. Note transcripts, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6037, Stowe MSS. 924, fol. 48; Sloane MSS. 4934.

⁶² *The King's Government as Administered by the Greater Abbots*, Cambridge-shire Antiquarian Society, Comm., vol. XXIX.

⁶³ *Customary Rents*, pp. 52, 91, 107, 110, 119, 179, 186.

therefore be referred solely, as Miss Bateson refers it, to the law of Breteuil. The customs of towns must often exhibit traces of customs of the adjacent countryside, and I think have not been examined from this very interesting point of view. Another interesting rent is that called *foxalpeni* in Kent, which carries an extremely heavy penalty for arrears.⁶⁴

A study of local material is necessary to show to what extent the demesne in any manor lay in compact blocks or in strips in the open fields. There were still villages, some belonging to Ely, some in the Danelaw and elsewhere, where there was no demesne:⁶⁵ on the other hand sometimes important tenants of the lord of the manor had demesnes of their own within the village.⁶⁶ Other groups of villages had a common demesne.⁶⁷ The renting of plots of demesne was probably more common at an early date than is generally supposed; the *Domesday of St. Paul's*, for example, gives a good deal of evidence regarding tenements in new and old assart. On what terms were such demesne tenements held—always for a money rent only, or were some of the ancient services and dues of the manor ever imposed? Again, at what time and in what manner did the lord's claim to the waste of the manor, as contrasted with his land held anciently in demesne, develop? Did the Statute of Merton confirm or modify the common law practices with regard to the use of the waste? Was not *inland*—that is to say land *sine geldo regis*⁶⁸ and hence the antithesis of *warland* which was subject to royal dues—often kept apart and distinct from the newer “de dominio” holdings, which were subject to public burdens? Again, what was the position of castles with regard to their own demesne and that of their members?⁶⁹

Of the jurisdictional side of manorial life one aspect of great importance has received as yet comparatively little attention, namely, the procedure in manorial courts, and its likeness to procedure in the

⁶⁴ *Customary Rents*, p. 108, and Misc. Books, Augm. Office, vol. 57, fol. 99: et sciendum est quod nisi tenentes predicti omnes totum redditum suum de predictis cum predicto obolo vocato voxalpeny plene persolverint diebus terminorum statutis sunt graviter amerciandi secundum consuetudinem patrie eo quod tunc dicuntur gavellate et unus solus de voxalpeny aretro fuerit die termini statuti non solutus illi de quibus defuit sunt amerciandi ad c solidos. For *gavellate* land see “Custom and Common Law in Kent”, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁵ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 119, 320; D. B., I. 1-13, *pass.*; Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 353 *et seq.*; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 297; Cott. MSS., Claud. C. xi, *pass.*

⁶⁶ *Rot. Hund.*, II. 514, 656, 658.

⁶⁷ V. C. H. *Durham*, II. 267, 294.

⁶⁸ *Burton Cartulary*, p. 23.

⁶⁹ P. R. O., C. Edward I., Files 17/5, 56/3, 85/4, 94/3; Min. Acc. 824/19.

common law courts. The researches of Professor Ault, Miss Levett, and others will throw light on manorial practice and on the development of the common law. Was the common law procedure taken over bodily? Did manorial lords imitate royal procedure with regard to a jury of presentment?⁷⁰ To what extent did local custom, for example the furnishing of "witnessmen",⁷¹ thrust itself through the more conventional procedure, and become part of the "custom of the manor", a subject which has been strangely neglected, considering its interest and importance. Did great private lords hold inquests *post mortem*?⁷²

Another question connected with jurisdiction already has been suggested in speaking of the antiquity of village life under the crust of manorialism. What was the nature of the first meetings of the villagers? Were they for purely economic matters, or did some jurisdiction also spring from the soil? If the East Anglian village had sufficient self-consciousness to attest charters, it must, Mr. Douglas believes, have been able to have a court for economic arrangements.⁷³

In conclusion, a specific example may be given, taken from material still unprinted, of one of the many variations from the closely organized manorial groups of parts of England. Cumberland in the thirteenth century was divided into lordships derived from the great lordships of Norman times, four of which had castles as centres of their administration. One of these lordships, the honour of Cockermouth, with the castle of Cockermouth as its centre, passed in the forty-fourth year of Henry III., on the death of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, to his widow Isabella, Lady of the Isle, as her dower. Isabella was a woman of strong character, who took the king's side in the Barons' War, was pursued by Simon de Montfort, according to her own story,⁷⁴ and quarrelled with her mother, Amicia, countess of Devon, in "a manner displeasing to God and odious to all".⁷⁵ Of the administration of her fief in Cumberland we have unusually full records.⁷⁶ The honour consisted of the castle and town of Cockermouth, several neighboring manors, and scattered tenements

⁷⁰ Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 166 *et seq.*

⁷¹ *Cal. I. p. M.* Edward I., vol. III., nos. 159, 180, 194, 220, 406, 607. Compare below.

⁷² Ault, *Ramsey Court Rolls*, p. xxviii.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 166; V. C. H. *Durham*, II. 187.

⁷⁴ *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 172.

⁷⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1266-1272, p. 375; compare pp. 260, 275, 281, 296.

⁷⁶ *Min. Acc.* 824/6-15, 17, 18, 21-26; 1121/11; P. R. O., *Rent. and Surv.*, Gen. Series, no. 730; *Cal. I. p. M.*, Henry III., nos. 471, 872; compare P. R. O., C. Edward I., File 85/4, and *Placita quo Warranto*, pp. 112-113.

in the great waste and mountainous districts of Cumberland, in Derwentfelles, Allerdale, Coupland, and Inglewood Forest. The duties of the chief officer, the constable, to whom all lesser officers accounted, are clearly described; the provenance and collection of the revenue, its delivery to the countess at places very far distant from its source, her need for it on account of her fondness for litigation,⁷⁷ and the necessity for large payments to secure justice. There is included in the documents a customal of Cockermouth, not noticed in Miss Bateson's or Ballard's list. For the present purpose, however, the chief interest of the documents is the clearness with which they describe agrarian conditions within the various holdings of the fee. The tenements were in bovates, rated often at seven acres, the tenants were *firmarii* and villeins. Both classes paid light labor services, and the villeins paid also hens and eggs. There was no week work, but a considerable number of boons. A point of much interest is the large amount of hired labor, and the frequent appearance of selfods, extra laborers. Much of the demesne was already stocked by the lord, an ox to a bovat, and rented in farms to the bond tenants. Outside these home manors, the Cockermouth honour included wide stretches of territory suitable for hunting and grazing, and for little else, with few and scattered tenants—two in Falls, eleven in Buttermere, as many as eighteen in Goderescale, three in Skalegayl, and small numbers elsewhere, whose rents, amounting to over six pounds, were probably derived from vaccaries and sheep pastures, cornage, where it occurred, pannage, and the herbage of *gresmen*.⁷⁸ In the tenements lying in Coupland there are traces of the very ancient "use of Coupland" which included the duty of testifying to misdeeds in the forest, the furnishing of piture to *landsergents*, the duty of *awaita maris* or sea wake.⁷⁹ Coupland was long called a county, even after its incorporation with Carlisle in 1157, and great antiquity may well be claimed for the "use of Coupland"; the "bode and witnessman" service, for example, is mentioned in a writ of Gospatric dating from 1067–1072 (?), and a case of 1204 describes the services in detail, carrying them back to the Conquest, and defines *land seruientes* as *custodes pacis*.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ For example see P. R. O., Min. Acc. 824/7, 824/16; *Abbrev. Placitorum*, pp. 169, 172, 313; Y. B. (Selden Society), XI. 134; Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, II. 36, 37; *Testa de Nevill*, p. 379.

⁷⁸ P. R. O., Rent. and Surv., Gen. Series, no. 730: Isti iiii gresmen portabunt herbam de prato ad opus domini cum ibi moram fecerit et facient focum coram domino et habebunt cibum. Other information is given regarding them. Compare Burn and Nicolson, *Hist. of Westmoreland*, II. 72.

⁷⁹ Terrier of Fleet, pp. 108–109.

⁸⁰ V. C. H. Cumberland, I. 300, 321 *et seq.*, 329; II. 231 *et seq.*, 498; *Abbrev. Placitorum* (Trin. 5 John), p. 42: Dicit etiam quod debet habere iiii

Equally far from the conventional manorial type is the village or manor of Kent, with its gavelkind tenure, its unique tenements, its absence of week work, its dennis or swine pastures in the weald, and its subordination to the custom of Kent, some phases of which were very old, others of which had accumulated in later times. Another district of peculiar customs was the part of Sussex that lay in the rape of Pevensey where borough-English prevailed, and a division of tenants appears in some villages of those *extra* and *infra boscagium*.⁸¹ Another curious arrangement of lands is described in the inquest *post mortem* of Kirkton in Lincolnshire.⁸² The examples of variation might however be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and all would repay extended study.

The further one goes beneath the surface of manorial life, the deeper one finds the layer of ancient customs, the more striking the variation from the normal manor imposed by the manorial lordship. As the law of the Norman military fief becomes the common law of England, obliterating in most places the ancient rules of inheritance, of wardship, of dower, so the manorial lordship of the Normans seeks to bring into uniformity ancient systems of landholding and cultivation of the fields. The "custom of the manor", of which such variations are the vital part, has a strong hold on life, and may maintain itself against complete annihilation and become a clue in the hands of students of history to the conditions of a village life long past. "Recent law may go one way while ancient custom goes another." "It is curious", to adapt the words of M. Petit Dutailly, "how little contradiction embarrassed the men of the middle ages"; and of great weight is Vinogradoff's *dictum*: "English courts . . . had to reckon with deeply rooted customs of feudal and pre-feudal origin, and this fundamental fact ought to be made the starting-point of inquiries as to the origins of English . . . Law."⁸³

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landseruientes custodes scilicet pacis patrie duos scilicet ex unaparte aque de Egene et duos ex alia parte illius aque de Egene et illos duos qui erunt ex illa parte aque ubi ipse manet debet ipse hospitari et pascere et invenire eis sectam ad testandum malefacta pacis. . . . Et Adam venit et cognoscit ei seruicia et consuetudines que terra sua debet et debuit a conquestu Anglie.

⁸¹ Lambeth MSS., 1212, ff. 422, 423, 225, 85. Add. MSS., 5701, ff. 167, 170.

⁸² *Cal. I. p. M.*, Edward I., vol. II., no. 604, p. 470.

⁸³ *Collected Papers*, II. 403.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE JACOBIN CLUBS¹

I

IN a book which has sold in France like a novel M. Pierre Gaxotte has recently sought to show his countrymen the futility, for France at least, of further experiments in communism. For, according to his ingenious sketch of the first French revolution, France underwent in 1793-1794 a dictatorship of the proletariat and found it most unprofitable. The parallel between the French Revolution and the Russian is certainly tempting. We are, moreover, living in an age when science has everywhere made astonishing progress by discovering the real uniformities behind apparent diversities. History is or ought to be a science, and therefore useful. To what better use could it be put than to prove that all revolutions are risings of the incompetent against the competent, and therefore quite unnecessary, since, no matter how great the shaking up, the competent will eventually rise again to the top? Put in this crude way, the conclusion is certainly unjust, if not to M. Gaxotte, at least to many serious social historians who are laboring at the problem of why men revolt. But if a science of revolutions, a sort of social dynamics, is possible, a beginning must be made, as in the physical sciences, by a process of counting, weighing, or measuring.

II

Such a process is possible with the French Revolution. There are to be found in French archives and in the work of French local historians numerous lists of the members of the *sociétés populaires*, commonly called Jacobin clubs, which flourished all over the country during the Revolution. Here, then, we have a number of revolutionists sufficient to permit statistical treatment. And there can be no doubt that these Jacobins, rank and file as well as leaders, were the men who made the Revolution. We have clearly a case of the political action of the kind of group studied by Bryce and Ostrogorski.

Granted, then, that we have here the names, at least, of several thousand revolutionists, what else can we learn of these obscure people? Do we know enough about them to weigh or measure them? Each of them, alive, was a sovereign individual, and this individuality

¹ The author wishes to thank the Social Science Research Council, from whom a fellowship has made this study possible.

is even more hopelessly destroyed now than that of a Mirabeau or a Robespierre. But there is left sufficient trace of their social and economic positions to satisfy the social scientist, who is, perhaps, a bit skeptical about the sovereignty of the individual anyway. Most of the membership lists were drawn up late in 1794 by order of the central government, now under the control of the Thermidorean moderates, and desirous of having names of Jacobins for police purposes. They include commonly Christian names, place of birth, place of residence before and after 1789, age, and profession. Once equipped with this information, it is possible to search out these men on the rolls of direct taxes at the very end of the *ancien régime*, and find out how much they were taxed. By comparing the average Jacobin tax with the average tax paid by non-Jacobins on the same roll, one can place the Jacobins pretty exactly in the common life of their community. Tax-rolls of the Revolutionary period itself have almost never survived, if, indeed, they were ever drawn up. But millions of francs worth of confiscated property was sold by the government, and lists of buyers of this property are almost everywhere available. We can easily find out how much of this property our Jacobins bought and thus learn how many had surplus funds for such investments. There is thus information to be had as to the occupation, wealth, age, birthplace, and residence of these obscure revolutionists.

Such information will not, of course, have even the relative accuracy possible in a study of contemporary demography. Its limitations come out clearly when we attempt to classify the Jacobins by profession. In the first place, the occupation of some is not given at all. Some of these were too young to have a gainful occupation, for the clubs frequently admitted sons of their members from sixteen, and even from twelve years of age. Some were *rentiers*, for that familiar French figure existed already in the eighteenth century. Some are merely omissions of careless secretaries, for these lists, after all, are not quite official. At any rate, it is safe to conclude that the category "no occupation given" does not represent a jobless and irresponsible set of poor men. It is not very risky to assume that it includes much the same sort of men as the other groups, and that it can therefore be neglected. But even where occupations are given, all is not clear. The word *négociant*, like the American "business man", implies wealth and social standing greater than that of the *marchand*, best translated by the English "shopkeeper". The difference is between the upper middle class and the lower middle class, and is worth noting; yet the two words are very loosely used, and many a listed *négociant* is merely an aspiring *marchand*. Revolu-

tionary levelling would have none of the old distinctions between *avocat*, *procureur*, *notaire*, *praticien*, and the successful barrister and the humble notary are often listed alike as *hommes de loi*. So too an *officier de santé* may be a great surgeon or a mere barber. But the most serious difficulty is with the peasants. Obviously what is most important to know about a peasant is whether he is a landowner, a tenant farmer, or a landless agricultural laborer. This it is unfortunately almost impossible to learn from these lists. *Propriétaire*, *metayer*, and *journalier* are perfectly clearly owner, tenant, and laborer; but these terms are used much less often than the ambiguous *laboureur*, *agriculteur*, and *cultivateur*, of which the first usually implies ownership, the last either landlessness or very small property, and the middle nothing at all for our purpose. Thus our classification of the peasantry into owners and non-owners will be very tentative, and best not attempted save for certain localities.

In spite of these limitations, an analysis of the occupations of the membership of Jacobin clubs, chosen widely from different parts of France, will permit certain preliminary conclusions of a general scope. The statistics which follow represent every considerable region of France, though the revolted royalist regions of the west are naturally neglected, and every type of French locality, villages, market towns, provincial capitals, industrial towns and cities, great trading cities. An alphabetical list of these cities, together with all printed and manuscript sources drawn on for these statistics, will be found at the end of this article.

The following table requires a word of explanation. The clubs were continually electing new members and expelling old ones, and therefore their membership varied considerably over the five or six years of their existence. The crucial point is the year 1793, when with the defeat of the Girondins the Revolution turned definitely to the left. The clubs are therefore listed under three groups: (1) the total membership, including those resigning or excluded during the whole career of the club; (2) membership during the years 1789-1792; (3) membership during the years 1793-1795. It was not, of course, possible to procure such lists for all clubs. The third group is fortunately the most numerous, for in these years the Revolution attained its maximum of *social*, as opposed to merely *political*, action.

This classification must, of course, ignore failure and success. Yet surely a poor lawyer considers himself as much a gentleman, as much a member of the *bourgeoisie*, as a rich one. We may safely reckon the professional men and the business men as members of the middle class, many of them, no doubt, as members of the upper middle class. As for the shopkeepers, they are middle class if not in

fact at least in aspiration. So, too, are the civil servants and the officers. As for the peasantry, it is perhaps wiser not to reckon it into any division between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat. In ten villages where some sort of line can be drawn between owners of property and non-owners⁹ the proportion is about six to four in favor of the owners, who were no doubt chiefly small proprietors. The owners, at least, can fairly be considered as essentially middle class as far as their political interests go. There remain only the artisans, the landless peasantry, and the soldiers who can perhaps be said to belong to the lower classes. Yet even here, many a man listed as a carpenter or a weaver is really a master craftsman, often more prosperous than many definitely middle-class lawyers.

TABLE I

Occupation	Group I. ² 12 clubs, 1789-1795		Group II. ³ 12 clubs, 1789-1792		Group III. ⁴ 42 clubs, 1793-1795	
	Per		Per		Per	
	Number	cent.	Number	cent.	Number	cent.
Law.....	254	5	234	6	545	7
Clergy.....	185	3	103	3	136	2
Other liberal professions ⁵	340	6	286	7	556	7
Business men ⁶	375	7	381	9	662	8
Shopkeepers ⁷	630	12	410	10	1407	17
Artisans ⁸	872	16	570	14	2218	28
Peasants.....	424	8	199	5	775	10
Officers.....	248	5	96	2	115	1
Soldiers.....	231	4	126	3	101	1
Civil servants.....	484	9	186	5	540	7
No occupation given	1362	25	1446	36	1007	12
Total.....	5405	100	4037	100	8062	100

² Colmar, Grenoble, Lille, Limoges, Moulins, Nuits-St-Georges, Rodex, Thann, Toul, Tulle, Vauvert, Villemur.

³ Avallon, Colmar, Le Havre, Nuits-St-Georges, Paris, Soissons, Strasbourg, Thann, Tulle, Vauvert, Villemur, Villeneuve-sur-Yonne.

⁴ Alban, Albi, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvais, Beynat, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Chablis, Châlons-sur-Marne, Charost, Cosnac, Coutances, Dijon, Dreux, Épinal, Gaillefontaine, Gerberoy, Haudivillers, Lorient, Manneville-la-Goupil, Mareuil, Martres-Tolosane, Metz, Montignac, Nice, Nîmes, Orthez, Perpignan, Rabastens, Rambouillet, St. Doulchard, St-Jean-de-Maurienne, St. Omer, St. Saëns, Thonon, Toulouse, Turenne, Ventes d'Eawy, Verfeil, Vesoul, Vilquiers.

⁵ Medicine, teaching, art, literature, acting, etc.

⁶ *Négociants*, bankers, contractors, etc.

⁷ Grocers, drapers, tailors, jewellers, etc.

⁸ Masons, cobblers, and in general hand-workers, usually organized in guilds; also many workers under domestic system of industry—glove-makers, weavers, etc.

⁹ Faverney, Gaillefontaine, Manneville-la-Goupil, Mareuil, Pechbonnieu, St. Doulchard, St. Saëns, Vauvert, Villemur, Vilquiers.

This weakness our next table will remedy. But to sum up what we can learn from the professions actually given (those whose professions are not given can pretty safely be neglected), we find that over the whole course of the Revolution, 12 clubs (group I.) number 62 per cent. middle class, 28 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 10 per cent. peasantry; 12 clubs (group II.) whose membership from 1789-1792 can be studied number 66 per cent. middle class, 26 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 8 per cent. peasantry; finally, forty-two clubs (group III.) studied for the period 1793-1795 when the social revolution was at its height number 57 per cent. middle class, 32 per cent. artisans and soldiers, and 11 per cent. peasantry. The professional classes alone number 19 per cent., 24 per cent., and 18 per cent. respectively in the three groups.

The tax-rolls can considerably supplement this information. If the mason is really a contractor, and a rich man, he will be taxed accordingly. Yet even here, our statistics can not aspire to accuracy. First, on the side of the tax-rolls, it is well known that the direct taxes of the *ancien régime* were not apportioned strictly according to income. Yet the unfairness of the system has probably been exaggerated by nineteenth-century historians who mistook the confusion of the *ancien régime* for injustice; and certainly even though the very rich of the middle class were relatively more lightly taxed than the poor, they paid absolutely greater sums. Often the tax-rolls have not survived for the years between 1788 and 1791. Where they have survived, one is obliged to take what one finds—rolls of the *taille*, the *capitation*, or the *vingtièmes*, and sometimes, as in the once imperial city of Colmar, all three combined. The amount paid *per capita* varies, not only with the different taxes, but with the same tax in different provinces. Secondly, on the side of the lists of members there are also difficulties. Many members are not sufficiently identified to be traced further, since neither Christian names nor professions are always given. Many members had moved into the town since the tax-roll was drawn up, and can not therefore be found on it. Many were too young when the roll was made, or not heads of families or owners of property in their own right. Finally, errors of identification are easily possible, though these are in some way compensating—that is to say, as many Jacobins would normally be mistaken for non-Jacobins as non-Jacobins for Jacobins.

When all these reservations are made, it is none the less true that the following tables place the Jacobins pretty accurately according to their wealth. The upper classes and some of the *bourgeoisie* managed no doubt to shun the *taille*, and even the *capitation*, though they paid the *vingtièmes*, a tax on real property; but the real poor were

taxed lightly, or not at all. In most towns a list of the poor and incapacitated follows the tax-roll; in others the poor are listed with the rest, but their names are followed by *néant*. It is worth noticing that names of Jacobins are almost never found among the poor.

TABLE II

	<i>Group I.¹⁰ 8 clubs, 1789-1795</i>	<i>Group II.¹¹ 26 clubs, 1793-1795</i>
Resident members.....	4763	5670
Members paying tax.....	2138	2912
Per cent. members paying tax.....	45	51
Male population over sixteen.....	55,953	77,469
Amount paid by all male inhabitants.	952,111.00 l.	1,119,831.00 l.
Amount paid by members.....	157,768.00 l.	113,097.00 l.
Average per member.....	33.12 l.	19.94 l.
Average per male inhabitant.....	17.02 l.	14.45 l.

TABLE III

	<i>16 clubs,¹² 1793-1795</i>
Club members paying tax.....	1438
Non-club members paying tax.....	12,434
Amount paid by members.....	20,803.84 l.
Amount paid by non-members.....	134,171.90 l.
Average tax of members.....	14.47 l.
Average tax of non-members.....	10.79 l.

These two tables prove the same thing in different ways. Table II. compares per capita assessment for the *whole* Jacobin club with the *whole* male population of the town. The total sum assessed on all Jacobins traceable on the rolls is divided by the total number of resident Jacobins, including those who do not appear on the rolls. The problem of finding a similar average for the townspeople as a whole is, however, difficult. The figure in table II. under the heading "average per male inhabitant" is arrived at as follows: From various documents in the *série L* of the departmental archives, from local histories and year-books, as accurate an estimate as possible is made of the total population of the town about 1790; one-fourth of the total population is taken to represent males over an age somewhere

¹⁰ Beauvais, Bergerac, Bordeaux, Colmar, Grenoble, Libourne, Lille, Rodez.

¹¹ Albi, Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvais, Beauvoisin, Bergerac, Bordeaux, Bourges, Charost, Colmar, Dijon, Faverney, Grenoble, Le Havre, Jussey, Lescure, Libourne, Moulins, Nomény, Noviant-aux-Prés, Rosières-aux-Salines, Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, Sauveterre, Toul, Toulouse, Turenne, Vesoul.

¹² Alban et Ambialet, Bacqueville, Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, Cordes, Faverney, Grenoble, Pechbonnieu etc., Perpignan, Rosières-aux-Salines, Ste-Marie-aux-Mines, Sauveterre, Toul, Tulle, Ventes d'Eawy, Verfeil, Vesoul.

between eighteen and twenty (rather at the lower figure, probably, since the duration of life in eighteenth-century France was lower than at present);¹³ the total sum of the tax, less the sum listed under female names (usually from 8 per cent. to 12 per cent. of the total sum), is then divided by the figure representing the number of males over eighteen to give the average used for the town. By this method townspeople not listed on the tax-rolls will balance Jacobins not so listed. Women were excluded from the clubs by law in 1794, but they had hardly figured in them anyway. Eighteen may be considered a fairer age-limit than the customary twenty-one or twenty-five, for many boys between sixteen and twenty-one appear on the lists. By this means, the club as a whole appears as a cross-section of the town as a whole, and we avoid the criticism that the 51 per cent. of members who can not be traced on the rolls are neglected. Table III. does frankly neglect them, since they probably are much the same sort as their fellows. In this table the average paid by Jacobins on the rolls is contrasted with that paid by non-Jacobins on the same rolls. Both tables show that the Jacobins were on the average assessed a higher tax than the rest of the community. Of the 37 different towns considered in the two tables, only six showed an average higher for the non-Jacobins than for the Jacobins.¹⁴

One tax is of sufficient importance to merit the reproduction *in extenso* of the pertinent data it affords. This is the *vingtième d'industrie*, a small but very fair tax assessed on all who pursued a gainful occupation in a town. The very highest escaped it, but the average merchant, for instance, paid something. The tax was so small that the total assessed did not vary greatly, ranging from 1 livre to 12, and sometimes more. But the apprentice always paid the minimum, the master more, the merchant or entrepreneur still more. Unfortunately rolls of this tax giving names are rare, for most guilds subscribed for their share, and the subsequent apportionment has left no trace. But the following table covers eight typical provincial towns.

¹³ This figure can of course be but approximate. For evidence that on actuarial grounds the method here used is not unsound, see such eighteenth-century tables of mortality as Dr. Price's Northampton Table (1735-1780), the Carlisle Table (1779-1787), in Elderton and Fippard, *Construction of Mortality and Sickness Tables* (London, 1914), p. 103, and the actuarial works of Nicolas Struyck (1687-1769), edited by J.-A. Vollgraff (Amsterdam, 1912), esp. pp. 214-215 and 231.

¹⁴ These are Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne, Beauvoisin, Jussey, Noviant-aux-Prés, Sauveterre, and Toul.

TABLE IV

Town	Date of member list	Date of tax- roll	Number of members paying	Number of non- members paying	Average paid by members in livres	Average paid by non-members in livres
Albi (artisans)...	1794	1789 ^a	80	526	2.53	1.44
Albi (merchants).	1794	1789	51	102	12.11	5.79
Bourges.....	1795	1789	72	524	6.05	3.64
Cordes (weavers)	1794	1789	20	81	3.95	2.95
Montbard.....	1794	1790	31	162	2.82	1.17
Rabastens.....	1795	1789	142	290	4.24	2.90
Ste-Marie-aux- Mines.....	1794	1789	63	336	2.27	1.00
Toulouse (certain trades).....	1794	1790	53	347	5.94	3.63
Vauvert.....	1794	1790	82	105	2.37	1.34
Total.....			594	2473	4.47	2.49

That portion of the clubs drawn from the merchants and artisans (for these paid the bulk of this tax) is then clearly the most prosperous of that class. The steady master workmen outnumber the wild young apprentices in these clubs.

Too much is perhaps not to be concluded from our next table. Jacobins who bought property—mostly land—confiscated from noblemen and priests had perhaps enriched themselves in ways familiar to politicians—revolutionary or not. Still, they appear to have been a bit too numerous to have been grafters to a man; and we can at least be sure that men who invested money in land are not likely to have been communists at heart. As with table III., the averages contrasted are those for Jacobins and non-Jacobins; but the number of Jacobin buyers, and their numerical relationship to the total membership, is also given.

In addition, 517 members of clubs in Beauvais, Chablis, Dijon, Le Havre, Vermenton, and Villeneuve-sur-Yonne out of a total membership of 2160 made purchases of national property; with the 12 clubs above considered, this makes 22 per cent. of the Jacobins investors in the lands of the nobility and the clergy. This, of course, confirms the middle-class character of the Jacobins.

Finally, there are two other bits of information available which serve to indicate the social responsibilities of the group of Jacobins. The first is the age of their members. For eight clubs considered¹⁶ the average age varies very little, from 38.3 years to 43.4 years. The average for the group of eight was 41.6 years. There were some

¹⁶ Albi, Belfort, Bourges, Gaillefontaine, Lunéville, Nuits-St-Georges, St. Saëns, and Ventes d'Eawy.

TABLE V

<i>Town</i>	<i>Date of list</i>	<i>Number of resident members</i>	<i>Number of members buying</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Non-members buying</i>	<i>Amount bought by members in livres</i>	<i>Amount bought by non-members in livres</i>	<i>Members in livres</i>	<i>Average sale Non-members in livres</i>
Castres.....	1794	461	67	15	48	1,834,305	370,080	27,378	7,918
Colmar.....	1791-1795	719	131	18	133	1,697,550	837,510	12,965	6,297
Faverney.....	1794	133	12	9	5	27,750	7,925	2,296	1,585
Jussey.....	1794	258	43	17	9	434,375	37,925	10,102	4,214
Manneville-la-Goupil ..	1794	43	6	12	2	46,150	5,680	7,692	2,840
Nomény.....	1794	59	16	27	4	235,880	1,210	14,743	303
Noviant-aux-Prés.....	1794	32	8	25	9	57,085	25,170	7,139	2,797
Perpignan.....	1794	426	98	23	159	832,155	361,775	8,491	2,275
Pont-à-Mousson.....	1794	230	116	50	108	2,359,170	540,775	20,338	4,590
Toul.....	1794	166	102	61	253	1,863,660	1,417,750	18,271	5,604
Ste-Marie-aux-Mines.....	1794	162	16	10	5	206,195	32,835	12,887	6,297
Tulle.....	1790-1794	576	78	14	34	418,135	175,100	5,361	5,150
Vesoul.....	1795	293	70	24	48	807,590	801,990	11,537	16,708
Totals.....		3,558	763	21	817	10,820,000	4,615,725	14,181	5,650

boys in each club, but almost always the sons of prominent members. As can be seen from the average age, the young were quite balanced by the old. In no sense can these clubs be considered a collection of foolhardy young men. The second bit of information concerns the birthplace and actual residence of the members. For 23 clubs¹⁶ the lists of memberships, drawn up mostly at the very end of 1794, show that 2359 were born in the town in which they were living, and that 1456 were born elsewhere; for fifteen of these clubs¹⁷ the lists show that 2571 were resident in the same place before and after 1789, and that 378 had moved into their actual place of residence after 1789—that is, since the Revolution. Too much again must not be concluded from this fragmentary evidence. We do not know for just what proportion of the population of eighteenth-century France birthplace and residence coincided, but it would seem that the 3815 members of the Jacobin clubs above studied numbered rather more immigrants (38 per cent.) than the towns in which they were established. No doubt most of these immigrants came from nearby places, and were often country people who had moved to town; but the point is that they had moved. Sociologists may still dispute as to whether emigration indicates initiative or irresponsibility, but to judge from evidence of tax-lists, these emigrants had been successful. As to the second item, the fact that only 378 out of 2949, or 13 per cent., had moved into the towns since the Revolution began would show that the Revolution was not fathered largely by itinerant and more or less professional trouble-makers, but by men who knew the surroundings in which they worked.

III

These statistics are not in themselves an adequate explanation of the rôle played by the Jacobin clubs in the Revolution. The minutes and correspondence of the clubs, local history, and local biography must be studied before any final conclusions can be reached. No doubt many of the prosperous members of the clubs kept their membership during the Terror precisely in order to moderate Jacobin political action, and tame their wilder fellow-members. No doubt many rich Jacobins were simply grafters who used their membership to cover stock speculation and land-grabbing. Many of the rural clubs (Faverney, Beauvoisin, etc.) include most of the male popu-

¹⁶ Beauvoisin, Belfort, Beynat, Billac, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Dieuze, Gaillefontaine, Giromagny, Lescure, Londinières, Lunéville, Manneville-la-Goupil, Martres-Tolosane, Pont-à-Mousson, Rabastens, St. Saëns, Thann, Turenne, Vauvert, Verfeil, Villemur.

¹⁷ Belfort, Beynat, Billac, Bourges, Brive, Castres, Dieuze, Giromagny, Lescure, Lunéville, Martres-Tolosane, Pont-à-Mousson, Thann, Turenne, Villemur.

lation of the village. This may mean that in these sections the people were whole heartedly in favor of the Revolution; or it may mean that these societies were skillfully organized by the *représentants en mission* and their agents in order to put a good front on their work and that they really represent no unanimity of opinion at all. At any rate, it is obvious that statistics alone are not sufficient to settle these and many other questions necessary to an understanding of the clubs.

Yet such as they are, these statistics permit two very definite negative conclusions, and will provide a starting-point for two positive conclusions. In the first place, it is clear that, even during the Terror, the Jacobins were not a proletariat. More, it is clear that Jacobinism is not in any crude sense a class-movement at all, and that if the economic interpretation of history is to be used to explain the roll of these clubs, it must be used scientifically and not dogmatically. Unless, indeed, one divides all France into "court" and "not-court", the clubs were never recruited exclusively from any one class, no matter how one defines "class". Most clubs in provincial centres like Bourges or Colmar had several of the lesser nobility, several retired officers, and a goodly sprinkling of civil servants of the *ancien régime*. Though those stained by priesthood or nobility were by law excluded during the height of the Terror, many actually did stay on. At Saverne the local boss was an ex-noble, and though he resigned from the club out of respect for the law, he obviously retained as much influence in its councils as ever.¹⁸ As for the lists of occupations given in table I., they show that lawyers, priests, professors, and physicians apparently hobnobbed with cobblers, farmers, and even a few day-laborers. This is borne out if we consider the tax-rolls. The average assessment per Jacobin is pretty much that of the average middle-class resident; but the Jacobin average usually represents a complete cross-section of great, small, and middling incomes. Witness the following deciles, taken quite at random from the clubs represented in tables II. and III.:

Dijon, 1795 (*vingtièmes*), maximum 249 l., minimum 3 l., deciles 11-18-22-27-30-35-45-59-78;

Grenoble, 1795 (*capitation*), maximum 63 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 2-3-3-4-6-6-9-12-18;

Libourne, 1790-1794 (*taille* and *capitation*), maximum 189 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 2-5-8-15-26-35-48-75-127;

Moulins, 1794 (*capitation*), maximum 71 l., minimum 1 l., deciles 1-2-3-5-6-8-10-13-19;

Perpignan, 1794 (*vingtièmes*), maximum 132 l., minimum $\frac{1}{2}$ l., deciles 1-2-3-4-6-8-11-19-31.

¹⁸ *Revue d'Alsace*, XX. (1869), 23 ff.

The range of incomes shown in these five clubs is typical enough. Any given club might count among its members representatives of the very rich and the very poor, although the bulk of its membership was no doubt middle class. It is hard to see what purely economic interests a man taxed 189 l. and one taxed $\frac{1}{2}$ l. on a graduated poll-tax (the *capitation*) could have had in common.

A second negative conclusion to be drawn from these figures is that it is not permissible to say of the Jacobins that they were failures. Certain sociologists may be justified in concluding for revolutions in general that active revolutionists are usually failures, maladjusted to the environment from which they revolt. But we are concerned with the French Revolution, and not with revolutions in general. No doubt all these clubs contained balked and disappointed men, the *hommes tarés* of reactionary publicists; no doubt the frustrated intellectuals of the time found refuge in Jacobinism. Yet our figures show that the bulk of the membership of the clubs, in city, town, and country, was made up of sober, steady, prosperous men. The *vingtième d'industrie* (table IV.) shows that the Jacobin cobblers were among the best cobblers in town; so too were the Jacobin masons, the Jacobin grocers, the Jacobin manufacturers. One need not be excessively cynical to conclude that these successful men can not have felt their property to be in any danger from the Revolution. Certainly their middle-class respectability helps to explain why the immediate social and economic changes brought about by the Revolution were so slight.

A third conclusion is no more than an inference, but an inference warranted from what the statistics reveal. If these clubs contain rich and poor, laborer and intellectual, speculator and *rentier*—in short, if their members are economically so disparate that no simple economic interest can hold them together—must one not look elsewhere for the common interest that made them, if only for a few years, a group, a political entity? That interest may be called a philosophy, an ideal, a faith, a loyalty, and may seem to the observer a reality, or a myth. But the essential point is that this other-than-economic interest must have existed, for without it the club members would have had nothing in common.

Lastly, it is tempting to go a step further, and transform our second conclusion from a negative to a positive one. It has long been a commonplace of historical scholarship that France on the eve of the Revolution was not only the most prosperous nation on the Continent, but that she was relatively more prosperous than at any time in her history. But the theories of Taine and his followers, whereby the actual revolutionists appear to be crack-brained idealists,

adventurers, and failures, have survived long after the theory that the Revolution was "caused" by misery and oppression has lost credit. The men of 1789 may according to this view have been misguided and over-enthusiastic gentlemen, but gentlemen none the less; the men of 1794, however, were the dregs of society. Now, as tables I., II., and III. will show, the clubs drew their membership increasingly from the poorer classes as time went on, but by no means all their wealthier members forsook them. Indeed, a comparison of the membership of clubs in 1789-1792 and in 1793-1795 shows surprisingly little difference between the two periods. The prosperity and well-being of the bulk of Jacobins is so well attested by these figures that it seems just to conclude that not only was the French Revolution started by the prosperous, but that it was also carried out by the same kind of people. In other words, as far as the French Revolution goes, the typical revolutionist was not a misfit and a failure, but biologically fit *even in the environment from which he revolted*. It is doubtless because of this fact that the French Revolution, as a transfer of political power, was successful.

CRANE BRINTON.

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Albi (Tarn)

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Avallon (Yonne)

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Beaulieu-sur-Dordogne (Corrèze)

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Beauvais (Oise)

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Charost (Cher)

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THE FATE OF CALHOUN'S SOVEREIGN CONVENTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

THE story of the development of Calhoun's theory of sovereignty and the sovereign convention of the people of a state as the theoretical basis for nullification is one of the commonplaces of American history. Even better known is the assertion of the theory in justification of the right of secession when South Carolina in 1860 led the Southern states out of the Union. But the final chapter of the tale of the sovereign convention in South Carolina seems never to have been told, though the angry turning of the people of that state in 1862 upon this Frankenstein of their creating, forcing it in defiance of the old theory, to put an unwilling end to its discredited existence, constitutes one of the most ironical incidents in American history.

The question of secession was regarded as settled in South Carolina when the legislature, in November, 1860, voted to issue the call for a state convention, and the people turned instinctively to their old and tried leaders to conduct them safely to the promised land. The group which met on December 17 to act as the sovereign people of South Carolina in convention assembled was a grave and dignified body, most of the members past middle life. The ablest and most prominent men of the state in all walks of life were there—planters, merchants, judges, clergy, as well as political leaders. Pride in their character and ability seemed universal.¹ The convention voted the ordinance of secession, made the necessary changes in the state government, sent delegates to Montgomery for the organization of the Southern Confederacy, and, in May, 1861, ratified the constitution of the Confederacy. Then it adjourned, having voted that on January 1, 1862, its legal existence should come to an end unless the president should before that date again convene it.²

The date for the dissolution of the convention was almost at hand when, in November, 1861, the war came to South Carolina's own shores. Scarcely had men begun to steel themselves to the shock when the incredible news burst upon them that Port Royal had fallen and the most cultured and aristocratic section of the state (and the hotbed of secession) had been abandoned to the enemy with only the

¹ *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 17, 1860, Jan. 4, 1861; *Greenville Southern Enterprise*, Dec. 6, 13, 1860; *New York World*, Dec. 22, 1860 (Charleston correspondent); *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 22, 1860 (P.); Joseph LeConte, *Autobiography*, ed. W. D. Armes, p. 180; Mary B. Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie*, p. 4.

² *Journal of the South Carolina Convention, 1860 to 1862*, p. 285.

slightest defense, and a very large amount of cotton, instead of being burned by heroic owners, had become the rich prize of war. In stunned humiliation and bitterness, amidst the hot exchange of charges and recriminations,³ South Carolina bent to the task of defending the rest of her soil. It would be Charleston's turn next, and Georgetown's. There was hysterical vowing that Charleston, Carolina's sacred city, should be destroyed by her inhabitants sooner than surrendered.⁴ Like a diabolical answer to this wild prayer, came the terrible fire of December 11-12, which swept a large area of the city, destroying some of the finest public buildings and innumerable private residences, with a loss of millions of dollars worth of property and the reduction of hundreds of poor families to want. It was a disaster from which, even in normal times and with the aid that poured in at once from all over the South, it must have taken years to recover.

While Charlestonians organized soup kitchens, and refugees from the occupied region began the painful treks which were to become so marked a feature of the next three years, the state authorities struggled with the military problems. There was everywhere utter confusion and disorganization; "the Legislature had given us a Military Bill, which did not meet the exigencies of the case, the property of our citizens was being stolen or destroyed, the Governor was doing or could do nothing for the benefit of the State, but much to produce confusion; conflicting and incomprehensible orders were emanating from the military department, and indiscreet and injurious proclamations from the Executive. Everything was in confusion and every body complaining".⁵ However much men came later to differ over the remedy which was applied, there was general agreement at this time that a remedy was needed, that the governor and legislature were inadequate to the situation.⁶ What more natural, in their desperate need, than to turn for help to their oldest and wisest, to the convention, which providentially had not yet ended its legal existence? There seemed general approval when President Jamison issued the call and the body once more convened on December 27, 1861.⁷

³ Charleston *Courier*, Nov. 27 ff., 1861.

⁴ Hayne's report in *Journal of the South Carolina Convention, 1860 to 1862*, pp. 370-372.

⁵ Charleston *Courier*, July 25, 1862 (Civis).

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 27-29, 1861, July 16, 1862, Oct. 21, Nov. 8, 1862 (speeches by Wardlaw and Richardson); Charleston *Mercury*, Apr. 29, July 4-6, Sept. 5, 1862 (S. C.); Johnson Hagood, *Memoirs of the War of Secession*, p. 37 ff. Cf. British consul Bunch to Lyons, Aug. 16, 1861, quoted in E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, I. 186, n. 1.

⁷ Charleston *Courier*, Jan. 10, 1862 (Justice), July 16, 1862.

The convention had no doubts or scruples as to its competency to the work at hand. Paying scant attention to Governor Pickens's shouldering of the responsibility upon the Confederate authorities, they set themselves sternly, in secret session, to bring order out of the chaos.⁸ But the convention could not remain in session indefinitely. How insure continuing energy and system and clear judgment in the defense of the state? Reluctantly, with a minority opposing it to the end,⁹ and many of the majority silencing their doubts by the recollection of John Rutledge's dictatorship in the Revolutionary War, it voted the creation of an executive council of five members—the governor, the lieutenant governor, and three others chosen by the convention—practically to supplant the governor. They were to take complete charge of the military organization of the state. All the ordinary powers of the executive were now to be exercised by majority vote of the council, and extraordinary powers adequate to the emergency were bestowed upon it.¹⁰ Special ordinances declaring that no part of the ordinary militia law should stand in their way and suspending certain parts of the state constitution were also passed, the latter however by a narrow vote.¹¹ The council was to be responsible to the convention, which adjourned to meet again in January, 1863, unless sooner called by the president.

Governor Pickens perforce submitted, protesting that there would "now be great imbecility in acting as Commander in chief", and some objections were at once voiced.¹² But the war situation was so critical and so tense through the early days of 1862, in South Carolina as in the other war zones, that for a time there was acquiescence while the council attacked its difficult task with vigor. It organized the military forces of the state under a system of conscription,¹³ it appointed officers itself instead of allowing them to be

⁸ *Journal of the Convention*, p. 554 ff. There had been a lack of harmony from the beginning between the governor and the convention. See copies of Pickens's correspondence in the Crawford Papers, Library of Congress; letter of Maxcy Gregg in *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 17, 1862.

⁹ The vote was 96 to 23. *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 367, 373.

¹⁰ It was given power to declare martial law, arrest and detain disloyal or disaffected persons, order and enforce, subject to the owner's right to receive due compensation, such disposition of private property for the public good as seemed to it necessary, appoint such agents as were necessary, etc., and to draw money from the state treasury for these purposes. The governor and two of the elected members would constitute a quorum and a majority of those present was required for any action. *Ibid.*, pp. 793-795.

¹¹ The vote was 50 to 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 791.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 385-386; copies of Pickens's letters in the Crawford Papers; *Charleston Courier*, Jan. 10, 18, 23, Feb. 11, 1862 (with quotations from other newspapers); *Charleston Mercury*, May 3, 1862 (Aldrich).

¹³ On the difficulties of listing the troops in Virginia see *Journal*, p. 624.

elected by the troops, it declared martial law in certain war zones, it instituted experimental ventures of various sorts for the production and manufacture of war supplies, it constructed a gunboat, it made a loan to a railroad company and built a railroad bridge, it prohibited the export of cotton, it turned South Carolina College into a military hospital, it prohibited the distilling of whiskey from grain when the high price of liquor offered such a tempting road to wealth that a grain famine seemed threatened, it suppressed public bar-rooms at railway stations to stop the shocking scenes caused by the sale of liquor to troops in transit,¹⁴ it impressed slave-labor for the construction of fortifications in Charleston harbor—in short it did what it had been appointed to do, organized the man power and material resources of the state for the war which had come upon it.¹⁵

Practically every step in the process did ruthless, if necessary, violence to the individualism which had long been the conscious pride and boast of Carolinians. Every burden imposed by the new programme came, moreover, just at the time when the war passed from the first stage of dramatic heroism and began to settle into a dreary round of endurance and anguish which seemed to lengthen itself into infinity. With the full burden of military service, the full effectiveness of the blockade, the sharply rising prices, attributed to greedy speculators and "extortioners" battenning on the misery of the people, the heavy taxes which would be heavier with the expenditures of the council, the scattering of the population as increasing numbers of refugees, white and black, fled from the occupied and threatened regions—with all these there appeared, naturally enough, the first manifestations of war weariness.¹⁶ Naturally, too, people were at first inclined to attribute many of their sacrifices and sufferings to the inefficiency and blundering or to the abuse and tyranny of those in authority. Scarcely therefore had the council's stringent measures begun the inevitable disrupting of normal economic processes when an outcry rose, sharp and shrill, and the three men,¹⁷ whose ability

¹⁴ "The evil had become so great, that there seemed to be an universal outcry—murders, brawls, fatal accidents among our troops, particularly while passing on the Railroads, had become of frequent occurrence. The scenes exhibited were shocking to decency." The measures taken were said to be successful and the drunkenness of troops on the railroad cars to have largely disappeared. Report of Hayne in *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 12, 13, 1862; also in the *Journal*.

¹⁵ Reports of the members of the council were published in the *Journal of the Convention*, and also in the newspapers. See *Charleston Courier*, Apr. 30, May 1, 5, 28, Sept. 12, 13, 1862.

¹⁶ One finds, for instance, efforts to encourage flagging spirits, and complaints of the evasion of military service. *Charleston Courier*, May 21, June 27, Oct. 9, ff., 1862; cf. C. C. Hopley, *Life in the South*, II. 202.

¹⁷ Former United States Senator James Chesnut, Attorney General I. W. Hayne, former Governor W. H. Gist.

and loyalty to the state had been tested by years of public service, whose integrity all men had considered beyond the shadow of doubt, suddenly found themselves confronting a storm of misrepresentation and abuse probably unparalleled in the history of the state.

It was apparently the order of the council that the whole amount of gold and silver plate in private hands in the state be reported, with a view to the possibility of using it in emergency as the basis of a state currency, which was the signal for the first concerted movement of protest. There were public meetings, in April, 1862, in Edgefield and Marion districts, the former, Governor Pickens's home, which passed resolutions disapproving the creation of a body with unlimited powers, and declaring that the convention ought to have adjourned *sine die* immediately after ratifying the Confederate constitution. In Charleston, where the enforcement of the draft "encountered every species of harassment and delay", a petition was signed by over seven hundred, asking the delegates to the convention from that city to work for the summoning of the convention in order that it might be dissolved. All demanded a return to "constitutional government".¹⁸

The council recognized the order regarding the gold and silver plate as a blunder and withdrew it, but otherwise went steadily forward with its task, to the accompaniment of an ever louder chorus of disapproval. The chief specific grievance was the creation of salaried offices which increased the taxes. The members of the council themselves, with their salaries of \$2000 (!) a year, were denounced for their selfish ambition in taking advantage of the disorder for their own sordid ends. The general charge was that the council was exercising legislative authority, and the secrecy of its proceedings gave color to the accusation of arbitrary power and tyranny. Shriller grew the cries of despotism, star chamber, irresponsible oligarchy. The "board of five governors" was destroying the liberties of the people. Either the council had usurped powers not granted it by the convention, or the convention itself had been guilty of usurpation.¹⁹

There was no doubt that the agitation was encouraged by certain individuals and groups.²⁰ In spite of urging, only some dozen of the

¹⁸ Reports of Hayne and Chesnut in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 660, 591; Pickens's correspondence in Crawford Papers; *Charleston Courier*, April 24, 29, May 1, 2, 1862.

¹⁹ The newspapers, particularly the *Charleston Courier*, were filled with editorials, communications, and quotations on the subject from the beginning of May into September, 1862; see for example the *Courier*, May 22, 27, July 16. See also Hayne's discussion of the charges in his report in the *Journal of the Convention*.

²⁰ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 15, 1862.

districts of the state held meetings of protest. Yet the press seems to have been predominantly in the opposition, and friends and foes alike of the council regarded the situation with apprehension.²¹ Certainly the defenders of the council were few and for the most part amazingly lukewarm. On one point, however, they spoke with decision, on the theoretical question of the sovereign power of the convention.²² For in this internal conflict in the midst of the war, though no more devoted patriots served the cause of the state than the former nationalists, the old clash of opinion between secessionists and nationalists over state sovereignty and the sovereign convention was heard once again like an ironical echo from that earlier, happier day.

The Charleston *Courier* had been head and front of South Carolina unionism and had broken many a lance with its opponents over the abstract questions of political theory involved in the conflicts. Zestfully dipping now into its files,²³ it brought forth and refurbished all its old arguments, and though it refrained from recalling its solemn warning that secession was revolution and meant war, it had no compunctions about exploiting to the utmost the absurdities in the triumphant theory exposed by its practical operation. That theory, as developed by Calhoun and enunciated by South Carolina, was in brief that sovereignty, illimitable and indivisible in nature, was an attribute of the people of the state who acted in their sovereign capacity through a convention chosen for this purpose. This convention was the sovereign people in action. "We the people of the State of South Carolina in convention assembled" began the pronouncements of 1832, 1852, and 1860. South Carolina had accepted the theory as the law and the gospel these thirty years. But what had been swallowed with avidity when it offered a mode of relief against a hostile central government had a different flavor when it threatened to subject an unwilling people indefinitely to the rule of the convention and its "bantling", the council. The metaphysical abstraction of a body, all powerful, unaccountable to the people because it was itself the people in the exercise of their sovereignty, broke down in the face of inexorable facts. A few courageous souls might still parrot the old formula that it was the essence of sovereignty to be omnipotent; the "sovereign people" could not be guilty of abuse of power; sovereignty could not be despotism. But the *Courier*, denounced in the old days for its heresy, now struck a responsive chord

²¹ *Courier*, May 27, July 9, 16, Aug. 17, 21, 25, Sept. 5, 1862.

²² *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 13, ff., 1862 (Civis); Charleston *Mercury*, May 3, Aug. 7, 14, Sept. 2, 1862. The *Mercury* was too much taken up by its fight with President Davis to be interested.

²³ Its articles of March to May, 1857, March 9, 1858, were republished practically without change.

when it republished the argument that conventions were not the people in their highest sovereign capacity, possessed of supreme powers, but merely representative bodies, extraordinary delegates assembled on extraordinary occasions to discharge functions to which the ordinary governments were inadequate or unsuited, but with only derivative, not original authority, responsible to the people themselves, the only true sovereigns. Previous to nullification, it showed by long historical disquisitions, South Carolina conventions had used the phrase "delegates of the people", which embodied the true doctrine that they were representative bodies, not uncontrolled or uncontrollable.²⁴

Once started, the discussion tended of course to reach out to all the old differences. The long editorials and communications which filled the columns of the newspapers must have stirred memories of nullification days. With all the zeal of that earlier day, the *Courier* elaborated its argument far beyond the practical requirements of the immediate issue and debonairly plied the ax to the orthodox Carolinian doctrine of "exclusive, indivisible, omnipotent and unalienable State sovereignty". Sovereignty, it argued, has none of these attributes. There is no supreme, absolute, or illimitable power lodged anywhere, in government, convention, or people, in the political systems of Federal and Confederate America. Bills of rights, for example, are limits on the people. Sovereignty is not supremacy. The people are the source of all political power or sovereignty, but their right to confer power or sovereignty on others is not sovereignty. Sovereignty consists in making, interpreting, and executing laws, and when these functions are divided or entrusted to separate depositaries, and especially when these are controlled by a constitution restricting their powers, the sovereignty is not absolute or supreme, but modified or limited as well as divided. The right of the people to resume or recall governmental authority, to change an old or establish a new government, is not sovereignty. When, in the American system, the people are said to be sovereign, and the only sovereigns, it means that by means of the representative system they take part in the administrative sovereignty. South Carolina's sovereignty is a constitutional or limited sovereignty; it is not vested in her inorganic people but in her government or in her people as a body politic under a representative form of government. In the United States sovereignty is divided between state and nation, each supreme but over different things. In each of these again sovereignty is divided among legislative, executive, and judicial departments, each supreme in its own sphere. According to Calhoun, constitution making was the distinc-

²⁴ Charleston *Courier*, Feb. 11, May 1, July 16, Aug. 28, Sept. 6, 1862.

tive badge of sovereignty. Not so, replied the *Courier*. It is no higher or more distinctive than making war, an act of legislative sovereignty. The argument that the relation between convention and legislature is that of creator and created is untenable. Both are instrumentalities of the people, agents to do certain things. Conventions are usually superior because of their generally superior powers, but in one or two respects the legislature is superior. It may, for instance, by the terms of the act calling the convention into being, limit its action and duration.²⁵

By its tone no less than its argument the *Courier* rode rough-shod over the susceptibilities of its former opponents. It paid its respects to "the usual cant and profanity of extreme State sovereignty talk". But when it argued that, whether or not the convention was supreme when South Carolina stood alone, its supremacy was certainly at an end when she joined the Confederacy, since the Confederate constitution guaranteed to each state a republican form of government, the climax was capped, and it somewhat apologetically denied that it was trying to form a "consolidationist" party, and admitted that the Southern Confederacy was a mere confederacy—though not without anomalies—recognizing the right of secession.²⁶

For all the *Courier's* flings at the metaphysical abstractions of the Calhoun theory, its own arguments were too complicated and fine-spun for most of those who supported its attacks upon the council. Most of them did not wish to question the tenability of the secession theory. There was much floundering, but most were content merely to say that sovereignty rested with the people and was indefeasible. A convention was a representative body, responsible to the people, elected for a single, definite purpose, to form or change a government. No more. It had no legislative power, no power to govern. The existing convention should have dissolved after ratifying the Confederate constitution. Its duty was to meet now and end both the council and itself.²⁷

Meantime the maligned council continued its work amidst difficulties aggravated by the attacks upon the legitimacy of its authority. The impressment of slave labor was one of its most anxious problems. On this subject it stood between the devil and the deep sea. Inevitably a sensitive point with the owners, no method for dealing

²⁵ Sept. 6, 11, 20, 26, Oct. 10, 16, 1862. Burlamaqui was the authority most frequently cited by the *Courier*.

²⁶ *Courier*, July 16, Aug. 21, 28, Sept. 10, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Aug. 30, Sept. 8, 1862 (South Carolina).

²⁷ *Courier*, May 16 (G.), July 1 (One of the People), 1862.

with it could be devised which would seem satisfactory to them.²⁸ On the other hand the Confederate generals complained constantly that the insufficiency of labor on the defenses would cause the loss of Charleston. The obstacles which the council met in this matter from up-country planters in particular caused bitter feeling on both sides and gave at times a sectional aspect to the attacks upon the council.²⁹

More spectacular, though perhaps no more serious, was the attempt of the council to provide for the defense of Georgetown by the state when the Confederate generals abandoned it. The plans were made, the equipment at hand, and a call issued for 1000 men from the adjacent regions. Chesnut, chief of the department of the military, tells the sorry tale:

... while the men were in the country, the spirit was wanting. Very few volunteered and it became necessary to resort to a draft. Even this was eluded, to a great extent, by the rushing of those who were liable into Confederate service; many among those who submitted to the draft refused to obey the orders of General Harllee; some took to concealment, while others stood in open defiance of the law; others, again, became predatory outlaws, and threatened acts of violence and robbery in the vicinity of the few troops which did assemble at Stone's Landing on the Pee Dee.

... Some of the recusants were seized and put in prison; others warned and summoned for trial before a court martial. But the court itself seemed to have been inadequate to the conception or performance of its duty and the defaulters escaped.³⁰

Chesnut did not believe the body of the people in that section were unpatriotic, he said. But the time of the call was a bad one for agricultural folk; the country to which they were ordered was supposed to be unhealthy then; the activity and most of the energy had already been extracted, and love of ease and such motives had full influence among those who remained.

Still, I believe these would have been overcome, but for the fact that there were some leading men, disaffected to the existing Government of the State, who seized upon [the situation] and endeavored to poison the minds of the people by inculcating the idea that the authority from which the orders emanated was unconstitutional—that the Convention of the people of South Carolina was without lawful existence, and power. They were stimulated and supplied with noxious *pabulum*, through the channels of an uninformed press. All have stricken at the sovereignty of the State. . . .

²⁸ See the correspondence between Chesnut and Abbeville district in the *South Carolinian*, Aug. 20, 1862; letter by Hayne in the *Clarendon Banner*, Sept. 9, 1862; Hayne's report in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 665, 677; letters in the James H. Hammond Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁹ *Charleston Courier*, May 23, Aug. 9, 20, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 9, 20, 1862.

³⁰ Report in *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 592-593.

Permit me to inform you that there are certain recusant Captains, who mock at the power of the Convention, and pretend to defy the Executive authority which it has instituted for the exigencies of the war.⁸¹

The opponents of the council denied that their attacks tended to embarrass or lessen "the vigor of our defensive war". They insisted that the council had accomplished nothing that the regularly organized governments, state and Confederate, were not competent to do, that the council had been guilty of follies and blunders and was further handicapped by its "inharmonious and discordant" membership. The sharp division in the council was indeed well known, and reached the proportions of a scandal when some correspondence between Governor Pickens and Hayne, one of the members, filled with petty bickering, got into the newspapers, a publicity for which each promptly blamed the other.⁸²

The convention could meet, before January, 1863, only on call of the president, at his own initiative or at the request of twenty members. As the summer passed with no call for its convening, the popular discussion went to extremes. Suppose the convention continued indefinitely to refuse to meet? Suppose it was determined, as it seemed to be, to perpetuate itself? What recourse had the oppressed people? If, as the old theory ran, and as was now claimed, the convention was above all laws and had absolute, unlimited power, perhaps it could be gotten rid of only by revolution. What was there to prevent the council from hanging anyone who questioned its powers? Every man's life and property were at its mercy. It might "squander the public money, confiscate private property, destroy the liberty of the press—aye, even arrest us for daring to write this article". As a matter of fact, so Hayne reported as chief of the department of justice and police in the council, there were no arrests of "disloyal or disaffected" persons in South Carolina; there had been numerous letters and many affidavits charging disloyalty, but in no case had the council been convinced that the accused's remaining at large was inconsistent with the public safety. Yet the charges

⁸¹ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 594-595. The demoralization of Carolinians reached its climax when General Pemberton decided to abandon Coles Island, which had always been regarded as the strategic point for the defense of Charleston. A wave of hysteria swept the city and Pemberton was denounced as a traitor. There was disaffection also among the officers (letter of Richard Yeadon in *Charleston Courier*, June 20, 1862; Pickens correspondence in the Crawford Papers). The council had difficulties also with the Confederate government, in which it argued the sovereignty of the convention. *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 595-596, 670, 715-716; *Charleston Courier*, April 23, 1862.

⁸² *Charleston Courier*, May 15, July 16, 23, 31, Aug. 1, 2, 5, Sept. 20, 30, 1862.

against the council's arbitrary power continued to the end of its existence.³³

South Carolinians did not like the word "revolution", but still the question remained, where was the remedy? Some threatened the council with impeachment by the legislature. But the question of the relation between the legislature and the convention was a difficult one. The *Courier's* position has been indicated. Chancellor Harper, eminent nullifier, was quoted to the effect that a convention was limited by the terms of the legislative act which called it, but Hayne, who, as attorney general as well as member of the council, felt it his responsibility to assure the public of the complete competency of convention and council to all their acts, held stiffly to the logic that there could be no limits to sovereignty. The point proved to be merely academic, for the legislative act of 1860 calling the convention was in general terms, with no limitation either as to duration or function. Some members of this expiring legislature did, nevertheless, ask the governor to call it in special session that it might express its opinion in the matter. Others suggested that the new legislature, which would be elected in October, could call a new convention for the one express—and limited!—purpose of putting an end to the old one. The old one must then perforce cease to exist, else, according to its own theory, there would be two sovereigns at the same time! This would be revolution, was the solemn reply, and the fear that the outcome might indeed be some popular explosion caused increasing pressure upon members of the convention. The last of August the twentieth member made the request for a meeting and the president issued the call.³⁴

Louder than ever now sounded the refrain, it is the duty of the convention to dissolve. But the approaching meeting of that body seemed to hearten its defenders also, and the newspaper debate now reached its height.³⁵ A special election in Charleston at this time, to fill a vacancy in her delegation, gave that city the opportunity for

³³ Editorials and communications in *Charleston Courier*, May 16, July 8, 24, Aug. 9, 16, 22, Sept. 13, 1862; speeches of Yeadon and Whaley in the legislature, *ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1862, Jan. 7, 1863. Yeadon's "proof" was that he had been told by a neighbor at his summer home that when he removed his family from Charleston, he had to get a permit from the council to move his private stock of wines and liquors to his new home. One of the legislature's measures against the council in December, 1862, was a resolution for the reporting of everyone arrested by the council.

³⁴ *Ibid.* (editorials and communications), July 16, 23, Aug. 1, 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19, 23, 25, Sept. 8, 10, 16, 1862.

³⁵ *Charleston Courier* and *Charleston Mercury* in the first days of September. The *Courier* continued its controversy with "Phocion" over political theory, Sept. 20, 26, 30, Oct. 1, 10, 11, 16, 1862.

formal action. There was only one candidate, John Phillips, nominated as "the people's candidate" on a platform of "constitutional liberty" versus the council. The vote was pathetically small—too small to be explained by the war conditions—but Phillips went to the convention with the special mission of bringing that recalcitrant body to a speedy end.³⁶

It was the old Carolina that met in convention on September 9—able, honorable, accustomed to guide, not follow, popular sentiment, but deeply troubled. The complete record of the council's activity was laid before it and referred to a committee of twenty-one. Phillips immediately proposed that the ordinance creating the council be repealed and that all the council's acts be declared repealed save those the governor wished continued. His proposals were referred to a special committee of seven.³⁷

The committee of twenty-one was first to report. It had discovered nothing which seemed to require action by the convention in the way of repeal, modification, or animadversion. Without intending to express approval of every act, it concluded that the duties of the council had been performed with diligence, ability, and an exclusive regard for the public welfare, at great personal sacrifice. The members had placed the state under great obligations, amid discouragements mortifying to the patriot. The committee expressed its conviction that the ordinary powers of the executive would have been inadequate and that the establishment of such a body as the council was necessary. It recommended that the reports of the members of the council be published and all their records opened for public inspection. The question whether any limit could be imposed on the powers of a convention by the act of the legislature calling it—on which Hayne's report argued elaborately—the committee found it unnecessary to discuss, since it considered every act of this convention and council to be embraced in the scope of the act calling it.³⁸

Without much ado the convention adopted the report unchanged.³⁹

³⁶ *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 1-3, 1862; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 3, 1862. Phillips received 296 of the 310 votes cast. Compare with Yeadon's 1088 the next October.

³⁷ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 402, 406-409, 426; *Charleston Mercury*, Sept. 13, 1862.

³⁸ The *Journal* gives also the reports of the subcommittees which examined the different reports from the members of the council. *Charleston newspapers* for Sept. 15, 1862.

³⁹ For attempts to amend, see *Journal*, pp. 426, 429-430; *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 16, 1862. These men had too much regard for the dignity of the state to allow themselves to become involved in a futile constitutional debate. If South Carolina had the right to secede, as we have all claimed, said Judge Wardlaw, it must rest on state sovereignty. Sovereignty is in the people but the convention

then turned to the sharper question as to future policy, presented by the committee of seven. The majority report of that committee recommended that on the convening of the new legislature, November 4, both the convention and the council should come to an end, and the legislature should be empowered to establish and choose another council for the duration of the war. Phillips presented a minority report which stated that only the immediate dissolution of both bodies could allay the popular excitement. The debate was warm and anxious, but quite different from that which had raged so fiercely in the press. Phillips had few sympathizers, but Robert Barnwell, one of the state's most trusted leaders, received little support for his contention that both convention and council should continue unchanged: they should not quail before popular clamor; the danger was not over; their work was not done. Many thought that the opposition had been exaggerated, that it was limited to a few districts, and had been largely manufactured by demagogues and an unbridled press. Yet most agreed that the situation was fraught with danger. This august body must not allow itself to be shoved off the scene, but, with due regard for the dignity of its exit, go it must. Also the argument that the situation had radically changed since the creation of the council and that the Confederate government now had affairs in hand to such an extent that the council was superfluous, was strongly urged and apparently had great weight. In the end it was voted that the term of the existing members of the council should end in December, and that the legislature might modify or abolish the body; that the convention itself should come to an end on December 17, two years from the date of its origin.⁴⁰

The hope that the people, when enlightened, would respond to the convention's solution in a spirit of sweet reasonableness was destined to a rude shock. To have made the desired concession but postponed its execution seemed to let loose all the accumulated grievances and resentments, even the pettier personal angers that had hitherto been restrained by the canons of public discussion. The new legislature, elected in October,⁴¹ was overwhelmingly opposed to the council, and

is the only constitutional organ of the people in their sovereign capacity. J. D. Pope agreed, but conceded that a convention was limited to the purposes of the call. J. P. Richardson insisted that the convention was merely representative; it could be limited and could not legislate. *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 21, Nov. 8, Dec. 4, 1862.

⁴⁰ *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 425, 432; Charleston newspapers, especially the *Mercury*, Sept. 13-20, 1862; *Courier*, Nov. 8, 1862.

⁴¹ It is not clear from the newspapers how prominent the issue was in the election. But war weariness and a painful foreboding which led men to strike out at those who had been most prominent in bringing about secession clearly

when it met, at the last of November, its first act was to declare war upon it. The convention had not only invited the governor and legislature, discredited and insulted by its course,⁴² to play the last card, but had presented to them the high trump. The invitation was angrily accepted, and the few who pleaded that justice be tempered with mercy received scant heed. It was the convention's responsibility to restore constitutional government to the state but the convention had shifted the responsibility. This "old man of the sea" should learn that it could not with impunity "drag out an existence grown hateful to the people". The odious council should not be allowed "to die an easy death". Not satisfied with an act abolishing that body, which passed the senate unanimously, the house by a vote of 96 to 6, they proceeded to read the riot act to the "sovereign Convention". In solemn resolutions they declared⁴³ that their respect for the state constitution was unabated; they still regarded the separation of powers as necessary to the existence of the constitution, and all attempts to destroy this as tending toward anarchy and despotism. Conventions, they continued, should be called only for important constitutional changes, not to conduct the government, either directly or through conventions or councils. There was and must always be "an essential difference as to power, capacity and right between the people themselves and any convention of their Delegates for whatever purpose assembled". And ending with a climax which brought balm to their wounded feelings, however difficult if not impossible it might

appear. In Charleston, Yeadon, Trenholm, and M. P. O'Connor were elected; while Barnwell Rhett, jr., Spratt, and Cunningham were defeated. W. G. Simms, visiting Columbia during the legislature, wrote Hammond that it seemed the feeblest body South Carolina had had for years, with 96 new members "each eager to fire his pop gun" at convention and council. James Orr, formerly the most prominent nationalist, seemed the most popular man in the state. Aldrich, a secessionist, was elected speaker of the house—he had been against the council—but his vote was small and it was said that if the house had been full, Perry, arch-Unionist, would have been chosen. Simms to Hammond, Dec. 4, 1862, Hammond Papers; Charleston *Courier*, Oct. 15, 17, Nov. 26, 28, 1862; Charleston *Mercury*, Oct. 14, 15, 1862; McCarter's Journal, II. 36-37 (MS. in the Library of Congress).

⁴² This had figured all through the discussion. Governor Pickens's message made no mention of his own share in some of the council's most unpopular measures. Charleston *Courier*, May 10, June 19, July 16, Aug. 9, 13, 1862; *Mercury*, Nov. 26, 27, 1862; *Journal of the Convention*, p. 662; Simms to Hammond, cited above; Pickens correspondence in the Crawford Papers.

⁴³ They elid calmly over points on which opinions differed. Some now said there were two kinds of conventions, revolutionary conventions and constitutional conventions. The convention of 1860 was of the latter (1) sort and as such was limited. *Courier*, Jan. 7, 1863; *Mercury*, Dec. 13, 1862; cf. Perry, in *Courier*, Dec. 17, 1862.

prove to be in practice,⁴⁴ they expressed their profound regret that any measures had been adopted by the convention at variance with these principles. It would be the duty of the legislature to remedy, in so far as it could, any mischief or inconvenience that might have resulted therefrom.⁴⁵

LAURA A. WHITE.

⁴⁴ The work of the council was not undone. Many of the same perplexities and troubles continued of course.

⁴⁵ These resolutions passed the house by a vote of 88 to 15. In the senate there was some protest against the last one which passed 25 to 11. For debate in the legislature see the *Courier* and the *Mercury* for Nov. 19, Nov. 27 to Dec. 17, 23, 1862, Jan. 7, 1863.

NOTE AND SUGGESTION

THE LESSER *CURIA REGIS* UNDER THE FIRST TWO NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND

THE Norman kings of England disposed of important business with the aid of a national council or *curia regis*. This assembly met as a rule three times a year, though sometimes oftener, and was composed in the main of the magnates of the realm,¹ who included not only the earls and the more important barons but also the archbishops, the bishops, and some of the abbots. The only theory which appears concerning the membership of the great *curia regis* is baronial. Sometimes it is said to consist of barons and bishops.² In official documents, however, of the reign of William the Conqueror, individual bishops and abbots are sometimes classed as barons.³ Since the Conqueror required the homage of bishops and abbots before consecration,⁴ and feudal military service from all the former and some of the latter,⁵ there can be no doubt concerning the baronial status of the greater prelates. It has sometimes been held that the attendance of the king's more important household officials constitutes an exception to the baronial rule, yet these were all clearly barons with the exception of the chancellor and the chaplains who belonged to his department. Members of the great council who did not rank as barons were too few to vitiate its essential quality. This is evident in one of its functions. It not only counselled the king concerning legislation and matters of general policy, but it also served as a high court. In the latter capacity it appears as the king's tribunal for feudal causes.⁶ It was thus an assembly of the king's barons or vassals who found judgment in matters affecting their fellow vassals.

The use of the word *curia* was not confined to the great assembly. It appears in a whole series of connotations. Generally speaking, it

¹ See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 1087.

² Liebermann, *National Assembly in Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 79.

³ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 36-37; Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, nos. 129, 221; cf. *barones regis*, *Domesday Book*, IV. 497, and compare with III. vii.

⁴ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, Rolls Series, pp. 1-2.

⁵ Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 249-251. The amount of this *servitium debitum* of 1166 had long been traditional. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-262.

⁶ Liebermann, *National Assembly*, pp. 85-86; Adams, *Council and Courts*, ch. II.

was used in the different senses in which the English word court may be used today. A man's courtyard is in the records of the Norman period called a *curia*.⁷ The king's house or hall was his *curia*,⁸ and those associated with the place were curials. The boon companions of William Rufus are described collectively as *curialis juvenus*.⁹ More germane to the present discussion is the fact that those who were employed at court¹⁰ about the king's business or who travelled in his train¹¹ were *curiales*, that his household was a *curia*,¹² and that the king's attendants who heard pleas, and found judgment wherever he happened to be in England or in Normandy, constituted a *curia*. There was not only a permanent *curia* in the administrative sense, but there was a body of men whom the king might bring together as an assembly when he so desired. It is with this latter phase of the permanent or lesser *curia* that the present investigation is primarily concerned.

The late Professor George B. Adams has thrown much light on this lesser *curia* or council in the reign of Henry I.¹³ It advised the king upon matters of policy, as did the great council. It also disposed of judicial cases. Business left unfinished by the great council was sometimes completed by a segment of it meeting with the king at a later time. Before the end of the reign a small council met at regular intervals, apparently twice a year, and usually in the king's absence, as an exchequer. Liebermann sees in all this a sort of administrative revolution, paralleling that under the contemporary French king, Louis VI., by which the smaller body took over much of the work of the larger.¹⁴ It should be added, however, that a fair proportion of the work of the lesser council in England during the first third of the twelfth century came not so much through a revolution in administrative methods as through a growth of judicial and fiscal activity at court.

This small council was not an innovation of the reign of Henry I., but the question of its earlier activity has not been carefully investigated. Adams believed that it existed in the reigns of William the

⁷ *Domesday Book*, I: 154b.

⁸ *Léges Henrici Primi*, 80: 72. Cf. the Latin version of II Canute 59; also McIlwain, *High Court of Parliament*, pp. 29-30, and 30, n. 1.

⁹ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 48.

¹⁰ *Curiales clerici*: Ordericus Vitalis, ed. A. le Prevost, IV. 11.

¹¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Rolls Series, II. 369; cf. *fideles sui de curia*, *Hist. Monast. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, II. 80.

¹² The *A-S. Chron.* (1103) calls even the great council the king's hired or household; cf. Liebermann, *National Assembly*, p. 75, n. 6.

¹³ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 110-126.

¹⁴ Liebermann, *National Assembly*, p. 78.

Conqueror and William Rufus, but stated that this is not made clear in the sources.¹⁵ The same line of reasoning which he employed in other matters and the same type of materials which he used seem adequate, however, to establish the point. One concrete bit of evidence which he adduces is not convincing. He refers to a list of witnesses to a document issued by the Conqueror some years before he invaded England,¹⁶ but this of itself is not satisfactory proof of the meeting of a council. Various other writers have assumed upon inadequate grounds that the Conqueror in his lifetime actively employed a small council in England. W. J. Corbett makes the statement that a gathering of a few of the household officials reinforced by one or two prelates and perhaps one or two barons was regarded before the death of William as a sufficient meeting of the *curia regis* for all the most important kinds of business.¹⁷ This brilliant generalization seems to go further than the known evidence admits. There is no indication, for instance, that William enacted legislation upon the advice of such a council, nor is it certain that he consulted them upon general state policy. Two circumstances account for the conclusion cited. It is natural to assume that what was true under Henry I. was true in his father's time; yet this is by no means certain. In the second place, Corbett's statement obviously rests upon the general assumption that the group of persons who from time to time witnessed the Conqueror's documents constituted a council. There are a few royal charters of the Norman kings which are said to have been discussed or authorized *in concilio*,¹⁸ but the writer has neither found nor seen cited any English charter of the Conqueror witnessed by a small group which purports to have been issued in a council. Few scholars have been so cautious on this point as Haskins, who, in speaking of the men who witness the ducal documents in Normandy before 1066, says that their function is "attestation rather than assent" and "that with a few well indicated exceptions it is impossible to say when they have met as an assembly."¹⁹ To conclude that when a circle about the king witness his documents he consults them as a council is to assume something which is incapable of

¹⁵ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. xvii, 122-123; *Origin of English Constitution*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁶ Adams, *Origin of English Constitution*, p. 195. Of the two documents cited, one (Ordericus Vitalis, V. 173-180) presents a group clearly corresponding in size and personnel to a possible small council.

¹⁷ *Cambridge Medieval History*, V. 515.

¹⁸ *Monasticon*, V. 12; Farrer, *Itinerary*, nos. 51, 53. For Normandy, see Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 54, n. 261.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

proof²⁰ and something not essentially probable. Even if this were established, it would not show that a small council transacted all the most important kinds of business.

The king's entourage, as revealed by the names of those who witness his acts day by day, is none the less of primary importance to this investigation. These are the persons who are available for work and for counsel. As shown to best advantage in the royal charters and notifications, they may include two classes of persons. Often there are bishops, earls, or barons, or all of these, who seem to have no permanent place at court, persons who, when they attend the great council, rank as *barones*. Then there is a more constant group of *curiales*, men who are in the king's service, some household officials, some persons of undefined position, who are found frequently in attendance and are sometimes seen about the king's work. As already shown, the more important household officials except those of the chancery were barons. The group of *curiales* who seem to be more loosely attached to the court were, in general, either bishops or barons of the second rank. The circle in the king's employ might be designated, like the great *curia regis*, as barons, and this was all the more true when they were reinforced by visiting prelates or barons. Curiously enough this baronial quality often seems lacking in the entourage of the French king Louis VI.²¹ The fact that the men, who in the time of Henry I. disposed of the king's financial business, were known as barons of the exchequer shows how persistent was the theory that the small *curia*, as well as the greater, was baronial in character. Had this not been true, the lesser body would not have been able to qualify for important judicial business.

The easiest approach to the problem of meetings of the lesser *curia*, if one follows these familiar suggestions, should be on the judicial side of its activity. If it is shown that its members try cases as they follow the king about, this evidence of concerted action is worth far more than the fact that they witness documents, for the latter act may in nearly every case be an individual one. Although Adams gave much attention to some aspects of the king's judicial organization, he did not investigate very fully the court held in the presence of the first two Norman kings on their travels. That the early Norman monarch held such a court is beyond doubt. An instance wherein Duke William and his court gave judgment between

²⁰ Liebermann (*National Assembly*, pp. 17-18) is convinced of the meeting of a small council under Edward the Confessor from the names of witnesses to certain of the king's writs (*Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 904, 908). This proof Adams (*Council and Courts*, p. 113, n. 25) regards as insufficient.

²¹ See Luchaire, *Louis VI. le Gros*, calendar of documents, *passim*.

two contending communities of monks is recorded before the conquest of England.²² A very clear case occurs in 1080. The abbot and monks of Lonlay, hearing that William was staying at Caen, appeared there to lay certain claims before him. He ordered the bishops and abbots present to retire to another room and hear the case,²³ and they gave a decision. In 1085 a suit between a baron and an abbey was decided in the king's presence in Normandy by his precept, and those who decided the cause on the king's behalf were two abbots, a few barons, and the royal butler.²⁴ That the Conqueror employed similar procedure in England may be inferred from the fact that he commissioned Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances to preside in his place at a famous trial between the bishop of Worcester and the abbot of Evesham.²⁵ A concrete case which Adams cites is unusual in several ways. In 1086 King William devoted a Sunday from morning till evening to the hearing of a plea touching the rights of an abbey, the court being held at a manor of William of Eu in Wiltshire. Those present reached the rather high number of thirty-five, and included the king's two sons, the two archbishops, eight bishops, three earls, and two household officials.²⁶ The question at once arises whether this was not a meeting of the great council; but the circumstances tend to confirm the conclusion that it was not, and that the king was assisted on this occasion by an enlarged or reinforced form of the body which usually attended him.²⁷

In some of the instances just cited one sees that judgment was given by counsel of the barons, just as judicial and other business was transacted in the greater *curia regis* by their counsel. Moreover it is specifically stated on one occasion that a judicial matter, quite clearly not heard before the great council, was decided *principorum meorum consilio*. Another case is recorded as heard by the king's barons and determined by their counsel.²⁸ Although it is difficult in many recorded instances to show that a great council is not in session, yet the evidence for the disposition of causes by those in attendance upon the king is quite strong enough to show a small council in action.

Lest this conclusion seem too highly inferential, the problem should be approached also from another angle. Fortunately the

²² Round, *Calendar of Documents, France*, no. 1172.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 1114.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 116. No. 165 is a similar case.

²⁵ Bigelow, *Placita Anglo-Normannica*, pp. 17-18; Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 70-78. Davis, *Regesta*, no. 423, seems to show parallel procedure.

²⁶ Round, *Calendar*, no. 114; Davis, *Regesta*, no. 220.

²⁷ Adams, *Council and Courts*, pp. 36-37.

²⁸ Round, *Calendar of Docs.*, nos. 165, 1190. In no. 1190 the plea is heard on a special day set for it.

chronicles of the reign of William Rufus afford some further traces of the conciliar activity of the men ordinarily about the king. Statements which attribute the oppressive rule of this king to the counsels of imprudent youths or clever but unscrupulous persons²⁹ may be dismissed as recording mere rumor concerning the influence of the king's private companions and others who had access to him. The story told by Eadmer of the machinations of certain persons, especially William, bishop of Durham, when Anselm's case was before the great council in 1095³⁰ does not make it clear whether the king was taking counsel or merely scheming with individuals. The statement of Florence of Worcester, however, to the effect that at the time of the king's illness in 1093 advice for the amendment of abuses was offered by the barons, seems to hint at the activity of a small council. An incident of the summer of this same year, related by Eadmer, leaves little reasonable doubt. The king, returning from Dover, came to Rochester and was privately consulted by Anselm, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, who asked for the lands of his church as Lanfranc, his predecessor, had previously held them. The king called William, bishop of Durham, and Robert, count of Meulan, and asked that they repeat to those present what Anselm had said. Rufus then replied *per consilium* that he would restore the lands.³¹ A month or so later, at some time in September, the king called together a *conventus nobilium* at Winchester at which Anselm did homage according to the custom of the times and was placed in seisin of the whole archbishopric.³² It is hardly possible to believe that William Rufus could have consulted the great council at Rochester concerning the demands made by Anselm. It is still more improbable that both this and the subsequent assembly at Winchester were sessions of the great council. The latter seems to have been a small gathering. On the day following that on which Anselm became his liegeman William Rufus issued a grant which is witnessed by only eight persons, bishops, barons, and household officials.³³

A few conclusions may be drawn. The first two Norman kings may be represented as turning, sometimes on the spur of the moment, to the barons, bishops, and household officials for counsel. Just as William the Conqueror, when the monks of Lonlay appeared before

²⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, anno 1100. As to the king's private associates, Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, p. 48.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40; compare the case (*Chron. Mon. de Bello, Anglia Christ. Soc.*, p. 49; Bigelow, *Placita*, p. 123) in which Henry I., at the instance of *consiliatores*, revises an opinion formed *absque consilio*.

³² Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, p. 41.

³³ Davis, *Regesta*, no. 337.

DOCUMENTS

Letters concerning the "Universal Republic"

THE following group of letters was found in a small bundle, marked "Mazzini", in the Gerrit Smith papers which have recently been given to Syracuse University by Mr. Gerrit S. Miller of Peterboro, New York. Gerrit Smith's interest in social and humanitarian work is well known to all students of American history. One is not surprised to find, therefore, a connection existing between Smith and Mazzini, both of whom had many ideas and ideals in common. Mazzini's schemes and plans for a "Universal Republic" quite naturally attracted the attention of Gerrit Smith, who had become one of the most outstanding republicans of his state and of the country. His interest is well attested by his correspondence and by his characteristic generosity in contributing what must have been a large sum of money for those days.

These letters may prove to be of some value to those concerned with Mazzini's life, as well as to those interested in Smith's career. At the same time, this correspondence will serve to introduce the very valuable gift which Mr. Miller, a grandson of Gerrit Smith, has made to Syracuse University. No complete examination has as yet been made of this collection, known as the Gerrit Smith Miller Collection, although enough has been done to bring to light many important letters from men like Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, John J. Astor, William Ladd, and Horace Greeley. Roughly, the dates of this collection extend from 1780 to 1880 and it includes several thousand letters, land books, journals, and deeds. It is hoped that in the near future a definite and accurate statement can be made of these various records.

W. F. GALPIN.

I. MAZZINI TO SMITH.¹

Dear Sir,

From my friend Bulewski² and others I know how our ideas concerning the immense advantages of a close alliance between the republi-

¹ This letter is in the handwriting of Mazzini.

² Lewis Bulewski was despatched late in December, 1865, to the United States as plenipotentiary of the Central European Revolutionary Committee. It appears that a group of European republicans had met in London under the leadership of Mazzini and had decided to issue a call to those of like republican principle in the United States, "To our friends in the United States. . . . You must step forward and take your share in the battle. It is God's battle". Bulewski arrived

cans of the new world are harmonizing, and I know that you belong to that class of men who understand that to be a man is to be one in thought and action, to strive to embody what we believe to be truth into reality. The alliance proposed by us and accepted by the New York and Boston Committees is doubtless a good one and great thought, but requiring to bear fruit a great deal of active energy and a capability for feeling the sacredness of the principle and the practical way through which it can become a powerful fact. You have both. Let me reckon on you as upon one of the principal workers in and for the Alliance. Lend a hand to what I call the laying down of the moral Atlantic Cable. Your help is needed.

The Alliance wants organization, propagandism, a press, travellers, plenty of things requiring funds. Let us strike the coin of the Rep. Alliance. We have proposed to both the Committees the issue of subscription notes, for one, five, ten, twenty dollars, representing the admission to the association or sympathy of those who will not through some individual reason, formally belong to it. It seems to me almost essential that an American name should in these notes be added to ours. The specimen of the notes is by this time in the hands of the New York Committee; and I trust you will see it, think of it and strongly advocate with or without modifications, a speedy realization of the scheme.

Believe me, dear Sir, Ever faithfully yours

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

LONDON Aug. 8 [1866]

2. SMITH TO MAZZINI.³

STATE OF NEW YORK U. S. A.

PETERBORO, Aug. 26 1866.

JOSEPH MAZZINI,
Honored and dear Sir,

I have your letter.⁴ I would be ever grateful for the visit of our esteemed friend Bulewski, had it resulted in nothing more than the honor and happiness of receiving a letter from Mazzini. I have long honored and loved you, regarding you as one of the truest and sublimest interpreters of the Divine will; and as one of the bravest and wisest leaders of our poor humanity in its upward struggle from the abyss of ignorance and superstition, and in its repeated endeavors now here and now there, to escape from the crushing folds of despotism.

With my whole heart do I believe in Republicanism. But for her unhappy inheritance of Slavery, America would long ere this have con- in America early in 1866, and, after having spent several weeks at various cities and conferring with prominent members of Congress, arranged for a meeting to be held in New York in April, at which a committee composed of Messrs. E. A. Stansbury, John Cochrane, F. A. Conkling, Rush C. Hawkins, and Sinclair Tousey drafted a reply to the European Republican Committee in which they announced the organization of an American Republican Committee and pledged their efforts for the extension and future prosperity of republican principles here and abroad. Bulewski evidently stayed in America during most of the summer of 1866, and then returned to London to continue his work in the Central European Revolutionary Committee.

³ This letter is in the handwriting of a clerk, but is marked "Copy" in what is clearly the writing of Gerrit Smith.

⁴ That is the preceding letter.

vinced the civilized world of the beauty and excellence of political self-government. By force of the perverting and corrupting power of Slavery, America has misrepresented, disparaged and disgraced Republicanism. I have very great and painful fear that she will for a time continue to do so. The influences engendered by Slavery still darken and debase her politics and her religion. Nor is this strange, considering for how long a time her politics and religion were adjusted to Slavery. But America will yet arise into a truly Republican nation. She will yet be, as, from her superior advantages for it she is bound to be, the political Pharos of the World.

Not only did I welcome the project of a close alliance between the Republicans of Europe and America. The best writings in aid of Republicanism must go from here to Europe, and from there here. This is one of the most effective ways for helping both the Old World and the New. The Republicans of Europe are necessarily poor. They are constantly exhausting their pecuniary means in their endeavors to spread their principles. On the other hand, the Republicans of America are, most of them in easy circumstances, and many of them rich; and therefore, they should be constantly sending moneys to their European brothers to help scatter light and truth where amidst the darkness begotten of despotism, light and truth are so much needed. We ought to send you at least fifty to a thousand dollars a year; and, had we enough of the true spirit of Republicanism we would send you twice as much. I suppose that we early American abolitionists expended for many years in sustaining anti-Slavery lecturers and presses more than a hundred thousand dollars a year. But we were only a handful compared with the vast numbers here who feel interested in the spread of Republican doctrines.

I am pleased with the plan, as I understand it from your letter, which you have submitted to the New York Committee. I presume that the Committee will soon communicate with me in regard to it. I shall be glad to give money in aid of it. I judge from some things I have seen in your writings that you reject the Theologies. But for them Republicanism, which is so natural and reasonable, would rapidly extend over the Earth. Their tendency is to make men unreasonable and unnatural. I long ago gave up the Theologies, but I trust that I have not thereby lost any of my interest in that simple religion of nature and reason taught by Christ. My family join me in affectionate remembrances to Mr. Bulewski.

God preserve and bless you, With the highest regard, Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

3. MAZZINI TO SMITH.

Nov. 5. [1866], 18 FULHAM ROAD. S. W., [LONDON].

My dear Sir:

I come back from a three months journey to Switzerland and Italy and find such an arrear of work to be done that I have no time to write you as I should wish. But I avail myself of the opportunity of my friend Mr. Linton⁶ leaving for the U. S. to tell you that I am very grateful to you for your kind good friendly letter, that I have read "the Theologies", that I should feel ready to sign almost every thing you say there

⁶ Mr. W. J. Linton seems to have been sent to America by Mazzini in the interests of the Republican Alliance.

and that I value above all the frank fearless way in which you state what you believe or disbelieve in.⁶

Mr. Linton, whom I beg to introduce to you, will inform you of our actual views and prospects. As far as our Alliance is concerned, I feel disheartened at the prolonged silence of the two committees. I have never had an answer to my proposals. I regret it for both your selves and ours. To use material help such as that you speak of would now be of the highest importance; to yourselves, the practical positive organization of the Alliance would be the initiation of a high noble task, the fulfilment of which would strengthen you and conserve, as it were, over the internal struggle through which you now must go.

Do what you can in the right direction and believe me, my Dear Sir, ever faithfully yours,

JOS. MAZZINI.⁷

4. SMITH TO MAZZINI.⁸

PETERBORO, STATE OF NEW YORK, U. S. A., January 18 1867

JOSEPH MAZZINI,

Dear friend of God and Man,

Your Paper on "The Republican Alliance" written for the February No. of the *Atlantic Monthly* I have just finished reading.⁹ It has warmed my heart anew with love for real Republicanism and with love for the uncompromising religion taught by Jesus Christ. Thousands will be influenced by it in the way I have been. It will reach millions and more thus by its inspiring words.

I do not know that the gentlemen of New York and Boston with whom Mr. Bulewski communicated are taking any further steps in the great and good work which he set before them.¹⁰ I can easily conceive in how great need of money for spreading sound principles you and your associates are. Even the little that a single individual can do for you may be quite welcome. So I send a friend in N. York five hundred dollars (\$500) and ask him to purchase with it a Bill on London and to mail this letter after he shall have put the Bill in it.

It is not certain that my poor Slaving and . . .¹¹ country will speedily reach a pure Republicanism. Nevertheless her tendency is, of late, becoming stronger. We began our national existence with the words: "All men are created equal." Alas, how reluctant we have been and still are to translate these into deeds!

I wish you would write me a letter however short that I might publish. I mean a letter in which you will tell my country (and no other man can tell it with so much authority and effect) how much the . . .¹² on the part of Americans are examples of pure Republicanism.

⁶ Here Mazzini is referring to Smith's statement in his letter of Aug. 26, 1866.

⁷ This letter was addressed to Gerrit Smith and was entrusted to Mr. Linton, who gave it to Mr. Smith at a later date.

⁸ Draft.

⁹ This article is to be found in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XIX. 235-245. See also another article by Mazzini, "The Religious Side of the Italian Question", in *Atlantic Monthly*, XX. 108-120.

¹⁰ No letter from Mazzini's friends in either Boston or New York has as yet been found.

¹¹ Not legible in the original.

¹² The original is not clear; the words left out may possibly be "untiring work".

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With affectionate regards for yourself, Mr. Bulewski and all your London circle of exiled heroes,

I subscribe myself, Your friend,
GERRIT SMITH.

5. J. COCHRANE TO GERRIT SMITH.¹³

NEW YORK, Jan. 22nd 1867

My Dear Uncle,

Yours enclosing check of \$500 for Mazzini is recd. I procure a Bill to his order on London. And mail it to day—I give you the statement.

.....
Your aff. Nephew
JOHN COCHRANE.
over

P.S. I send the first of the series to Mazzini and return you the second and third to use in case of loss of the first

J C

The check purchased the amount 75 £ Sterling—

6. MAZZINI TO SMITH.¹⁴

My dear friend,

I have been from day to day delaying my answering you and acknowledging your very liberal gift of £ St. 75 to our cause, hoping to find time for a letter such as you ask to your countrymen. I cannot write it now, and will not delay any more sending a few words of gracefulness. I shall certainly write and send a letter for publication in a few days; you may reckon on it. But I am overwhelmed with work and threatened with sickness and other ominous symptoms when I write too much.

I fancy your spontaneous gift will bring good luck to my plans. I feel deeply grateful not only for the money which is most useful, but for the spirit in which it is given and for the good loving . . .¹⁵ words which accompany it. Bless you.

I am absorbed in our actual crisis and in the Roman question. I hope that, with God's help, we shall solve it in a way beneficial not only to ourselves but to mankind. Ever faithfully yours,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

18 FULHAM ROAD. S.W. [LONDON], Febr. 21-67

7. W. J. LINTON TO GERRIT SMITH.

181 EAST NINTH ST., NEW YORK, March 12/67

GERRIT SMITH Esq.

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your kind letter to which I should have replied sooner, but waited, dependent upon other persons, to know when it might be possible for me to get to you. A personal conference, if you will allow it, is I think necessary for carrying out my friend's objects; and I shall feel very grateful if I may be permitted to visit you, if that

¹³ The following appears in a short letter from Mr. J. Cochrane to his uncle Gerrit Smith.

¹⁴ This letter is in the handwriting of Mazzini.

¹⁵ Not legible in the original.

may be convenient to you some time in the week after next, provided you are not in New York before then.

Meanwhile I enclose Mazzini's letter; with such explanation as may be here given (for which I beg your most generous reception) of the delay in tendering it to you.

When I reached New York at the close of last year, I found it would be impossible for me to reach the gentlemen who in the earlier part of the year had responded to Mazzini's appeal through M. Bulewski. I found it impossible to reach them partly on account of distances and weather, partly on account of want of funds for travelling expenses. I found also from inquiry among some few friends of Mazzini here, that nothing had been done since Bulewski left; and that if I wished to succeed it would be necessary for me to be very patient and persevering and to lay my account to having to wait long for any considerable result. It became therefore indispensable for me, in the first instance to establish myself here with some care for my own maintenance, in order that I might have even standing ground upon which to begin the work. These things detaining me here, I took further counsel with the same friends and decided with their concurrence to make what preliminary efforts were possible in New York and then report such beginning to the friends elsewhere and request their approval and cooperation.

The action we have taken so far is shown by the papers I have the honor of forwarding with this.¹⁶ Our purpose is quietly to enroll names, and as soon as we number enough to ensure a good public meeting then to publicly organize the association. We are, I think, steadily, however slowly, progressing toward this and I trust that the beginning based on the good sympathies expressed by yourself and others last year, may now be said to be really made.

My object in seeing you is to discuss with you more fully than is possible by letter the likelihoods and advisabilities of the movement and to persuade you, if persuasion be needed (knowing as I do your liberal feeling) to aid the movement in whatever way you may deem best. I will have something also to say with personal reference to Mazzini himself. The movement, I am well aware, involves long and hard labor; but speaking for the European Committee, I trust we may count upon the best men in America to carry it on to success.

If after this attempt at explanation you still find reason to think that I have acted with perhaps not sufficient deference to yourself and others the first sympathizers unto and responders to the European appeal, I pray you for the cause' sake, for which only I labor, that you will pardon me, and not let the great object lose through my most unintentional offense.

Begging you also to forgive this lengthy intrusion on your time, and again thanking you for your letter, I am Sir,

With much respect

Very faithfully yours,

W. J. LINTON.

8. W. J. LINTON TO GERRIT SMITH.

181, EAST NINTH ST., NEW YORK, May 18/67

GERRIT SMITH Esq.

My dear Sir,

Business utterly beyond my own controul has detained me here and prevents me seeing you up to this time. I leave for England on the 1st of

¹⁶ These papers appear as the last two documents in this selection.

June; but I cannot leave without seeing you (if I may still be allowed to do so); for I want to know you personally and thank you for your courtesy toward me. I want also to report to you what beginnings I have made here toward the Republican Alliance and to have the benefit of your opinion and advice before I meet Mazzini. My own arrangements are small so that I shall be enabled to return here probably by the 1st of Sept: to resume and seriously prosecute the mission confided to me.

I propose, if quite suitable to your convenience, to take the boat to Albany on Wednesday night next, and the first train through to Canastota on Thursday morning. I think that leaves Albany at 9 and reaches Canastota at 3.30, the earlier train not going through.¹⁷

Will you favor me with a line to say if that will suit you, or if not, may I ask the further kindness of your naming another day.¹⁸ I will let no engagement interfere.

With very much respect, I am, dear Sir, Faithfully Yours

W. J. LINTON.

9. THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.¹⁹

OBJECT OF THE ASSOCIATION

To maintain the right of every Country to a Republican Government and the consequent duty of all Republicans to unite for a
Solidarity of Republics.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

In order to give practical effect to the truths above asserted, it is proposed to unite in one body of enrolled members all liberal and free-thinking men of our time who desire to promote as far as lies in their power the recognition and development of true republicanism in all countries and among all peoples: the union so enrolled to be formed of distinct branches, each composed of the members of a separate nationality—American or European—so far as may be practicable.

These branches being kept distinct will stand as representative republics, while their delegates, forming a Central Council will represent the Solidarity of Republics, for the realization of which, in actual government, the association is pledged to labor.

MEANS OF EFFORT.—It is proposed to create a Fund for the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC, from the contributions of its members, in the shape of enrollment fees, stated dues, and voluntary donations to the cause.

This Fund is to be used in defraying the expenses of printing, organizing agencies, and other means necessary for carrying out the object of the association. *All monies for European work shall be placed at the disposal of JOSEPH MAZZINI for the European Committee.*

CENTRAL COUNCIL.—The *Central Council* shall consist of a President, a Financial Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and as many other Secre-

¹⁷ Peterboro is about nine miles south of Canastota, which then, and today, was the closest railroad station on what is now the New York Central.

¹⁸ At the top of the letter in pencil there is written (not in Gerrit Smith's hand) the statement: "I write G.S. is absent."

¹⁹ This appeared on a small printed sheet evidently prepared in America by the friends of Mazzini.

taries as there shall be nationalities represented in the Council. Each Secretary so representing a Republic, whether of the present or the future, shall be the accredited organ of his branch and medium of communication with it, responsible for the enrollment of its members and for their obedience to the orders of the Central Council. Such Secretaries after the first year, shall be elected by the several branches.

The proceedings of the Central Council will be secret.

SUBORDINATE COUNCILS.—*Subordinate Councils* shall be established, and lists of all members enrolled in them reported to the Central Council in such manner as it shall direct.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS.—All *General Regulations and Orders* shall emanate from the Central Council; but Subordinate Councils may make their own local rules.

AFFILIATION.—Any existing association, of whatever name, in schools, colleges, or communities, may become affiliated to the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC, provided such association reports to the Central Council a list of its members, subscribes the profession of faith, and remits the enrollment dues.

SPECIAL AGENTS.—The Central Council may appoint *Special Agents* to transact any business needed to extend the organization and influence of the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.

PUBLICATIONS.—All *Publications* issuing from the UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC shall be printed under the authority of a Committee specially appointed for that purpose by the Central Council.

NEW YORK, U. S., January, 1867.

IO. THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC.²⁰

I believe in the REPUBLIC—the organization of a free people on the ground of equal political and social rights—as the only means through which a nation may be enabled to will and act, as one man, for the fulfilment of its own destiny and the accomplishment of its duty to Humanity;

And as I believe in the necessity of republican organization for a single nation in order that it may obtain its full growth and completeness, I am compelled to believe in the necessity of republican organization for all the nations of the world; so I believe in the solidarity of Humanity, the duty of nation toward nation, and the duty of every individual in every nation not only to his nation but to the world;

I believe, therefore, that it is the right and the bounden duty of every nation and of every man to aid to the utmost the striving of other nations or of other men toward the establishment of the Universal Republic;

And I pledge myself as a member of this Association to the best of my ability and means to aid in the propagation and practical realization of this my belief.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Address.</i>
GERRIT SMITH	Peterboro, State of New York

²⁰ This is printed on a page. about the size of this sheet, with spaces for ten names. Gerrit Smith's name is the only one on this page which evidently was never forwarded to any official of the Universal Republic.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Science et Philosophie de l'Histoire. Par HENRI SÉE. (Paris: Felix Alcan. 1928. Pp. 513. 25 fr.)

THIS volume is an unusually happy combination of the analytical and historical points of view. There is sufficient emphasis upon the history of thought to afford an adequate grasp of the primary elements in the development of historical interpretation since the eighteenth century, but this historical material is primarily designed to bring out the dominant issues in the analytical problem. In Hegel, the metaphysical tendencies reach their height and the limitations of the point of view are discussed in that connection. Comte is studied as the representative of the extreme scientific view, and the conclusion is reached that history must always be something more than a science, though it obviously contains many problems that call for rational explanation by scientific methods. Sée finds the safest guide to historical interpretation in the critical philosophy of Cournot, which combines elements of philosophical and scientific methods. History can not emancipate itself from dependence upon valuations and judgments which are elaborated by a critical philosophy. Sheer empiricism must be guided by some philosophy of life, if it is to rise above the level of laborious erudition capable of achieving significant results only by chance. On the other hand, speculation about historical events and phenomena will be sterile unless it is intimately cognizant of some substantial mass of concrete data.

Professor Sée points out that sciences need not necessarily be concerned with the formulation of precise laws to be used in predicting phenomena, although some of the sciences proceed by such methods. Science has also the task of explaining and rationalizing phenomena even when prediction is not involved, and when the explanation is achieved by the use of critical methods that do not use generalizations sufficiently categorical to be described as laws. This phase of Professor Sée's position is based largely upon Meyerson's *Explication dans les Sciences*. The impression remains that sciences of laws are of a higher order than sciences which must needs be content to explain particular phenomena, though this would not be an inevitable conclusion.

Herein lies the primary critical problem of doctrine. The time is certainly approaching for a recognition of the equal status of the two groups of sciences: the sciences of laws, which are concerned with space and spatialized phenomena; the genetic sciences, concerned with the explanation and rationalization of the processes of growth and development that take place in periods of time. There must needs be differences

(787)

of procedure, but there can be no difference in their status as sciences, nor any discrimination in respect of the significance of their results. If this position is strongly taken, the valuation of Comte's work would be somewhat different. Philosophy itself would become a branch of inquiry dominated by scientific realism, rather than a discipline with distinctive methods and aims. But these matters turn upon modest differences of emphasis, and Professor Sée's view will undoubtedly meet with less resistance among historians today than the more extreme position. His work should contribute signally to more general recognition of the need of systematic study of these general problems of history.

Much emphasis is placed upon the significance to the historian of the comparative method, and though this discussion might well have been developed on a somewhat larger scale, it constitutes a genuine contribution as it stands. Many of the details are necessarily sacrificed, as Professor Sée does not attempt to discuss the specific problems of the various phases of history, and many distinctive elements of methodology appear only when the special needs of particular classes of material are considered.

In addition to the series of essays concerned with systematic analysis of the general problems of history, the volume contains a number of essays which have appeared in reviews. There are studies on periodization, on specialization and synthesis, the relation of the Puritans to the rise of capitalism, on Michelet, Renan, Taine, Anatole France, Kropotkin, and Jean Jaurès. Some of these essays make a signal contribution to the general thesis of the volume. The criticism of Troeltsch on periodization is especially interesting, and the essays on Michelet and Renan will be illuminating to any readers who have supposed that the concept of "social" history is a contemporary innovation.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff. With a memoir by the Right Hon. H. A. L. FISHER. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp: viii, 326; viii, 509. 42 s.)

THE papers are gathered from periodicals and volumes in various languages, and represent many of his interests; but there is none on Russia, which he so greatly loved, and nothing which shows his exertions in improving the quality of teaching in Russian schools.

He was always interested in teaching and especially in training investigators. In one of his early papers, "Oxford and Cambridge through Foreign Spectacles", he wrote, "even granted the whole of the academic system as it now is, could it not be supplemented by a school for research engrafted upon it? And would it be prejudicial to university life to bring it into closer contact with real investigation?" When he was called to Oxford eighteen years later he promptly set to work. In 1906, in a private letter, a Rhodes scholar described the new spirit in historical studies which he ascribed to the influence of Vinogradoff. The following

year Vinogradoff conducted a seminar at the University of Wisconsin. Although it lasted only a few weeks it was an event in the intellectual history of that university; a few picked students received both training and inspiration which were of lasting value. This brief, comparatively unimportant, episode in Vinogradoff's life is recalled because it illustrates two characteristics; this Russian adapted himself to the Middle-Western institution and fired the students with zeal. This was true wherever he went, as Fisher has shown in the memoir.

Every friend of Vinogradoff will be grateful to Fisher for this sketch which is written in the same spirit with which Vinogradoff wrote and spoke of his friends. If I may be pardoned a personal reminiscence, my first meeting with him was when he had just returned from H. F. Pelham's funeral. He expressed his feeling of personal loss and of the loss to Oxford, and gave an estimate of the value of Pelham's work and of his character, generous in praise, but not uncritical. The same is true of his papers on his friends, Maitland and Seeböhm, on Maine and Mitteis (all reprinted in these volumes). One omission which we regret is his obituary, in Russian, of Kovalevsky.

It would be folly to attempt an evaluation of the 46 papers here printed. Old favorites such as *Folkland* and *Wergeld und Stand* are included; a dozen of the masterly contributions of his last three years; two chapters from the unpublished third volume of his *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence* for which we are especially grateful. Although we realized dimly the breadth of his knowledge and interests this collection of a small part only of his output brings an enhanced appreciation of the loss to the world of learning.

The bibliography includes 266 items and supplements the memoir, indicating subjects in which he was interested and movements which he furthered by his writings. Of especial interest are the items which show the work by others which he incited; such were the four volumes of the *Collection of Essays in Medieval History* (in Russian); the three volumes of the *Records of English Economic and Social History*; the nine volumes of *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*; the fifteen volumes of the Selden Society. There is no mention of the fact that the Russian series in the *Social and Economic History of the War* was planned by Vinogradoff and is now in process of publication "substantially as he planned it". The lists of public lectures and of reviews are not complete.

Most enduring of all his work is the inspiration which he gave to his students, which they, in turn, are transmitting to their students. "With all who came in contact with him Sir Paul Vinogradoff's memory will abide."

The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., and M. P. CHARLESWORTH, M.A. Volume VII., *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome.* (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 988, and 4 plates. 37 s. 6 d. \$10.50.)

"DURING the period of history covered in this volume the Greeks continued for a long time to occupy the centre of the stage. The rôle they had to play was graver and more complicated than ever before. In the West they soon lost the initiative to Rome. All the time they were spreading themselves thinly over the East the Italians were being concentrated more and more completely and compactly under a single head. It would have been better for the political fortunes of the Greeks if the forces led by Alexander of Macedon into the East had supported Alexander of Epirus in Italy, and Hellas was destined to pay dearly for misdirecting thus its energy. So favourable a conjuncture for saving their western kinsmen was never to recur; and that not simply because of the marvellous growth of Roman power. . . . The East became the land of opportunity for the Greeks. It was 'manifest destiny' that they should possess it. And once they were committed to movement in that direction they could not draw back. No matter what happened in the West they had to hellenize the world in which the Macedonians had made them masters, or themselves go under." With these words Professor Ferguson in the first paragraph of his chapter, *The Leading Ideas of the New Period*, introduces us to the age of the Hellenistic monarchies. The reviewer would like to quote more at length from this excellent chapter, for it sounds the key-note of the volume. Its purpose is to show us the Hellenistic world into which the Romans were soon to enter; and Professor Ferguson sums up the future in a sentence which helps us to explain our ignorance of the eighty years after Ipsus. "Its science they [the Romans] did not understand; its art they did not feel; its mission they frustrated—and then undertook themselves."

The volume is divided between two major themes, the Hellenistic East and the growth of Rome in the West, with certain minor themes closely related to the events of the period. Mr. J. M. de Navarro (*The Coming of the Celts*) prepares us for the Gallic invasions of Italy and the appearance of the Gauls in the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. Dr. M. Cary's chapter on Agathocles is needed to fill gaps in the history of the West, not covered by the strictly Roman portions of the volume; and Professor A. Schulten's scholarly chapter on the Carthaginians in Spain makes the stage ready for the Second Punic War, with which volume VIII. will resume the thread of Roman history.

Volume VII. is particularly fortunate in being able to use the knowledge of specialists long known for their studies in the period. Professor Rostovtzeff's two chapters (Ptolemaic Egypt, Syria and the East) on the economic and political organization of the Lagid and Seleucid empires are an excellent illustration of the desire of the editors to select only the

best; and Mr. W. W. Tarn's familiarity with the intricate details of the international politics of the eastern Mediterranean made his services indispensable. His narrative begins with the years after Ipsus (The New Hellenistic Kingdoms) and carries us up to the point where Philip V. was ready to turn his attention toward Italy and Rome (Macedonia and Greece, The Struggle of Egypt against Syria and Macedonia, The Greek Leagues and Macedonia).

The reader is allowed to turn aside from dynastic rivalries and league politics to consider the intellectual life of Athens (C. F. Angus), Alexandrian literature (E. A. Barber), and Hellenistic science and mathematics (Dr. W. H. S. Jones and Sir Thomas L. Heath). There can be no doubt that we are in a new age, when Athens, vainly trying to maintain her self-respect, is famous only for the New Comedy and for her philosophers preaching resignation when rebellion is impossible, the Stoics with detachment as their goal and the Epicureans seeking peace at any price. Athens is now eager above all else to keep outside the current of life. To complete the picture one must mention that philosophic defense of absolutism, the doctrine of the *ἐμπύχος νόμος*, which was evolved to excuse the new monarchies in the eyes of all lovers of liberty. This was the age of Deification.

When we turn to Alexandria we find a multitude of prose writers whose works have perished, presumably because the multifarious demands upon prose as the ordinary means of expression rendered it so slovenly that it was not worth preserving (p. 249). Poetry was only a little more fortunate. The third century was too modern, whether compared with the preceding centuries or with our own age, ever to be regarded as classical. It combined meticulous scholarship, pedantic erudition, and amazing scientific discoveries with a flood of popular treatises which suggests the twentieth-century book trade. A reader uninstructed in science and mathematics has only to study the brief chapter on Hellenistic progress in these fields to understand how far from elementary was the scientific knowledge of this century.

The loss of the historical works is not hard to understand. Since they dealt with affairs in which Rome was not greatly interested at this time, they would make little appeal to later generations of Romans; and the picture of warring kings and leagues and city states was scarcely edifying to the Greeks themselves. But the disappearance of these works makes the historian's task difficult and perilous. Tarn's introductory paragraph (p. 76) warns the reader not to expect finality, particularly in chronological matters. His words had barely been printed when Professor Ferguson (*Class. Phil.*, XXIV. [1929] 1-31) proved that the affairs of Athens between Ipsus and the capture of the city by Demetrius Poliorcetes had been quite misunderstood. Moreover, an inscription recently found near the entrance of the Athenian Acropolis, dated in 292 B.C. (*A. J. A.*, XXXIII. 102), promises to bring fundamental changes in Athenian chronology between 300 and 100.

By checking through Tarn's chapters, one can readily estimate the immense debt which the historian of the third century owes to the study of epigraphy. Nearly every page contains one or more statements which are based on epigraphic records alone; and for the most part the records are uncited. One need not add that papyri are just as indispensable as the inscriptions. Considering the scattered nature of the sources and the complicated character of the events of the period, one can not praise too highly these chapters. If the reader, like the reviewer, occasionally becomes dizzy as he studies them, he will be the more ready to understand and to excuse the confusion which appears in the index, *e.g.*, under the heading Stratonice.

The Capitoline wolf on the cover of the volume may be taken as indicative of the importance of the chapters devoted to Rome. To Dr. H. Stuart Jones was assigned the difficult task of analyzing the sources for the tradition of early Roman history; and he shares with Mr. Hugh Last the chapters on Rome's career to the beginning of the fourth century. Chronologically these chapters might well have been included in the earlier volumes, but a desire not to interrupt the thread of Roman history is responsible for their postponement. The reader may be puzzled by the absence of chapters on the Etruscan and Italian neighbors of Rome, but these subjects were assigned to volume IV. In passing it may be noted that Mr. Last, in disagreement with Professor Conway in the earlier volume, sees in the non-Indo-European Etruscans descendants of the neolithic inhabitants of central Italy; and he believes that the natural resources of Etruria were mainly responsible for the fact that Etruria was the centre from which a knowledge of arts and crafts spread over the more backward parts of the peninsula. Nor does Dr. Jones accept Professor Conway's view that there was a racial difference between patricians and plebeians.

Again one notices the hesitant way in which the authors unravel the thread of the story; and one may become weary of the refrains "the explanation (or evidence) is still to seek", and "it would be rash to assert". One may note also a tendency for the writers to take for granted that the reader is well informed about the course of Roman history. To take two examples, the uninformed reader will be puzzled by enigmatic and anticipatory references to the *fœdus Cassianum*, and should he attempt to refresh his memory by reference to the index, he will fail to find the *fœdus* listed unless he looks for *Cassianum fœdus*. Likewise, Mr. Last's excellent analysis of the historical value of the legends of the kings presupposes a knowledge of these legends.

In early Roman history there is abundant opportunity for captious criticism, if one were inclined to criticize everything with which one does not agree. So great a part does the subjective element play in all histories of this period. Both authors show a desire to sift and weigh the evidence, and the result is a reasoned presentation of their preferences when two or more interpretations are possible. The reviewer has long felt that the uncertainty of ancient history gives to its study an added

interest; and for that reason he welcomes a form of treatment which allows the reader to understand the problems. Exposition and narrative are of course retarded, but the thoughtful student will not complain. But when once the problem is stated and a solution is offered, the curious reader is left without clear guidance if he should wish to pursue the investigation further, for the bibliographies are not designed primarily to save the time of students desirous of information on specific questions. But this is inevitable, since the *Cambridge Ancient History* is committed to the policy of eliminating as many foot-notes as possible.

To return to our story, the French scholar Professor L. Homo describes the Gallic wars of Rome. Then Professor F. E. Adcock, turning aside from his editorial duties, gives us a critical account of the conquest of central Italy. From this point Professor Tenney Frank, with his customary clarity and scholarship, carries us on through the wars with Pyrrhus and Carthage to the outbreak of the war with Hannibal. His section on the Ebro treaty should be read as a corrective to Professor Schulten's pro-Punic analysis of it. Finally Professor M. Holleaux brings us back to the Balkan peninsula with his account of the Romans in Illyria.

The volume contains fourteen maps, a chronological table, genealogical trees for the Hellenistic monarchs, and the usual bibliographies and indexes. The 'Index of Passages Referred To' might well have included such inscriptions as the *Lex Coloniae Genitivae Juliae* and the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum*, both of which are quoted (pp. 430 n., 420). Three chronological notes on the first treaty between Rome and Carthage and the battles of Cos and Sellasia seek to justify the dates for these events given in the text. In conclusion, the volume unquestionably ranks with the best of its predecessors.

ALLEN B. WEST.

Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome VII., *La République Romaine et les Rois Indigènes*; Tome VIII., *Jules César et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigènes.* (Paris: Hachette. 1929. Pp. 312, 306. 45 fr. each.)

THE brightness of authentic record illumines but faintly the first century of Roman rule in the African lands once held by Carthage. A mutilated section of an agrarian law, an uneven and rhetorical account of the struggle with Jugurtha, three Latin inscriptions, and a few incidental references in classical literature form the basis of the seventh instalment of M. Gsell's monumental work. It begins with the typical chapters of "the History of Any Roman Province", provincial organization (pp. 1-37), a classification of the inhabitants (pp. 37-73), and of the land (pp. 74-98), followed by a synthesis of the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the province (pp. 98-122). There is something so canonical about this form of presentation that one would expect to find

it dull. But the author has an enthusiasm and skill great enough to make the usual and formal appear attractive.

The digressive introduction on the origin and use of the term Africa, in which evidence is presented, hypotheses are examined, and conclusions drawn with clarity and moderation, gives the tone of the entire volume. Many of the more striking generalizations of other modern scholars are quietly sentenced and calmly executed by the author. We read, for example, that there was little public land left in the original province when Caesar entered it (p. 91); that there were few large private holdings (pp. 92-94); that there is little evidence of large slave gangs (p. 97); that the industrial activity of Carthage was not taken over by Utica (p. 106); and that the Romanization of the province during this period was almost negligible (p. 115).

In the sandy waste of lacunae dotted with mirage-like fancies and opinions, the Jugurtha of Sallust has the outward appearance of solidity and refuge. M. Gsell examines this document with more vigor and with less mercy than he is wont to display in his treatment of more recent reconstructions. His account (pp. 125-262) is at once a thorough and independent piece of research. The author does not hesitate to cross the boundaries of Africa Vetus when his subject carries him beyond its limits. He interprets his province as the war and assumes the right, if not the duty, to visit Spain, Gaul, northern Italy, and Rome, wherever, in fact, the causes or results of the campaign have left a record. The independence of his work appears clearly in the foot-notes. One reference to Boissier, one to Pais, two to Schulten (both from the Numantia) represent, if they do not quite complete the list of citations of recent historiography. In this section, too, one notes the restraint, the careful division of fact and of fancy, the modest and tentative presentation of new hypotheses.

From the viewpoint of pure technique the most successful work of the author appears in the concluding chapter. With a prefatory warning that we know almost nothing concerning events in Africa for the more than fifty years between Marius and Caesar, M. Gsell devotes thirty pages to a lucid discussion of "almost nothing".

The period covered by the eighth volume, from 49 B.C. to 42 A.D., begins with the confusion of civil war and ends with the acceptance by Rome of direct control of all Mediterranean Africa. The ill-fated campaign of Curio and the successful one of Caesar are described in detail sufficient to take up one-half of the volume. In fact Cato Uticensis departs this life and is buried in its geographical centre.

It was unfortunate for Africa that Caesar came to her so late in the brief period of his sole rule. M. Gsell presents the evidence, indefinite and incomplete, of Caesar's reconstruction. It was the work of a harried and hurried administrator. A new province was blocked out, a few new colonies (perhaps only two) were led out to the old province, and plans were drawn up for the refoundation of Carthage. The Ides of March did not alter these beginnings, but Caesar's death undoubtedly postponed

the rapid Romanization of Africa, and permitted the writing of one more chapter in the history of the native kingdoms. It is to this interesting phase of North African history that the author devotes the second part of his volume.

The annals of the years 44-27 B.C. (pp. 183-205) give to Africa her due share of the civil strife which convulsed the entire empire. They also afford an illustration of the methods of Augustus the Compromiser. From 33 B.C. to 25 B.C. Mauretania was without a king. Augustus did not make it a province, although he assigned to it a large number of veteran colonies. The final decision, made in 25 B.C., was to establish a kingdom of Mauretania under Juba II., one of the strangest characters in Roman history.

M. Gsell discusses the career of Juba both as ruler (pp. 206-250) and as writer (pp. 251-278). Most significant of his public acts was his marriage with Cleopatra's daughter, since it gave to the Mauretanians a queen who exercised sovereign power. We do not know to what extent she was responsible for the Hellenistic leanings of her husband. In any event Caius Julius Juba did not forget Rome nor his patron Augustus. The name of his capital, Caesarea, and the foundation of an imperial cult centre bear witness to his loyalty. To M. Gsell most striking of all his characteristics is the cosmopolitanism of this king; "numide par sa naissance, punique par la force d'attraction que, pendant des siècles, Carthage avait exercée sur sa race, romain par ses années d'enfance et de jeunesse passées dans la capitale du monde, par les attaches d'intérêt et de reconnaissance qui le liaient à Auguste, grec par son éducation et ses goûts artistiques et littéraires, égyptien grécisé par son mariage" (p. 236).

The complex of inherited and acquired characteristics was too intricate for the intellectual powers of its possessor. He tried his hand at philology, geography, zoölogy, botany, mythology, history, archaeology, painting, and the theatre. An examination of the fragments from his numerous works causes our author but slight regret for the loss of the originals.

The final chapter relates the events of the weak and colorless reign of Juba's son, Ptolemy. With the death of Ptolemy, slain by the orders of his cousin, Caligula, came the end of the last native kingdom. At that point M. Gsell leaves us waiting hopefully for a volume on the work of Augustus and his successors.

The reader of any one of M. Gsell's volumes soon comes to acquire a feeling of trustfulness, a confidence which is given alone to the master of his subject. There is no haste, no omission, no sacrifice of clarity for brevity's sake. Facts, probabilities, and possibilities are all presented, woven together to form a story which is fundamentally human. In M. Gsell's pages the past lives once more. It was therefore with no small self-congratulation that the reviewer resisted the charm of the story to the extent of discovering two errors in this volume, [a]ucune on page 160 and Arn[i]ensis on page 202.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Medieval Foundations of Western Civilization. By GEORGE C. SELLERY, Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences and Professor of History, University of Wisconsin, and A. C. KREY, Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1929. Pp. xiv, 633. \$3.50.)

HERE is another of the books which aim to "tell something about everything", in this case over a period of thirteen centuries. As to the wisdom of such undertakings there is room for a wide variety of opinion. There can be no doubt that they are "called for", in other words, that the makers of school and college programmes find them convenient for their purposes and that wide-awake publishers see profit in coöperating with willing authors to their mutual advantage. If it is true that there is no more fatal error in the teaching of history than the attempt to "cover the ground", then it would seem to follow that the same effort is equally misplaced in the writing of books intended for use in teaching. The obvious danger in this kind of writing is the lack of perspective, the failure to bring out the high lights, to show the difference between the important and the unimportant, the almost dead level of style—if indeed one can fairly speak of style at all in this connection.

The question is then, not whether books of this type shall be written; that is settled. They will be written. The only reasonable inquiry in the given case is whether the work is well done. The present volume "covers" the period from the breaking of the Roman frontier in 378 to the end of the seventeenth century, and includes the widest possible range of territory. The title might lead one to expect a series of dissertations upon origins and their working out into the permanent institutions of Western life. Instead of this we find a continuous narrative written in a direct, straightforward style, without attempt at ornamentation but enlivened by occasional colloquialisms and modern analogies.

The authors are teachers of long experience familiar with the needs of the class-room as they see them and keeping these needs in mind at every stage of their work. There is abundant evidence that they have read widely and have appropriated the results of critical scholarship. Their conclusions are expressed briefly and moderately. It is not likely that any form of religious or national or social faith will be seriously offended by any of their utterances. The work is carefully done, and the suppression of all show of learned apparatus is altogether commendable.

What we miss more than anything else is adequate reference to original material. If we were in our student days again we would gladly sacrifice pages of this easy narrative for a few passages of Gregory of Tours, a few quotations from the Saxon chroniclers or from the spicy correspondence of King Henry IV. and Gregory VII., the magnificent proclamations of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII., the searching criti-

cism of Marsiglio of Padua, or the sledge-hammer blows of Martin Luther. These are the things that bring the mind of the student into direct and thrilling contact with the real "foundations". This criticism applies especially to the treatment of the intellectual and artistic side of the story. The authors have evidently read and appropriated technical appreciations of the masterpieces of literature and the other arts, but would the pupil for whom the book is intended gain from it an adequate comprehension of their meaning? On the other hand it may well be said that the book is not meant to meet any such demand, but rather to stimulate an interest which will lead to the study of more detailed presentations. The authors would doubtless welcome this result above any other form of success; for this is the teacher's highest reward: that his own work be absorbed into the larger gains of specialized study. Guidance into this larger field is furnished by the extended bibliographies arranged to accompany the several chapters but grouped together at the end of the book.

A word as to the maps, eighteen in number, which seem to be rather a novelty in their method. The use of colors is entirely discarded. The divisions of territory are indicated by a system of dots and hatchings, clear enough when one has mastered the explanatory guides, but not meeting the eye at once like the traditional contrasting colors. Great movements, such as the crusades and the voyages of discovery, are shown by variously broken lines and arrows, which answer fairly well in open spaces but produce a confusing effect when they are crowded together. Almost too ingenious is the map showing the barbarian penetration of the fifth century by a system of lines radiating from the points, sometimes of starting, sometimes of settlement.

We do not hesitate to recommend this book in the words of—was it Abraham Lincoln?—"if you want this kind of thing this is just the kind of thing you want".

E. EMERTON.

Founders of the Middle Ages. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND, Professor of Latin in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 366. \$4.00.)

THIS volume comprises eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1928. In the preface the author states that they are here printed substantially as then delivered, with only slight additions and rearrangement. This probably accounts for certain repetitions and emphases which occasionally surprise the reader. In the first two lectures is posed the main thesis of the book, the appropriation of pagan classical culture by the Church through her spokesmen of the third to the sixth century. Then follow chapters on Ambrose the Mystic, Jerome the Humanist, Boëthius the Scholastic, The New Poetry, The New Education, and St. Augustine and Dante. The titles of the chapters are happily chosen; they indicate in marked degree the subject-matter of the

book and the point of view of the author. It will be noted also that they impose distinct limitations. Not all the "founders" are discussed, nor are all aspects of the thought of those treated equally emphasized. The Greek Fathers of the Church as a whole are excluded, while philosophy and theology are given only scant space. Furthermore, the author concerns himself "merely with that aspect of [Christian apologetics] which presents a programme of reconciliation, an attempt to solve the problem of what to do with Pagan culture in the light of the new faith" (p. 38).

The main burden of the book is, then, to show that through these men, whom the author chooses to call founders of the Middle Ages, much of what was best in classical thought and expression was woven into the warp and the woof of Christian thought and Christian feeling. The Fathers of the Church knew the pagan classics and wrote for an audience that was still familiar with them. Himself an accomplished classical scholar, the author finds that Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Prudentius, to mention only outstanding examples, were steeped in the thought and the spirit of pagan authors. With the thought of Cicero, especially, they were familiar, and through him with Plato, though they knew well their Virgil also.

The author's judgments rest upon thorough familiarity with the works of the early Christian writers, and his writing therefore possesses a freshness and vigor which comes only from such acquaintance. But he would doubtless be the first to disclaim anything particularly novel, either in subject-matter or viewpoint, in his volume. Controversial material there is in plenty, but the author finds himself in agreement with a substantial element of the modern students of the period. His contribution lies rather in the drawing together—and this is especially true of the chapter on education—of material which is widely scattered and therefore difficult of access to the more general reader. To the reviewer the characterization of Augustine as the bridge between Cicero and Dante seems the most original and stimulating part of the book.

Another welcome quality of the book is its author's ability sympathetically to meet on their own ground the characters whom he depicts, to throw himself understandingly into the situations which they had to face. This is no morphological study of a dead past. Indeed, his sympathy for his subject and despite for the "higher criticism" which, in his judgment, would warp the period and emasculate its characters, leads him to constantly iterated thrusts at such critics, whom he compares to Euhemerus (pp. 56-57). He finds that much of their destructive criticism, onion peeling as he calls it, is occasioned by the inability of a small mind to comprehend all the breadth and depth of a large one.

Constant witticism at the expense of the critics probably went very well before an audience, when there was a considerable period between the various lectures. In a published book where it is all spread out before the reader it comes to seem rather over-done, even to one who agrees with it. In reading the book one suspects that perhaps after all its chief aim is to satirize certain modern tendencies in scholarship and

education. In at least one place the author's disgust of modern criticism leads him to twist the thought of one of his contemporaries. On page 125 he makes Kirsopp Lake "declare that a departure from orthodoxy is always in the direction of truth", when what that author really says is "that a nearer approach to truth is always a departure from orthodoxy" (*cf.* note 40, p. 307)—which is quite another story.

Hypothesis and "onion peeling" are constantly decried, but the author seems to employ a certain amount of both when it is to the credit of "the Founders"; *e.g.*, the explanation of the legendary in Jerome (pp. 123-124), the waiving of the charges preferred against Boëthius (p. 159; though on p. 179 one gathers that there may have been some truth in them); the hypothesis regarding the discussions of the liberal arts accessible to Cicero (p. 226), or the suggestion that Falconia Proba "smiled" at her own patchwork of Virgil (p. 201). The author makes no assertions, but his deft insinuations are perhaps more effective in wooing the mind of the reader than would be more positive statement. His definition of humanism is so all-inclusive that it hardly appears to be descriptive of a group. It seems to indicate an ideal rather than a real, or even possible, embodiment. His comparison of Gregory I. with President Eliot of Harvard will probably impress many as fanciful and hardly to the point; to some his praise of the poetry of Prudentius may seem to come from the heart rather than the head.

But there is no reason for the reviewer to play the carping critic. The book is not to be judged on the basis of this or that statement with which one may disagree. Thoughtful, beautifully written, with a fine mingling of humor and sarcasm, whimsical and urbane, it is a work of popularization by a ripe scholar who has, by long carrying of the burden in the heat of the day, won the right to speak. Dr. Rand has proved once again that even the modern humanist can write a book that the uninitiated layman will enjoy reading, a quality which he ascribes to the "humanists" of whom he wrote.

AUSTIN P. EVANS.

La Berbérie Orientale sous la Dynastie des Benoûl-Arlab, 800-909.

Par M. VONDERHEYDEN, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Geuthner. 1927. Pp. 331. 75 fr.)

THIS title may suggest little to the general historian, but the obscure dynasty here treated was one of the pivot-points of history in the long conflict between the Asiatic and the European civilizations. It has, of course, been a major puzzle how in so short a time North Africa, outwardly speaking Latin and thinking Roman *mores* and Christian religion, passed over into North Africa, speaking Arabic and thinking Arab *mores* and the Muslim faith; how the environment of Apuleius and St. Augustine was completely transformed into one of Muslim warriors, theologians, canonists, devotees, speaking nothing but Arabic and forming a population more entirely Muslim than anywhere else except, perhaps.

Arabia itself. The one thing left over from Rome seems to have been the ability to produce buildings of solid, well-cut stone; but the art was that of Iraq.

In the dynasty of the Aghlabids, an Arab family beginning as vassals of the 'Abbasids but very quickly shaking themselves free, we see in the course of little more than a century that transformation carrying itself out. For it seems to have worked of itself. Latin North Africa collapsed like a card-house and the only real opposition came, and continued to come, from the old, unsubdued Berber tribes. And that opposition took the form, not of anything genuinely native, but of heretical and schismatic semi-Muslim sects. The new faith had so much vitality as to produce its own opponents. The whole process can be read in lucid and accurate *précis* in Stanley Lane-Poole's "Mohammadan Dynasties" (pp. 33-39). But in this book we have it for the first time in detail as brought out in a study of this one, pivotal, dynasty. Its seat was what we now call Tunis and Tunis had been Carthage. In contrast to this heathen antiquity there had arisen in the desert a new and purely Muslim city, Qairawan, destined to be one of the Holy Cities of Islam ranking after Jerusalem. But Tunis on the sea held its own, and from it the Aghlabids dominated in their century of power the mid-Mediterranean as Carthage had done before, and even, for a time, ruled Sicily. Thus Tunis was the City of Africa (Ifriqiya) and, in romance, was the "home-town" of the "African" magician of our old friend Aladdin. When the Aghlabids fell of their own corruption and before the attacks of the Shi'ite Fatimids the city became al-Mahdiya, but since Turkish times it has been the Beylic of Tunis, although controlled by France since 1881, and now a centre of Bolshevik intrigue.

This study of the formative century of development under the Aghlabids divides into an introduction and conclusion with nine chapters between. A statement of these chapters will show the drift of the whole: (1) the constitutional relations of the Aghlabid rulers ("emirs" they were called) to the 'Abbasid caliphate; (2) the indigenous populations; (3) the original Arab invaders; (4) the theologians, canonists, religious leaders of the Muslims—these are called "gens de science" but the "science" was purely theological; (5) the functionaries of the state, court, military, legal, religious, provincial; (6) the emirs and their immediate entourage and private life—a series of descriptions of them as individuals; (7) their domestic policies and the economic situation of the country under them, financial and religious, their growing unpopularity; (8) their foreign politics—their relations with their neighbors; (9) the Shi'ite invasion from the West and the fall of the Aghlabids. All this is well and clearly handled with a full use of the Arabic and European sources. Very curiously there is no mention either of Lane-Poole's golden book or of the still fuller *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie* by E. de Zambour or of Sachau's *Verzeichniss Muhammedanischer Dynastien*, a supplement to Lane-Poole. Yet all these give

details on the Aghlabids in Tunis and Sicily and the first two are based on the coins, the only sure basis in such matters that there is.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Geschichte des Deutschen Strafrechts bis zur Karolina. Von RUDOLF HIS. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below, F. Meinecke, und A. Brackmann.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. xv, 188. 9 M.).

PRIOR to the appearance of the present work, the most recent authentic compendium on the evolution of German penal law was that of Carl Ludwig von Bar,¹ published in 1882. Subsequent scholarly activity in this field has been assiduous and it was high time to incorporate the accumulating results in a fresh general survey. In the volume before us this difficult task has been essayed for the period extending to the enactment, in 1532, of the comprehensive imperial statute known as *Karolina*. Professor His divides his discussion into three parts: (1) the misdeed (pp. 1-46), (2) the consequences of the misdeed (pp. 47-105), and (3) specific crimes (pp. 106-180). The first two parts form a succinct yet luminous history of Germanic criminal law in general, and they reveal a comprehensive grasp of the legal ideas and penal methods which obtained in the period under view. The third part recounts, in most instances with gratifying fullness of illustration, the evolution in definition and treatment of the specific crimes. Unlike the work of von Bar, this manual does not include a survey of modern German criminal law, nor does it attempt to summarize the development of the penal law either of Rome or of the Christian Church. With a single proviso it may be said that the author strictly confines his discussion to the field designated in the title. The proviso is that the word *Deutschen* in the title must be understood to mean "Germanic" or "Teutonic" rather than "German" in the narrow sense. In the field which it comprehends this work unquestionably supersedes that of von Bar; for besides embodying the net achievements of the last forty-five years of research, it is broader in scope, more intensive in treatment, characterized by greater exactness in detail and definition. Also, in the judgment of the reviewer, it is less opinionated. Professor His takes into account variations in legal development not only among the "stems" of Germany proper but among all branches of the Germanic racial stock. The author's mastery of sources is evinced not least by his profuse collation of legal terms in the old and middle forms of the several Germanic tongues. Nor is he ignorant of the influence of Roman and canon law and of Italian jurisprudence upon the development of Germanic law. The reviewer finds

¹ *Geschichte des Deutschen Strafrechts und der Strafrechtstheorien*, issued as the first volume (the only one published) of a projected *Handbuch des Deutschen Strafrechts*. Except one section, this work has been translated in full into English and forms the major part of the sixth volume in the Continental Legal History Series.

little occasion for adverse criticism. It is true that the documentation does not include detailed references to the sources, but this omission was required by the plan of the series in which the volume appears. Moreover, some compensation is made by very copious citation of authorities; the general bibliography, quite comprehensive in itself, is heavily supplemented by special bibliographies for the several sections. One wonders somewhat why no special bibliography was offered on the falsification of coins and precious metals, and it may be submitted that the treatment of these subjects seems comparatively scant. The index has been compiled with care and is reasonably adequate. For *Kulturgeschichte* no less than for the history of law this book has positive and direct value; it is a contribution which no serious student of Medieval civilization can afford to neglect.

EINAR JORANSON.

The Sheriff Court Book of Fife, 1515-1522. Edited by WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON, M.A., Ph.D. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, vol. XII.] (Edinburgh: the Society. 1928. Pp. cvi, 440.)

MEDIEVAL administration in Scotland is still awaiting its historian. It seemed likely that administration in England would be left similarly neglected by reason of what often seems a superabundance of record material, but Dr. T. F. Tout's undaunted labors have done much to remove this reproach. In Scotland, however, the difficulty has always been the paucity of evidence, for the national records have suffered severely not merely from the usual havoc of fire, flood, and indifference, but also from the vicissitudes which befell them when they were taken south by Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell. Consequently, the motto, *colligite fragmenta ne pereant*, which the Scottish History Society has adopted to describe the work to which it has devoted itself for more than forty years, is peculiarly apt; and this study by Dr. Dickinson of one aspect of Scottish administration indicates how industry combined with skill can surmount initial obstacles. For although the office of sheriff was introduced in the early twelfth century and the establishment of sheriff courts followed almost immediately, yet the earliest extant sheriff court-book comes from the years 1503-1511. It is known that similar records went back much earlier but, as in England, they seem never to have been returned into official custody but remained in private hands to meet all the dangers that that involved. It is perhaps not too much to hope that the labors of the Historical Manuscripts Commission may bring to light invaluable material at present lying buried in private collections which have not yet been properly calendared.

Until then Dr. Dickinson's book will remain the final authority on the history of the Medieval sheriffdom in Scotland. For though the text he has edited with scrupulous fidelity covers the period 1515-1522, yet his introduction and long appendixes are to a large extent concerned

with origins and early development. He has frequently had to extract what information he could from undated charters, a task beset with obvious dangers, and he has always been glad to avail himself, wherever possible, of the work of other scholars, notably Professor W. A. Morris, on analogous developments in other countries. Such evidence as can at present be adduced suggests that the sheriff was given a place, in what had hitherto been a Celtic organization, by David I. (1124-1153), perhaps as a result of his sojourn in England during his youth at the court of his brother-in-law, Henry I. Since Scotland had till then been little affected by feudalizing tendencies, the sheriffdoms did not accommodate themselves, as in England, to previously existing territorial arrangements, but were simply artificial units formed round a castle, after the fashion of the Continental chatellany. We should expect the old Celtic organization to make a strenuous resistance to the introduction of an alien method of government, but, unfortunately, all details of such a struggle seem irrecoverable. But some of the features of the old system lived on: the "mair", once the powerful representative of the king in the localities, became what Dr. Dickinson terms the "orderly serjeant" of the sheriff court, the agent by whom the sheriff's instructions were carried out; the "judex", once the dispenser of customary law, had gradually to retire in face of a new, a written, a national law, administered by the sheriff, and degenerated into being merely the "dempster" or announcer of the judgments of the sheriff court, "a poore ignorant old beggarlie fellowe". But this decline in status must have been gradual, for Fife itself, like other parts of Scotland, remained for long a stronghold of ancient legal customs which may well have caused bewilderment to those not brought up amongst them, and we may perhaps observe that as late as 1294-1295 a payment of 26 s. 8 d. a year was being made *judici reddenti judicia in comitatu de Fife* (Joseph Stevenson, *Documents*, I. 410, 414).

A sound historical background having been obtained, Dr. Dickinson has written a lucid and concise account of the officers, the suitors, the procedure, and the legal competence of the sheriff court. Slips and what seem to be misinterpretations are extremely rare. The statement, however, that a fragment of the account of William Freskin, sheriff of Invernairn in 1204, has been preserved (p. 358) is misleading; we have only a reference in an indenture of 1296 to the fact that such an account was at that time in existence; the earliest extant original accounts come from well on in the fourteenth century. Nor can we accept the evidence for the suggestion that in 1250 "the judicial decisions of Parliament were seldom recorded" (p. xxix). This is really the opinion expressed in the introduction to the second volume of the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (p. xix). But it is very doubtful whether the meeting in question was a parliament, for it is dangerous to identify *concilium* with *parlamentum* since the normal equivalent is *colloquium*, and "judicial decisions" strains the sense of the passage. In connection with the existence of a small committee of the sheriff court, to which the functions of the larger body were

delegated, we may perhaps point out that much highly suggestive information will be found in the recently published volume of the Chetham Society, *Calendar of County Court, City Court and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297*. But to end on a note of criticism would be ungracious. We are indeed grateful to Dr. Dickinson for the elaborate care which has gone to the writing of this work of authoritative scholarship.

GEORGE SAYLES.

Das Südwestdeutsche Reichsdorf in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

Von EDWIN ROEDDER. (Lahr. i. B.: Schauenberg. 1928. Pp. xxviii, 463. 22 M.)

THREE peasant villages, Ober-, Mittel-, and Unter-Schefflenz, situated about 27 miles due east of Heidelberg in what is known as the Bauland of Baden, are the subject of this, the latest of Ernst Ochs's *Arbeiten über Mundarten und Volkstum Südwestdeutschlands*. The author's primary interest was the speech of these villagers and from this study he proceeded to that of their history and their folkways. Printing costs, however, decreed that what was secondary in his mind should be first in publication.

About the villages there are only occasional references before the fourteenth century and not until the latter part of the sixteenth do records appear in sufficient abundance to make possible the writing of an adequate historical narrative. For about a hundred pages, consequently, Dr. Roedder can offer only what the archaeologist would call a "restoration" of the history of the villages based on the general history of southwestern Germany. For example, he devotes eight pages to the causes and course of the Peasants' War of 1525 and then concludes that while no doubt many a Schefflenzer had shed his blood in the uprising, the villages probably participated very little or did so only under compulsion. For the early and Medieval periods the author, moreover, is quite dependent upon secondary works, and some questionable statements occur. A transition from a natural to a money economy was hardly "sehr merklich" in Charlemagne's day, and the Frankish Empire did not precisely fall to pieces along natural lines in 843. When, however, local records become more plentiful, Dr. Roedder's history becomes invaluable. His pages then are crowded with matter fresh from the sources and appealing to historians of every shade of interest. There are intimate pictures of peasant life in the region, clearly worked out accounts of the involved and interminable quarrels of the lords of the country over the revenues of the villagers. The Pfalz, it appears, suffered more in the wars waged by Louis XIV. than in the Thirty Years' War. In the period of the Napoleonic occupation the villagers were driven by necessity to attack their forest preserves in order to meet the exactions of their masters. Their wood curiously enough found its way to Holland and thence, no doubt, to England. Of the last fifteen years less is said than one might, perhaps unreasonably, expect.

The section of the book entitled *Volkstum*, a term which the author might more aptly have translated into English as "folkways" than as "folklore", photographs the Schefflenz villagers as they were in the latter half of the last century. Urban influences were creeping into their lives and transforming them; still the change had not become so marked as to obliterate the *mores* which had come down through the centuries. Dr. Roedder's marshalling of this material leaves nothing to be desired. The people are pictured in their life at home, in their work in the fields, in their community relations through the seasons of the year, and from the cradle to the grave. In these seventy-five pages every thread in the warp and woof of sturdy South German life is microscopically examined, and the author's belief that these villagers are fairly typical of Southwestern Germany is substantiated. Many of the stories and customs in vogue in the Schefflenz towns are to be found also in the Breisgau, and but a few days in the hamlets of central Pennsylvania would be richly rewarded by the rediscovery of some of them in but slightly modified form.

Despite his long residence in the United States Dr. Roedder only occasionally slips into Americanized German. This one may easily forgive, and much more if there were need of it, for the intimate warmth that pervades the book because of its author's ability to think and write as his home folk thought and spoke.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Acta Concilii Constanciensis. Herausgegeben in Verbindung mit J. HOLLNSTEINER und H. HEIMPEL von HEINRICH FINKE. Vierter Band. (Münster i. W.: Regensburg. 1928. Pp. ciii, 1024. Paper 48 M.; cloth 58 M.)

THE importance of Finke's work, of which the fourth and final volume is now before us, is well expressed in the last sentence of his preface: "The history of the Council of Constance can now be written." The meaning of that is not quite that we now have access to all the documentary material relating to the council; for the editor is careful to point out many unexplored regions which may yield still further and richer harvests. It does mean, however, that these four stately volumes supplement the work of previous investigators to such an extent that a new history of this earliest and in some respects most important of European congresses may well be undertaken.

The story of the present work is peculiar. It is now forty years since the author, then a young *privatdocent* at the University of Münster, in the preface to his *Forschungen und Quellen*, declared his intention to publish a collection of *acta inedita* as a preliminary to a history of the council. Seven years later, in 1896, appeared the first volume of this collection covering, however, only the years 1410 to 1414, not reaching the council itself, but furnishing valuable introductory material. The effect was obviously to postpone the progress of the main work and in

fact it was twenty-seven years before the second volume was ready, and then it was found to contain, not records of the council but literary productions of various kinds: diaries, abstracts of sermons, and treatises on reform, with their prolonged discussions of the foundations of the church constitution—again most valuable contributions, but not "*Acta*".

Meanwhile the editor's interest, if it had not slackened, had been diverted into other fields, and it was only after two younger collaborators had been called in that it was possible to issue the third volume in the year 1926. The inevitable delays in publication consequent upon the war were added to other obstacles. The two hundred and seventy-four numbers of this volume were grouped according to their relation to the four popes of the council with more than one-third of the space given to Benedict XIII. and the affairs of Spain.

And now we have the fourth volume, the largest of all, more than eleven hundred pages, bringing the number of *Acta* up to 548 in addition to the 113 numbers in volume I. The contents of volume IV. are grouped according to subjects. First comes the general introduction to the whole work repeatedly announced and postponed in previous volumes. In this introduction covering a hundred pages are given, first a list of publications of source-material, beginning with Anton Sorg's curious illustrated edition of Richental's chronicle in 1483 and coming down through v. d. Hardt's gigantic collection in six volumes (1696-1700) to the scattered documents found in numerous works not primarily concerned with the council. Then follows an exhaustive list of manuscripts almost all of which, with the exception of the English and the Polish-Russian, the editor has personally examined. The arrangement is by countries and brief comments serve to show the comparative value of the several pieces.

About nine hundred pages are given to the six groups of documents relating to the following subjects: (1) Spain, with a supplement on the coronation of Martin V.; (2) the discussions about tyrannicide, divided between the trial of Jean Petit and the almost equally famous case of Johannes Falkenberg; (3) matters pertaining to the Empire, especially important for the journeys of Sigismund and his relations with the council; (4) minor groups including one relating to Hus and Bohemian affairs; (5) treatises on reform, (a) *Capitula Agendorum* with a long introduction to show that these are mainly, if not entirely, the work of Cardinal d'Ailly, (b) Dietrich von Nieheim's treatise: *Avisamenta Edita in Concilio Constanciensi*, generally cited since v. d. Hardt as *De Necessitate Reformationis Ecclesiae in Capite et in Membris*; this highly important evidence of the reforming spirit at Constance is here re-edited with the use of manuscript material much more extensive than that employed by v. d. Hardt; (6) additions to volumes I.-IV. occupying 250 pages.

Finally, two elaborate indexes to volumes II.-IV. prepared by Dr. H. Heimpel, one of persons, covering more than one hundred pages and in-

cluding references to v. d. Hardt's volume, and a much shorter one of subjects.

These four volumes represent the life-work of a diligent, learned, and persistent scholar. So far as impartiality is possible in dealing with a subject bristling with controversy he shows no marked partizan attitude. His introductions at the beginning of the several sections are sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to give an idea of the nature of the material and to furnish an outline of the general situation. The brief summaries at the head of every document serve as guides to the reader and help to carry along the story of the council from stage to stage.

Now, who will accept the challenge of the preface and write the definitive history of the Great Council?

E. EMERTON.

Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit.

Von Dr. JOSEF KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Zweiter band, *Die Neuzeit*. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1929. Pp. xii, 553. 24 M.)

THE work completed in this volume affords the most comprehensive treatise on the economic history of Europe produced in any language during the last thirty years. Recent general treatises have been planned on a much smaller scale and have emphasized problems of interpretation. The present work surveys the entire body of material now available in monographic form in German, French, English, and Russian. The volumes in Renard's *Histoire Universelle du Travail* most closely resemble this study in scope and compass, but the treatment of the period since 1500 in that series is distinctly inferior whereas the special distinction of Professor Kulischer's work lies in the careful analysis of the difficult formative period (1500-1789). Sombart's study of this period is really the only general work which surpasses the present volume in thoroughness of documentation, but although Sombart gives more detail he is hardly as trustworthy in the handling of material and his interests are not as broad and free from bias.

As in the first volume of the present work, the general point of view is based upon the traditions of the German historical school, though the new work of Weber and Sombart has been freely used and the generalizations of Schmoller and Bücher have been brought into closer conformity to the objective facts of history. The skill shown in assimilating the new interpretations to the older tradition is one of the most striking features of Professor Kulischer's work. The importance of the rise of capitalism is recognized and many phases of institutional growth are treated with more genuine insight than is shown by Sombart. But this aspect of economic development is held by Kulischer to be only a part of the whole. He contends that the rise of nationalism is the more general

phenomenon and that it is more significant for the characterization of the period. In commenting upon the nineteenth century, he refuses to recognize any "world economy" before 1870, and leaves the reader some doubt of any willingness to adopt Harms's characterization even for the recent period.

There is thus a conscious adherence to the older tradition in preference to the newer views, but the tradition is not accepted without profound modification. The older nationalists made a fetish of the isolation of each national group. Kulischer recognizes explicitly the broader elements of economic development common to Europe as a whole. The history of consumption and the problems of diffusion of new technique are more adequately handled than in the older writings and the transfer of industrial and commercial prestige or "supremacy" from the Mediterranean powers to the Northern powers is carefully sketched. Although the analysis on this point might be developed further, the changes are represented as a result of fundamental economic conditions and not as being primarily an accomplishment of mercantilistic statecraft. Analysis of the influence of geographical and technological factors is not, however, a conspicuous feature of the text.

These matters of general interpretation are not obtrusive, and the care taken to present all of the primary results of monographic work is so evident that one might easily overlook the broader features of the volume. The entire text achieves a high standard of excellence, but in many sections the material is followed so closely that the results are not distinctive. This is notably true of the careful chapters on agrarian conditions. The more original sections are those dealing with the organization of industry and commerce in the period 1500-1789. The putting-out system is described at considerable length, and special attention is given to what is called "centralized manufacture". This form of industrial organization is distinguished, perhaps not too happily, from the factory system. There are good chapters on industrial policy, the crafts, the primary industries, and the condition of the wage-earning class. In connection with commerce and trade there is much essentially new synthesis on occupational specialization, the bourses, banking, and credit organization.

The excellent bibliographical material is somewhat marred by occasional errors in the transliteration of names from the Russian, though most of the errors will be readily corrected by the reader. It is perhaps somewhat more serious to find the author of the *Parfait Negoçiant*, Jacques Savary (1622-1690), confused frequently with the author of the *Dictionary of Commerce*, Jacques Savary des Bruslons (1657-1716).

Because of the quality of the achievement, this study reveals certain weaknesses that underlie nearly all work on the general economic history of Europe. Partly from national pride, partly because of linguistic difficulties, England, France, and Germany play a disproportionate part in the story. The amount of material on the Low Countries, in the languages more commonly known, is happily growing to such proportions

that Holland and Belgium get more nearly the attention that their importance demands. The increase in this material is strikingly reflected in the present work. But Italy does not yet command the place in general narratives that the importance of her history would warrant. This relative neglect of Italian material undoubtedly affects our concepts of the historical movement in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The importance of Italy is recognized in principle in the present volume, but the amount of material on Italy in French, German, and English is still too scant to admit of full appreciation of the place of Italy in the economic history of Europe.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Luther and the Reformation. By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D., D.D.,
Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh. Volume III., *Progress of the Movement, 1521-1529.*
(London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company.
1929. Pp. xvii, 338. \$6.40.)

MOST crucial years in the history of the Reformation are those from the Diet of Worms to the fateful conference of Marburg, years challenging the historian's best powers of delineation and interpretation. Professor Mackinnon has responded with a volume superior in scholarship and urbanity to its predecessors, one that is livelier for its occupation with the times as well as the man, and more convincing because its facts derive more strictly from sources and its judgments less from commentators.

His organization is commensurate with the problem. The first scenes concern Luther at the Wartburg and at Wittenberg, as scholar and practical reformer; the author then launches out to tell or suggest the where and how of the Reformation in Germany, its political ramifications, the impulse to, and the recoil from, the movements of social reform urged on by knights, radicals, peasants; from this tumult he withdraws to ponder deliberately the free-will controversy which alienated Luther and Erasmus; again engaged with practical affairs he sketches the rapid consolidation of the evangelical movement, explains how its church was organized, and passes from the Protestation of 1529 to the tragic epilogue of the sacramentarian schism.

Criticism of the work must take cognizance of the author's primary interest in essentially religious-theological questions. Most satisfactorily he expounds Luther's religious writings and his theological controversies, with Erasmus over the freedom or bondage of the will, with Zwingli over the Eucharist; but while in its attention to political and social questions the book represents an improvement over the earlier volumes, there are yet serious omissions, and it remains an inadequate history of Luther's relation to the problems of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and an unsatisfactory account of the development of Luther's ideas as to intolerance and its justification.

That the biography should neglect to mention that Luther married Catherine von Bora is no mortal sin; it is more serious that it conveys no sense of Germany's political and social situation in 1521, that it gives briefest notice to the spread of the movement from 1525, that it slights "Anabaptism" in all too conventional fashion, and completely forgets the fact, the significance, and the effect of Lutheranism's appeal to the middle class. And what is to account for the defection of so many humanists? Were they motivated by cowardice, imitation of Erasmus, or something creditably deeper; and is no share of the responsibility Luther's?

The account of Luther's intellectual history in respect to political problems deserves indictment at the outset for its scant notice of the important treatise *Von Wellicher Oberkeit* (1523), and its total neglect of the soundest and keenest study yet made of the subject (J. W. Allen, *The Political Conceptions of Luther in Tudor Studies*, 1924). It suffers, despite a serious effort to indicate justly the course and basis of Luther's ideas, from considering his utterances detached from the circumstances of their origin. This deficiency still more seriously vitiates the worth of what is said on the question of tolerance. Here the writings of Völker, Paulus, Evans, would have lent a sense of discrimination which Professor Mackinnon did not bring to his study of the sources in question.

Well to rejoice when Luther proclaims, in 1523, that "Thought is duty free", that God's word and not the sword must contend with heretics; but his preceding sentences make plain that he is condemning the repression of Lutherans begun by Catholic princes. Is Luther in 1524 "still the champion of the free exchange of opinion in the cause of truth" when he writes (December 2) that his Wittenbergers "have at last compelled the canons to agree to abolish the Mass"? The sects, however, are still to be tolerated. But in late 1525 (and this Professor Mackinnon omits altogether) the repression of the "blasphemy" charged now against radicals as well as Papists has become, in Luther's interpretation of the Second Commandment, the highest duty of a prince (*W. A.*, XVI. 467-476). Finally, as to the decision of the Diet of Spire that in one region there must be but one religious teaching, who more than Luther commended it to the princes before the diet or besought his prince more earnestly thereafter to organize the territorial church on reformed lines? And with what consequences for toleration!

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome IX., *Du 1 Juillet 1520 au 3 Février 1525.* Tome X., *Du 5 Février 1525 au 9 Février 1528.* Tome XI. (in page-proof only), *Du 9 Février 1528 au 24 Juillet, 1531.* (Geneva: Kundig. 1924, 1928, 1929.)

THESE registers containing the Latin minutes of the Genevan Council from the early fifteenth century—1409—have been in course of publica-

tion for 28 years. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say councils, as the records cover the decisions of the ordinary council, the council of 50, that of 200, and the general council or popular assembly of all voters. To M. Rivoire was due the initiation of the enterprise and his charming personality continues to preside over the forthcoming volumes. There have been several colleagues in parts of the work, while M. Victor van Berchem has been associated with M. Rivoire since 1906 and the two scholars seem like genii of the state archives, breathing life into the queer writing of the old scribes.

In their preface to volume IX. the editors point out that the epoch covered therein—1520-1525—has received little attention. It is not heroic. Depression in civic enterprise after the death of Berthelier is evident. The check to the alliance with Berne and Fribourg seemed final. It looked as though the Duke of Savoy might be successful in his project of making Geneva the capital of an enlarged ducal territory. There are no opposers to his policy elected into the city administration. But, if out of office, those surviving patriots are very much alive and mindful of the aspirations of the dead Berthelier and the living Besançon Hugues. They continue to assert that their franchises prove conclusively that the duke has no sovereign rights in Geneva. When Pierre de la Baume became first coadjutor and then bishop in his own person, hope ran high of working through him in repulsing Savoy. That he was not of that house, like such a long line of his predecessors, was so much to the good. The citizens got behind the bishop's robes and waved his prerogatives as a flag. But Pierre de la Baume was not to be a popular leader, capable of turning his principality into a temporal possession, as did some contemporaries who accepted reform policies. He had no Protestant inclinations, he was a humanist, had cultivated tastes, and liked the good things of this world. Staying power in any line was, however, entirely lacking in his composition. He was a typical Mr. Facing-both-ways. He declared that he was the faithful servant of Charles V., while he was in mortal terror of Charles III. of Savoy, so that his excessive deference to the latter kept Geneva in constant danger, even while he pretended to be with the citizens. There were moments in which he thought a strong hand would be a pleasant help in time of trouble. Nor was he alone in that opinion. The council, as then constituted, also had leanings towards Savoy assistance. The clergy claimed exemption from the wine tax. Would not the duke help the authorities to convince the clericals that they were not immune from this obligation?

When the new duchess, Beatrice of Portugal, made a visit to Geneva, there was readiness to give her a cordial welcome. But the Genevans soon had cause for annoyance against the duke. He went too far in his pretensions. No privilege was more cherished than that of trial for all causes on Genevan territory alone. The summons to citizens to appear before a Savoy tribunal at Chambéry excited immediate protests which bore fruit.

It is true that certain references to the spread of Luther's ideas begin to figure in the minutes before the close of 1525, but the opposition to Savoy did not spring from them; still less opposition to the bishop. The movements were purely political and based on chartered rights, not on revolutionary claims, and the leaders in any of the protests made against encroachments were not those who were in the least sympathetic to the reform movement, and Calvin was still unknown.

With the sessions recorded in volume X. (1525-1528), the minutes reveal a turn in civic sympathies and opinions. The depression, following the tragedy of Berthelier's execution and the collapse of the proposed alliance with Berne and Fribourg, begins to fade away in the light of a new-born energy. Collisions with the duke become frequent. In 1526, the election of syndics proved a change in public sentiment. A majority was gained in favor of the alliance that had hung fire for seven years. (Berne had hesitated in face of the duke's displeasure.) Now it was definitely desired, while Fribourg had never wavered in her desire for the treaty. In Geneva the articles of alliance were successively approved by the ordinary council and the council of 200, before the question was submitted to the accredited citizens—the Council General—on Sunday, February 25. It was an interesting referendum. The vote was nearly unanimous.

It is interesting to note that the secretary of the council, Étienne Bioley, whose handwriting fills the pages of the registers for nearly eight years, felt obliged to resign, when he saw that the outcome was certain. His successor, Ami Porral, was a man of different metal and more hopeful of Geneva's ability to attain her ends. The patriots who had been forced to take refuge in Fribourg in order to escape possible danger at the hands of the duke, had found him a faithful friend and correspondent, zealous to keep the exiles informed of the trend of home events. Occasionally Porral seems to have let family duties interfere with his official work, as he was frequently absent. Sometimes a substitute took down the minutes for him, but there were three months of sessions unrecorded.

It is also interesting to get a glimpse of the bishop's attitude towards events as they passed. Secretly he favored the alliance, but took infinite pains to express a disapproval in public in order to convince the duke that the step was taken without his sanction. It was rare for a bishop to be present at a general council, but there he was on February 25, where he began by opposing the ratification, even threatening to appeal to pope and emperor in order to stop the proceeding. Then he washed his hands of responsibility and stood aside. If the citizens really thought they were justified in their action by their franchises, written or unwritten, why let them go ahead. He would not put in a veto. To save his face with the duke, Pierre de la Baume took care not to be present when the oath of "Combourgeoisie" was taken on March 12. Pressing business called him to Burgundy.

In Genevan annals, this "Combourgeoisie" was counted as an epoch-making event—different from an alliance between the same parties made in 1477—although it was only for a definite term and nearly three centuries were to pass before Geneva became a member of the Swiss Confederation.

In spite of the defiance of the duke shown in the completion of this alliance in the face of his determined opposition, and with little support from the prince bishop, ten years more were to pass before Geneva stood on her own feet. There was no idea of discarding the bishop. He was prince, and as sovereign the citizens expected him to remain, while they were tenacious about their own privileges. Meanwhile the duke was not idle. The later researches of MM. Rivoire and van Berchem in the Turin archives as well as at Berne and Fribourg have brought to light many illuminating documents, which fill out the lacunae. Then, too, the interest taken in the anniversary of 1926 induced several historians, notably Professors Borgeaud and Werner, to dedicate interesting articles to particular phases of the subject.

The 556 pages of text are supplemented by lists of the city officials, by 65 pages of additional notes—rich in material—and by 80 of index—a splendid guide for those desiring special information.

Volume XI. covers the period February, 1528—July, 1531. As a whole this can not be properly noticed as the editors have not yet prepared preface, index, and additional notes. One item alone may be glanced at as an indication of the gradual progress towards self-government. On November 7, 1529, the council of 200 decided to institute its own, the city's own, tribunal for the administration of justice. On the following Sunday, the project was submitted to the Council General, and duly confirmed in popular referendum. In May that same body, each citizen lifting his hand, had again sworn that they would rather die than renounce the alliance with Berne and Fribourg—a measure that the duke was still trying to compass after the three years of the pact's existence.

Thus the story proceeds towards the culmination in 1536, when the city authorities placed themselves in the chair of the departed bishop and assumed sovereignty. The decisive steps were taken long before Calvin had the slightest knowledge of the city, and by men who were not in the least drawn towards the ideas of the Protestant revolt. Then, too, it must be remembered that the movement was not yet revolutionary. All the citizens were demanding was observance of their ancient privileges. They were still looking backwards to their charters, not forward to a new order.

RUTH PUTNAM.

Witchcraft in Old and New England. By GEORGE LYMAN KIT-
TREDGE, Gurney Professor of English Literature in Harvard Uni-
versity. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp.
640. \$6.00.)

AFTER so many hasty and misleading books on witchcraft and its history, it is a joy to turn the scholarly pages of Professor Kittredge. Equipped by years of study and giving for his every statement his authorities, he has here garnered the whole wealth of literary allusion to the presence, in lands of English speech, of the beliefs and practices loosely known under the name of witchcraft. Glancing briefly at "English Witchcraft before 1558", he then takes up one by one the various ways by which human craft or passion has used—or thought to use—supernal aid for mischief, discussing the evidence for their occurrence in England. To this body of fresh research he prefixes an earlier study on a "typical case" of Elizabethan prosecution for witchcraft, and at the end adds his well-known defense of King James I. and his yet earlier "Notes on Witchcraft", now re-christened "Witchcraft and the Puritans".

Even the new matter is not without polemic flavor. Miss Murray's theory of a secret religion is swept away for England by showing how late and slight was there the thought of any witch-assembly. But his older studies, which deal less with witchcraft than with the treatment of those accused of it, are more controversial; and it is their assertions, echoed in the younger, that stir to contradiction. He now wars most hotly against a theory that "English witchcraft was a theological importation from the Continent". But here he tilts against a windmill. Those who ascribe an influence to Bishop Jewel or the Marian exiles make no such sweeping claim. They too find England like the rest of Latin Christendom until the later Middle Ages, when the Holy Inquisition, victorious over heresy, took cognizance of witchcraft, and when its theologians, expounding that crime, found in the torture an easy means to prove the most fantastic charge. Then, indeed, as Mr. Kittredge fully sees, there came in the inquisitorial courts, and soon in public teaching, grave change to the conception. The crime was now the awful one of treason to the majesty divine. No earthly penalty could be severe; and, since Satan works marvels to help his servants keep his secrets, the torture must in this "excepted crime" be free from limit. The horrors now confessed stirred panic; and soon lay courts (for the crime was *mixti fori*) had borrowed, in all lands of Roman law, Scotland included, both theory and procedure. The Reformation for a moment took all thought; but Protestant soon outdid Catholic, and proved his hate of witchcraft by statutes punishing the sin with death, regardless whether harm to neighbor was involved.

What Mr. Kittredge denies is England's share in this; and none will seriously dissent. Lacking both Inquisition and Roman law, and thus almost escaping use of torture, England scarcely knew a systematic witch-

quest. But, when in the Elizabethan law the student of history catches an echo of those taking form in other Protestant lands, when during its discussion he hears appeal for vigor from a leader of those who had found shelter from Mary's violence at Geneva, Zurich, Strasburg, where the witch-hunt was already on, and when from the judge in an English witch-trial he presently learns that the commissions for such witch-hunting were issued because a man "come over lately unto our Queenes Majestie" "hath advertised her what a companie and number of Witches be within Englande", he has ground for assuming a Continental influence; and Mr. Kittredge's effort to explain it away will not convince him. But no student of history could suppose the returning exiles the only channel of that influence, or feel forced, whatever its channels, to choose between it and the more general causes which in England, as elsewhere, had laid the fuel such a spark could set ablaze. To him the past is always a more tangled skein, and even popular superstition but a single thread. A common heritage it doubtless is; but, like any heritage, it may lie inert, as it so largely does today. A "creed", as Mr. Kittredge likes to call it, it is not; for a creed, if it be common, is of official source and formulation. A "witch-creed" there came to be in Christendom, and much it borrowed from the world of folklore; but one must seek it in the canons of the Church, and in it the essence of witchcraft is not harm to neighbor. Not all witch-trials, of course, were "prompted by systems of devil-lore" or by the text "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; but is it less wild to claim that none were so? How was it where the penalty was death and where they counted their victims by the myriad?

Elizabethan England went less far; and Mr. Kittredge's "typical case" is typical of the mildness there still possible. His poor fisher-folk were not done to death. But, if one turn to a fatal trial—say, that of the Windsor women—one may hear another diction: how Satan "hath of late yeares greatly multiplied" the witches "and muche encreased their malice", how "albeit the Justicer bee severe in executyng of the Lawes", "yet suche is the foolishe pitie, or slacknes, or both, of the multitude and under officers" that they escape unpunished "to the dishonour of God", how "it is Satan that doeth all", for "without him the Witche can contrive no mischief", yet "by the lawe of the Lord of life Witches are accompted unworthy to live". But they who in such words hear the accent of Geneva hear also in England a repugnance which soon had spokesmen not only in laymen like Scot, but in the leaders of the English Church. Such variance Mr. Kittredge will not see. Scot's book, he thinks, was idle—because "he does not deny the existence of evil spirits". Bishop Bancroft and Dr. Harsnet might speak hotly as to witches, but were only fighting exorcism. How much, then, dared one say? Was not Bancroft, for questioning a witch's sentence, threatened with *Praemunire*? When he smiled at Anne Kerke's counterfeiting, "Judge Anderson and other of the Bench thought it necessarie for the satisfying of the Jurie to urge the Scriptures for prooffe that there is witchcrafte".

Of course Scot did not deny spirits—or witches. He is at pains to say that he denies only what is believed of them. But the subterfuge did not deceive King James.

Ah, King James! In England, pleads Mr. Kittredge, his views changed; and, in general, his persecution has been exaggerated. No scholar now doubts this, though none has pleaded for him with such learning. If only his champion could be moderate! Even in Scotland James, he says, was only "swept off his feet by the tide". But, when a young king shows such interest as himself to sit with the bench, take a hand in the torture, scold the judges for mildness, expound the crime in a public speech, pen a book against those who palliate it, take on his royal visitations a witch who offers to detect all others, he may almost be thought a leader. Could the king's zeal really do no harm in Scotland because there "there were none to convert"? Why, then, that Tolbooth speech against "thinking such matters mere fantasies"? Why a book to answer Scot and Wier—and not in Latin or English, but only in braid Scots? And what could Robert Chambers—than whom no man better knew Scottish witchcraft—mean by "that doubt of the reality of witchcraft which is suspected to have lurked in the minds of all the principal official people throughout the seventeenth century"? At least, faith had a limit. Against the use of the witch-informer, even Scottish presbyteries protested. When she was proved a fraud, both Kirk and Parliament took action. If it was only James who then "by a stroke of his pen" revoked the commissions, his part in their creation can hardly have been less.

That in England he had small share in the new law is far from proved by sifting Parliament records. Since when did royalty need naming in such minutes? Was not the king's wish known? In England, under the tutelage of his bishops, James no doubt learned much. But did not they in turn heed him? Who under James spoke out in print like Scot? How should his subjects know his changing mind? For James took nothing back; and rigor, to the end, made him its authority. Hear Edward Fairfax, in words worth study, explain his failure in 1621 to convict the women he accused. He is not, he says, despite belief in witches, Papist or Puritan. But the accused "wanted not both counsellors and supporters of the best able and most understanding about them", and the doubts of these found welcome with the justices, in deference to those who uttered them or "for that those magistrates were incredulous of things of this kind". Objections came, too, from three sides: (1) "such as attribute too much to natural causes", divines and physicians who thought his children merely ill; (2) "such as ascribe too much power to Spirits and Devils", Papists who advised exorcism; (3) "such as flatly deny this to be Witchcraft, for they think that there be no Witches at all". "Of this opinion", he adds, "I hear and fear there be many, some of them men of worth, religious and honest", of whom he would speak with reverence and modesty. The conceited he would

answer, "but our learned King has already done that to their confusion" in his book and in "the statute he hath since made against Witches, he and his wise parliament", and "many have died for the offence of Witchcraft whose innocent blood (if these men's opinions be true) crieth for vengeance". Nor did all these die for taking away life. For "his Majesty found a defect in the statutes made before his time, by which none died for Witchcraft but they only who by that means killed. . . . But his Highness made a new law against the sin itself, . . . and therein showed his zeal for the honour of God".

The "Notes on Witchcraft" is little changed as "Witchcraft and the Puritans". Calvinism is still denied all special weight, and doubt of this still is "loose" as well as mistaken. The final theses still claim witch-belief "practically universal" in the seventeenth century, and "logically and theologically stronger" than disbelief. But, despite such *obiter dicta*, it is an essay none would spare; and the fresh chapters, though they echo these dogmas, frame no new. So thorough is their scholarship, and so honest, that even the dissenter finds all the evidence before him. Perhaps those challenging theses, if born less early in their author's studies, might have been born less rash.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages. By GEORGE BRUNER PARKS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English in Washington University, edited with an introduction by James A. Williamson, D.Lit. [American Geographical Society, special publication, no. 10.] (New York: the Society. 1928. Pp. xviii, 289. \$5.00; to libraries \$4.00.)

THIS excellent monograph will be welcomed by investigators of Tudor literature, by researchers in the development of geographical ideas, and by students of Elizabethan expansion and American colonial history. The central figure of the book is Richard Hakluyt (?1551-1616), the compiler of *The Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt's rôle, as Dr. Parks describes it, was complex: service as editor and archivist, author of arguments in support of the colonizing movement, translator of valuable works on geography and history, counsellor for court and city where issues involving trade and expansion were under discussion. These varied activities are traced in a study that is justly proportioned and elegantly composed. The chronology of Hakluyt's life is carefully established upon a basis of published and manuscript materials; upon this foundation the superstructure of narration and criticism is erected. Dr. Parks has had to grapple with a succession of difficulties in the preparation of his book, and he has met them all: problems of pedigree, of Hakluytian bibliography, of the bibliography of geographical works. Dr. Parks has contributed richly to our understanding of Hakluyt's function and busy career. He is to be particularly commended for his scrupulous

determination to show his hero, at stage after stage of his life, actively concerned with the commercial affairs of his day. Hakluyt's interest in the world of books and study was balanced by a persistent zeal to apply the fruits of his learning to the solution of contemporary needs. A study of Hakluyt in the scholar's lair might have yielded results of interest to historians of literature, but the mode of treatment employed by the author has led to the production of a book which must be reckoned with by historians, economic and political as well. The results of many of the best special studies for this period have been profitably used by Dr. Parks, whose work gains in depth accordingly.

Few slips were noted. John Rut made his voyage (p. 12) in 1527, not in 1536. The conjecture (p. 12) that he is the same navigator as Jean Rotz is hardly valid; it is more likely that he hailed from Bristol. Not William (p. 257) but Henry Hudson gave the name to Hakluyt's Headland. Barros was no pilot (p. 80) but the Portuguese historiographer royal, João de Barros.

The convenience of a wider audience would have been served by citing Reed's book, *Early Tudor Drama* (London, 1926), which contains fresh evidence of maritime activity, instead of his rather inaccessible article (p. 8). Hamelius's edition of Mandeville's *Travels* might also have been (p. 269) noted. The valuable List of English Books of Geography and Travel to 1600 might in one respect have been strengthened by notes indicating, in the case of rare items, the location of copies of the works in question.

Of Frampton as translator, of Clement Adams as compiler of the early narrative of Russia, of Jenkinson as author of the expansionist "Petition" of 1565, Dr. Parks writes nothing. Yet in their modest way these writers were Hakluyt's precursors who helped prepare the public mind for his later and larger successes. But if Dr. Parks does them less than exact justice he makes ample amends by drawing forth from behind the arras of history the neglected figure of Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple. The restoration of this lawyer-geographer is one of the author's best strokes.

The publishers are to be congratulated upon the excellent appearance of the volume, and upon the liberality with which they have illustrated, by old maps and cuts, this lucid and informing text.

FULMER MOOD.

The Capuchins: a Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation. By FATHER CUTHBERT, O.S.F.C. Two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. 476. \$6.00.)

THE importance of the Capuchins as protagonists of the Counter-Reformation has been recognized both by contemporary writers and by later historians, but as a field for research their history has been neglected to a remarkable degree. As Father Cuthbert asserts, with becom-

ing modesty, much further detailed research will be necessary before a definitive history of the order can be written; the masses of documentary evidence scattered throughout the European archives must be carefully sifted, and the writings of the Capuchins more thoroughly studied. But though this be true, the world has at least been given in his work a clear and comprehensive account of the growth and principal activities of the order during the first two centuries of its existence, an account based largely on original sources, yet showing a thorough knowledge of the secondary material, and written with the accuracy demanded by modern scholarship. It is an illuminating book. In recounting the services of the Capuchins to church and people, it tells us much that is not generally known, and more that is not generally realized.

Father Cuthbert is at his best in telling the saga of the early Capuchins—the story of the individual men who gave the order its peculiar character and founded its tradition. Here one feels he is on safe and familiar ground, writing of men whom he knows and with whose spirit he finds himself, despite the intervening centuries, keenly in sympathy. Much of his book might have been written under the title, *In laudem Capuccinorum*. But if there is much praise, it is still sincere and discriminating praise. He does not hesitate to condemn where condemnation is due. He gives little attention to legend or miracle; but confines himself to the established record of the deeds of his heroes, content that by their works we should know them.

The first part of the book tells the story of the founding of the brotherhood from its earliest beginnings until its final establishment as an independent order in 1559. Here we have the story of Fra Matteo da Bascio's solitary determination to live according to the strict rule of the earliest Franciscans. Then follows the account of the successful revolt of Lodovico da Fossombrone and his brother against the restraint of their superiors of the Observant branch, culminating in the promulgation of the bull *Religionis Zelus* in 1528, which conferred a canonical status on the new fraternity. From then on the tale is one of constant service, but also of constant tribulation crowned by final triumph. After the defection of their vicar general, Bernardino Ochino, in 1542, the Capuchins narrowly escaped being suppressed by the pope. They slowly recovered however, under the able leadership of Francesco da Jesi, until by 1559 the friars were again to be found in all parts of Italy. In the long struggle between the Capuchins and the Observants, Father Cuthbert's sympathy is obviously with his own order, but he strives to be strictly fair to both sides.

Part II. continues the tale with the spread of the Capuchins beyond the Alps. By 1574 they had been given permission to go into all lands, carry on missionary work, and found new provinces. Soon we find them in almost every country in Europe, reviving the religious zeal of lukewarm Catholics, driving in the outposts of Protestantism, and even in some places successfully assaulting the embattled strongholds of heresy.

The reader is free to maintain his private opinion of the ultimate value of their teaching—of its efficacy he can have no doubt. With the wider spread of Capuchin activity the story becomes less simple than that of the early days. The friars enter politics, and the intrigues of international diplomacy complicate the simple story of their ministrations to the people. Interesting figures, like that of the Capuchin duke, Père Ange de Joyeuse, still abound, but one feels that the author is on less certain ground, and that he turns with relief from the enigmatic genius of Père Joseph du Tremblay to the more obscure brothers who taught the people and labored among those stricken by the plague.

Perhaps the least thorough part of the work is that which deals with the Capuchins as makers of literature. Here Father Cuthbert is content merely to point out the general trends and indicate the significance of the most important writers. In this field brief studies have already been written by Henri Brémond in his *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, and much remains to be done.

In the appendix to the second volume there are included several important sources illustrating points previously mentioned. There is also a critical account of the sources of early Capuchin history. It is unfortunate that there is no bibliography, which would have been useful in bringing together in one list the numerous monographs on the history of the order cited throughout the book.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

Oxfordshire Peculiars of Dorchester, Thame, and Banbury. Edited by SIDNEY A. PEXTON. [Oxfordshire Record Society, vol. X.] (Oxfordshire Record Society. 1928. Pp. lxxv, 350.)

IN these presentments the churchwardens of three groups of parishes in Oxfordshire set forth for the information of the possessors of ecclesiastical jurisdiction breaches of ecclesiastical law committed by the parishioners. The action taken on the presentments by the courts is also recorded in some instances. The presentments from all the parishes begin during the reign of James I. With a gap from about 1626 to 1660, they extend to various dates in the eighteenth century, and in one instance to 1834. They are of value chiefly for the seventeenth century. In the next century ecclesiastical jurisdiction was losing its force. The curate who, in 1764, presented his churchwardens for having "wittingly and willingly, desperately and irreligiously . . . incurr'd the horrible Sin of Perjury" for "neglecting to present publick offenses and Enormities, which they knew to be committed in the said Parish" (p. 77) was running counter to the public opinion of his time. The presentations of this century frequently record nothing more than "all well".

Few official documents bring us into more intimate touch with the lives of ordinary men and women of the period than do these. In them we find churches in such perfect condition that "we have noe person in the parish but what doth keepe ye Church as well as any persons under the

heavens" (p. 51); in such, "Rewinus" (p. 114) states that it "makes us to be laughed at and jeered by the Phanatick brood" (p. 91); and in all intermediate conditions. We meet innumerable parishioners who have failed to pay rates or dues, of whom some relieve their minds and add to their troubles by calling the churchwarden "old Rogue" (p. 189) or worse. Absentees from divine worship on page after page bring us into contact with separatists, dissenters, "schismatics", conventicles, Quakers, Catholics, and the ebb and flow of the penal laws against them; with butchers who kept their shops open (p. 119), a housewife who baked, washed, and starched (p. 139), and a barber who cut hair (p. 206) on Sunday; with a carter who worked on a holiday (p. 120); and with those who drank in their homes when they should have been in church (p. 205). We are edified by brawlers in church (p. 85), quarrels for possession of pews (p. 186), and a drunken communicant who "did vomit up his Drinck to the anying of the congregation" (p. 246). A minister who does not wear a surplice (p. 193) and a vicar at odds with his parishioners because he makes them kneel at communion (p. 201) provide us with samples of many events which reflect the bitter controversies waged over ceremonies. The fighting, drinking parson is not absent (p. 195), though he does not impress us as typical. Perusal of any ten pages tells us why the archdeacon's court was known in common parlance as the "bawdy court" (p. viii). The most extraordinary case illustrates the normal procedure. In 1696 a man sold his wife for 2¼ d. a pound (p. 184). The purchaser was presented "for cohabiteing in an unlawfull manner with the wife", according to "publick fame and report". He was tried by compurgation. When he failed to produce the "six hands" required to attest his oath of innocence, he was ordered to do public penance. We are introduced much less frequently to "great swearers" (p. 213), blasphemers (p. 200), and those who were "often drunke" (p. 212) or "usuallie drunk" (p. 290). Possibly fewer offended in these particulars, or possibly such offenses were not taken too seriously. "We cannot define a blasphemer, swearer or drunkard" reported the churchwardens of King's Sutton (p. 294). In Banbury we come across the village wag, who bore the famous name of John Ball. He was presented "for procuring the Bell to be knoled for John Smith in mockery" (p. 205). Such incidents, along with glimpses of usurers, burials, church ales, baptisms, schools, scolds, sorcerers, defamations, Sabbath-day sports, and perambulations, cause to pass before us the ideals, beliefs, gossip, amusements, labors, sorrows, and joys of the English countryside in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Peyton has performed his editorial task excellently save in one particular. A reader who wishes to weigh carefully the evidence found in some of the documents is likely to need fuller information about the nature and the provenance of the manuscripts than the editor supplies. The introduction is an admirable study, based on extensive research in materials still largely in manuscript. It contains an explanation of the

jurisdiction of the courts of the peculiars and a rounded survey of the duties and responsibilities of the churchwardens in connection with the presentments. The essay not only helps to interpret the documents, but also adds much of interest to our knowledge of the officials who took so large a part in the parochial affairs of the period.

W. E. LUNT.

The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams: Poet, Wit, and Diplomatist. By the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. Pp. 447. 21 s.)

Correspondence of Catherine the Great, when Grand Duchess, with Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams and Letters from Count Poniatowski. Edited and translated by the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1928. Pp. 288. 21 s.)

STUDENTS of eighteenth-century history will be mildly interested by this well-written biography of a typical English gentleman of the time and by his correspondence with the Grand Duchess Catherine of Russia. The first third of the biography deals with Sir Charles's family and personal history, occasional dabbling in politics, and his verse-making and love-making activities. His writings, published in 1822 in three volumes, had included certain poems "two highly flavoured for the taste of that generation" and given their author a hard reputation. One object of this study may well have been to rehabilitate the memory of the poet and wit. Some of the extracts from his verses are of interest to historical students, for Sir Charles was friendly with Hervey, Pelham, Henry Fox, Chesterfield, and Horace Walpole, and used his pen effectively in the Whig service.

The death of his friend Winnington in 1746 caused him to seek a diplomatic post abroad. His friends were in office and he was made minister to Saxony and Poland. The last two-thirds of the biography deals with his diplomatic career. A knowledge of French and German enabled him to make use of his extraordinary charm of personality and ready wit in his country's service. Wherever he went, he made friends who secured for him valuable information. Possessing great ability to estimate the character of people he met, Sir Charles's brilliant reports which are frequently quoted, make interesting reading. In 1850 he was transferred to Berlin where he stayed less than a year, repaying Frederick the Great's slights by bitter castigations in his reports to the home government. With occasional visits to England and one to Vienna Sir Charles remained at his former post at the Saxon court from 1751 to 1755.

Promoted to the post of ambassador to Russia (1755), he arrived in time to take an active part in negotiating the treaty of subsidy and alliance by which the Tsarina of Russia was to send an army to protect

Hanover from Prussian attack. This great achievement was rendered of little value by the change in British policy to alliance with Prussia. When he went to Russia, Sir Charles took with him as his secretary the young Stanislas Poniatowski with whom he had formed a very close friendship. This ability to make friends with the young men whom he served as a faithful mentor was one of the finest of the ambassador's traits. The young Pole was most devoted to Sir Charles. While Poniatowski's liaison with the Grand Duchess Catherine was developing, the ambassador was likewise cultivating her friendship so as to have ample means of getting information about what went on at court and to secure the lasting good-will of the Russian government when the Grand Duke Peter should succeed the Tsarina. The friendship of the middle-aged ambassador and the grand duchess in her twenties ripened until their relations were almost those of father and daughter. She sought his advice on almost every problem. During the last six months of 1756 letters, many of them long ones, passed very frequently between them. The next six months are also covered by the correspondence but less fully. Sir Charles took the precaution to send Catherine's letters back with his answers and retained only copies.

This extremely interesting correspondence comprising one hundred and fifty-seven documents in all remained hidden for over a century, then turned up in Russia, and was finally published in 1909 by the Tsar's authority. With the present English translation are included a number of letters of Poniatowski and others connected with the negotiations which one is thus enabled to follow closely. For the most part the letters to Catherine are addressed to "Monsieur" as if the recipient were a man. The Grand Duchess trusted Sir Charles implicitly, knowing that the secret information she passed on would be used only for good, and he advised her frankly to the best of his ability, confident that, when her husband succeeded to the throne and she became the controlling force at court, through their friendship British influence would be dominant and the French have no standing at St. Petersburg. The Tsarina's health was so bad that it appeared that death might come at any time, though as it turned out she outlived Sir Charles several years.

The story of the negotiations in which Sir Charles participated is told carefully, the information being drawn not only from various collections of letters and family archives but from the correspondence in the Record Office and British Museum, the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs, the "*Recueil des Instructions*", and various memoirs of the time, to which numerous foot-notes are appended. Much detailed history is given with fair accuracy and the picture of an eighteenth-century diplomat's life and work is interesting. But the manuscript records in Germany and Russia appear not to have been used, and specialists in diplomatic history will find no extensive new light thrown on major problems.

The make-up of both volumes is very good, including a number of excellent illustrations, and the volumes should find a place in large libraries.

CLARENCE PERKINS.

The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III. By L. B. NAMIER. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii, vi, 616. 30 s.)

STUDENTS of English political history of the eighteenth century have long recognized that it evaded description by all the catchwords and formulae available. The "rotten part of the constitution", the "unreformed House of Commons", the "Venetian constitution", "government by faction"—all have left unexplainable residues. As Mr. Namier justly protests, we have drawn up an indictment against a whole parliament on a gossipy remark of Horace Walpole. Mr. Namier's method is different; he has set himself the task of a scientific analysis of how a single parliament, that of 1761, was constituted. He has been indefatigable in his search for sources. He has used the Newcastle Papers, the other pertinent manuscript materials, and county and borough histories without end, to analyze the influences that determined the choice of each member. He has presented his conclusions in summary form with certain longer and detailed studies of boroughs which he considers typical. As a result he has left one reader, at least, feeling, for the first time, that he can generalize on really adequate data regarding the English political system of the eighteenth century.

At the outset Mr. Namier correctly sees that to carry on government under the parliamentary system the Crown required two supports. It had to be sure of a friendly majority in the House of Commons, and it had to have leaders willing and able to support the government measures and to combat the keenest minds of the opposition. "The real leader counted for at least as much in the scales as the 'voting herd'" (p. 12).

This fact established, the question of the various elements which made up a House of Commons recurs. The knights of the shire were chosen (p. 83) by an electorate of 160,000 voters; but in practice the landed gentry dictated the votes of their tenants. As Mr. Namier sums up, "the landed gentry was the deciding element in most county elections, though a certain number of seats were conceded by them to the great noble houses"; the members so chosen were extremely sensitive to the wishes of the gentlemen to whom they owed their election. They were usually honest, inarticulate, and in opposition to the government (pp. 9-10). For the boroughs, Mr. Namier has classified exactly (pp. 176-180) the patronage of Lords and Commoners as it stood in 1761. His classification distinguishes between boroughs in which the simple nomination of the patrons was equivalent to election and boroughs in which interests had to be carefully manipulated. He finds that 51 peers could nominate to 41 seats and could exert influence in the choice of some 60 more members, and that 55 Commoners could determine or influence the election to 91 seats (p. 181). The traditional large holdings of the Whig magnates become insignificant when subjected to this analysis. The Duke of Newcastle had control or influence over but seven seats; Lord Edgcumbe and Viscount Falmouth controlled, each of them, five

Cornish seats. Eliot controlled six, and John Buller four Cornish members. Two Lords controlled four each, and seven other persons, Lords or Commons, had control or influence over three each.

There were certain treasury boroughs, especially the seaports where the interests of the admiralty or other government offices were dominant. Certain others, the burghage type especially, were absolutely in the power of patrons. In some the choice depended on a balance of government interest and the interest of one or more private individuals. In very many boroughs there was a working agreement by which one patron would choose one member and another the other. Many boroughs had to be "nursed" by the patrons and nursing was a most expensive affair. The voracity of the voters was very great and had to be appeased year in and year out. "'Corruption' was not a shower-bath from above, constructed by Walpole, the Pelhams, or George III., but a water-spout springing from the rock of freedom, to meet the demands of the People" (p. 128). Occasionally a nursed borough would revolt from its patron or openly seek a city candidate with a full purse. Actually the sums of £1500, £2000, £3000 paid by the government to borough patrons for the use of seats for which the patrons had no present occasion, very often paid only a small proportion of the expense of nursing the borough. The borough patron's real reward came in offices of honor, steps in the peerage, etc.

In this connection by a careful analysis, item by item, of Newcastle's secret service accounts, Mr. Namier disposes of the theory that bribery and buying of seats from secret service funds was the means by which the government got its majorities. Some money was paid out toward the election expenses of government members; some money was paid in the form of pensions and donations to impecunious political beggars, as often from motives of charity as for any regard to their political weight. But the secret service funds were insignificant beside the stakes which private interests laid down in the game of borough management.

From another angle Mr. Namier takes up the types of men who sought seats in Parliament. He presents genealogies of families that for three centuries monopolized certain seats. Beside the country gentlemen, he distinguishes the patricians, social climbers in search of coronets, persons desiring to trade support for lucrative places to be distributed in their families, soldiers and sailors who held seats to help insure their speedy promotion, holders of subordinate places in the government, perhaps 40 lawyers, and merchants and bankers in search of lucrative contracts. Contracts for rationing regiments on distant posts were plums sought after by merchants trading to those parts. Of 21 merchants holding these contracts in 1764, 16 were members of Parliament.

Mr. Namier's volumes contain also an elaborate dissection of the politics of Shropshire and its boroughs in 1761, an analysis of typical Cornish boroughs, of two treasury boroughs, Harwich and Orford, and sketches of four "parliamentary beggars". As an appendix he prints in full the secret service accounts, 1754-1756 and 1757-1762.

Mr. Namier's book is an invaluable contribution to the study of British politics not only for its own period but for half a century before and after its dates. When similar analyses are constructed of other typical parliaments from 1604 to 1830, our generalizations as to the working of the British political machine may for the first time become really worth while.

T. C. P.

Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates. Von FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1928. Pp. xii, 558. 18.50 M.)

A PEOPLE is judged by the books it reads quite as much as it judges those books. The German reading public has earned high praise by consuming seven editions of Professor Meinecke's volume. That fact is a great compliment to their discrimination and a proof that they are deeply interested in the realities of their political life even when treated historically and philosophically. No ordinary people would read with zest a book that is so out of the ordinary in subject, substance, and style.

And the author is no ordinary historian. Professor Meinecke is one of the most distinguished minds of the last thirty years in Germany. As an historian he has contributed especially to two periods in German-Prussian history, the period of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms and the Wars of Liberation, through his brilliant life of General von Boyen and his brief and unmatched account of this period in the *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*. Both are models of historical scholarship and of literary style. The second period is that of the revolutionary years 1848-1849 as displayed in his work on Radowitz, the statesman who had Bismarck's idea of German unity when Bismarck, as a Prussian junker, was fighting for nothing but the Prussia of Frederick the Great.

It would be easy to say that this book grew out of study in these separated eras and is an attempt to bridge the gap between them. That is true so far as the book follows a chronology. But Meinecke is only in a subordinate sense interested in stringing together a series of years or decades. He is a political philosopher who uses the technique of the historian to find the historical facts, broadly interpreted, that will explain the genesis, development, and present state of problems vital to the life of states and nations.

So brilliant and many-sided a mind as Meinecke's has here produced a book, the main theme of which can be quite differently conceived by different readers, and differently phrased by the same reader after he has read the first chapters and again after he has read the last chapters and the appendix to this seventh edition.

To one interested in the history of ideas and culture it presents a picture of the carry-over of eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism into the nineteenth, and its gradually losing battle with nationalism, to which it yet contributed this super-individualism. It searches in a brilliant chapter for the roots of the political thinking of men of action like Stein,

Hardenberg, and Humboldt. It traces, through the utterances of philosophers and publicists like Novalis, Fichte, Schlegel, Adam Müller, Hegel, Haller, and Ranke, the evolution of German thinking on the relations between the Prussian "state-nation" and the German "culture-nation". It shows their varied views not viewed in closets but battling in the forum of opinion and political action. This is worked out with cogency and thoroughness in considering the conservative romantic group around Frederick William IV., and is carried over through the discussion of Hegel and Ranke to an understanding of the genesis of the political ideology of Radowitz and Bismarck.

What the historian would see in the whole book and increasingly evident in the latter part is a grappling with the "Deutsche Frage" in its second form. We are forever saying that the German question, the question of whether two world powers, Prussia and Austria, could be combined in Germany, and, if not, which was to take the leadership, was settled in 1866. What Meinecke reveals is another stark question behind that, whether there could be a Germany with *one* world power in it when that state was Prussia including four-fifths of the North German Confederation from 1866 to 1870 and two-thirds of the *Reich* since 1870. That second question was perceived and stated as early as 1831 by Paul Pfizer, and it is no minor service of Meinecke's to have given this able publicist his historical due. For this second German question no answer has as yet been found. Not by Bismarck nor by the Weimar constitution of the new republic.

The high point in the volume from the standpoint of historical research and interpretation is in the almost monographic treatment of the struggle of the Frankfurt liberal nationalists led by Heinrich von Gagern to get Prussia absorbed and dissolved in a national German state before Prussia had made a constitution for herself and thus set up a duality that was death to any real union. The answer of Frederick William IV. was really given in the decreed (oktroyierte) constitution of December 5, 1848. Prussian conservatism found that more palatable than absorption as eight provinces in a German empire. That constitution really ended the hopes of Gagern and his group and it ensured the persistence of the unsolved German question as we know it today. Meinecke gives in the reprint of his article on "The Prussian-German Question in 1921", pp. 542 ff., some suggestions for repairing the failures at Weimar to solve it. The foot-notes of this edition and the text when compared to the first edition are evidence of the great stimulus the book has been to research and discussion on almost every topic it has touched. A whole shelfful of monographs and articles has been called forth by the acute and challenging treatment Meinecke has given to men, movements, and schools of thought. No one can deal with Prussian-German history since Frederick the Great without reckoning with this volume.

GUY STANTON FORD.

La Province pendant la Révolution: Histoire des Clubs Jacobins 1789-1795. Par L. DE CARDENAL. (Paris: Payot. 1929. Pp. 518. 40 fr.)

M. DE CARDENAL'S book, the result of long years of work in departmental and communal archives, and of extensive reading of articles and monographs in local history, must be read by all students of the French Revolution. Such a synthesis of the individual histories of the provincial Jacobin clubs has long been needed. Furthermore, this book is a necessary source-book for all interested in political behavior, in the technique of revolutions, in the working out of ideas in politics. M. de Cardenal's study is divided into four parts: a description of the origins (the literary societies, free-masonry, etc.), personnel and internal organization of the clubs; a roughly chronological account of the part played by the clubs in the great events of the revolution; an analysis of Jacobin ideas; a description of "les moyens d'action", in which the meaning of Jacobinism as a form of political tactics is brought out. The task of integrating so many diverse elements as these hundreds of clubs, each with a personality, with social, geographic, and psychological characteristics of its own, is very great, and M. de Cardenal has been markedly successful. The fourth part, on the methods of action, is certainly for the present a definitive account of Jacobin propaganda, of the influence of the clubs on elections, of their relations with the *autorités constituées*. The work is obviously inspired by the modern tendency, in dealing with the French Revolution, to counteract past emphasis on the central government by a study of social and economic changes not only in Paris, but in the whole of France. The book is well put together, and very free from errors of printing. Its timeliness and other merits are so clear that we shall do better to pass at once to a consideration, not so much of its defects, as of its omissions.

In the first place, M. de Cardenal's decision to do without foot-notes seems, in a work of this sort, unwise. He is amply justified in wanting for his book a wider public than that of the professional historians. But the foot-note alone is not responsible for the failure of general readers to follow the work of many modern historians; surely no one ever turned away from Gibbon or from Lecky because of their foot-notes. In particular, M. de Cardenal, in fairness to other students, should have given exact references to his archival material. Only a fellow worker in the field can know how great has been the author's use of manuscript sources.

Again, though M. de Cardenal's announced purpose is to reconstitute the history of the *provincial* clubs alone, he is of course obliged to bring in the Paris club in relation to its daughter societies. Surely the work would have been more valuable had its subtitle (*Histoire des Clubs Jacobins*) announced its main purpose, and Paris and the provinces been balanced in a study of the clubs as a political organism. Partly because of this uncertainty of emphasis, the reader finds no clear answer to the question, just what is meant by Jacobinism. M. de Cardenal's method.

and his honesty, save him from the simplicities of Taine; but his knowledge of detail is so great, his qualifying statements so many, that his final generalizations do not impress themselves.

The treatment of Jacobin ideas is the most inadequate part of the book. "Obligés de lutter, ils durent renoncer à édifier", says M. de Cardenal of the Jacobins (p. 502), and the phrase might sum up the life work of Professor Aulard. But it is still true that the Jacobins were fighting for something. That something is insufficiently explained as "pour les chefs la conquête du pouvoir, pour les comparses une des formes de la lutte pour la vie" (p. 506). If Jacobinism is merely a tactics, M. de Cardenal has defined it adequately; if it is also a political programme, if it has a platform and a faith, then he has not done so.

CRANE BRINTON.

Empire and Commonwealth: Studies in Governance and Self-Government in Canada. By CHESTER MARTIN, Head of Department of History, University of Manitoba, Canada. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xxii, 386. \$5.00.)

British Colonial Policy and the South African Republics, 1848-1872. By C. W. DE KIEWIET, M.A., Ph.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1929. Pp. xvi, 317. 12 s. 6 d.)

THE first of Professor Martin's studies deals with the old colonial system as it operated in the original British colonies in America, including Nova Scotia. The position of, and the political situation in, Nova Scotia supply material for a discussion of "the Second Empire" and for tracing the origins of responsible government in the colonies. Canada under the Quebec Act receives a good deal of attention, and the struggle for responsible government in Canada, 1839-1854, is treated quite fully. As an epilogue Professor Martin describes some of the essential features of the British Commonwealth of today.

The research is confined to the colonies of North America. Parts of the story have been told often; but Professor Martin's narrative is greatly enriched by his own investigations. In the treatment of Nova Scotia he breaks practically new ground, and no other study of the constitutional conflict in Canada from Sydenham to Elgin is based so largely on private papers.

Dr. de Kiewiet's book maintains the high standard of scholarship that we are accustomed to find in the Imperial Studies (of which this is number 3) edited by Professor A. P. Newton. The treatise rests on the safe foundation of extensive research, and first-hand knowledge of South African problems. It is well documented and well written. The subject is approached from an imperial point of view, but the author appreciates fully the dynamic forces at work on the frontier, and he has benefitted by studying Professor F. J. Turner's essays on the American frontier.

Dr. de Kiewiet shows how the desire for economy as well as humanitarian and missionary influences tended to shape the policy of the Colonial Office; how land hunger, racial animosities, the exploitation of the natives, and the presence of lawless elements affected the situation in South Africa; and how the slow means of communication and the private views of governors altered imperial policies and helped to direct the course of South African history.

Both books are excellent examples of painstaking research, careful weighing of evidence, and judicious presentation of conclusions. They reveal interesting contrasts in points of view and methods of approach. Professor Martin views the larger theme from his thorough acquaintance with particular local conditions, while Dr. de Kiewiet turns to imperial needs and imperial experiences for his elucidation of what took place in South Africa, 1848-1872.

Some of the minor defects noted in both works may perhaps in part be attributable to the authors' methods of approach. Professor Martin ignores the claims of Barbados when he speaks (p. 151) of Nova Scotia as possessing the oldest assembly of the second empire; he overlooks the experience of the Cape Colony when he says (p. 342) that South Africa leapt "into selfgovernment like Minerva full-armed from the head of Jupiter"; he fails to recognize the efforts of Australian colonies and of Sir William Molesworth when he asserts (p. 331) that "no attempt has ever been made to define [the scope of responsible government] by legislation"; and he violates well-known facts when he states (p. 316) that Gladstone, among others, was "obsessed by the mechanics of colonial government" and "saw no interest in preserving the colonies". Likewise it must be admitted that Dr. de Kiewiet is inconclusive in his treatment of the attitude of the Boer population towards the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854; and that he omits discussion of the pressure exerted by London financial interests when he treats the annexation of the Diamond Fields. Researches of others could have been more extensively used by both authors. The usefulness of their works would also have been increased if Professor Martin had added a bibliography to his studies and Dr. de Kiewiet had aided his readers by one or more maps.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

After Thirty Years. By the Rt. Hon. the Viscount GLADSTONE, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.B.E. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xxvi, 457. \$7.50.)

AFTER thirty years it is unfortunate that a book like this should be written. Viscount Gladstone, stung to the quick by slighting remarks about his father, has dashed to the defense with more warmth than understanding. W. E. Gladstone needs no defense. His name and memory already tower high above that of any nineteenth-century English statesman. It is both futile and undignified on the part of his son to enter

into the journalistic arena, there to exchange buffets with that most charming of modern popularizers, M. Maurois, and to reply to gossip stories retailed more frequently for their piquancy than out of malice.

What Gladstone does need is elucidation. John Morley's biography obscures the character of its hero by sheer weight of many words. The cameo-like sharpness which distinguishes Morley's *Voltaire* and his *Rousseau* are lacking. Gladstone was an individual and a man, not an institution and an epitome of mid-Victorianism; and as such he still lacks a competent biographer.

Viscount Gladstone has three faults as a historian. He does not seem to know what facts are important and what are not; he insists on surrounding his father with a halo; and he writes as a party politician, ever ready to chide Tories and to praise Liberals. To illustrate the first tendency one may cite his elaborate refutation of the story that the Gladstone family made money by selling the chips from his father's wood-chopping. Why devote space in a brief book to this; or a whole chapter to Mrs. O'Shea, an overwrought woman who wrote hastily, passionately, and without balance concerning her love affair with Parnell? Her book never has been taken seriously by students of Irish history. It is certainly unnecessary to describe the exact dimensions of the Prime Minister's room at 10 Downing Street and the location of the furniture to controvert Mrs. O'Shea. Any intelligent person would discount the poor lady's story upon reading her book.

Gladstone would also appear to better advantage without the halo. It is the halo business which has hurt his memory and has concealed the man. From the beginning of his career he was courageous, intelligent, and devoted to the public good; and towards its close his mind broadened and his spirit sweetened in a way both superb and unusual. Surely these facts offer sufficient basis for praise. Yet the viscount will have that his father was not verbose. But where in history could one find an orator who was more verbose? A glance at Hansard for 1880 should settle that point for his most ardent admirer.

It would also seem inadvisable to grow indignant at the imputation of casuistry and self-deception (pp. 69-70). The Prime Minister can scarcely escape both charges. This is easily proved by the speeches of 1881 on the Irish Land Act. Gladstone held in line the more conservative members of the Liberal party by proclaiming loudly and incessantly that the Act of 1881 was only an amendment to the Land Act of 1870. Nevertheless the former brought into effect the *three F's*, hitherto held anathema as radical innovations, and their inclusion revolutionized the Irish Land laws. It would seem, in this instance, that Gladstone either practised self-deception or casuistry.

The intellectual interests of the Prime Minister are well known. He was a serious student of divinity and of the classics. He was not, however, a scientist, and his disputations with geologists and biologists are valueless. Why must the viscount defend his father's scientific reputa-

tion, when he did not have any, by stating that "on the specific gravity of alcoholic liquors he could speak like an expert". Everyone knows that Gladstone was an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer and as such familiar with manufacturing processes. Such knowledge was of no avail when he crossed swords with Huxley.

On the other hand there is not much to be said for Gladstone as the friend of the workingman. The viscount is distressed because Morley dismisses in a few words his father's intervention on behalf of the coal whippers of London. This act of the father seems to the son to prove the former's interest in the industrial classes. Gladstone was in public life for over sixty years. If the slightly improved condition of the London coal whipper is the major evidence of his concern for the workingman the viscount might better have relied on Morley's judgment.

The viscount, moreover, constantly overpraises the Liberal party. On page 166 we are assured that the years 1880-1885 "sounded the death knell of eighty years' coercion in Ireland". But subsequent to these years coercion acts of the stiffest character were passed, time after time. On page 232 we are told in regard to South Africa from 1880-1881 that "there was no vacillation". This is an exaggeration. Gladstone became Prime Minister in April, 1880; the republican flag was not hoisted in the Transvaal until November; and Majuba Hill was not stormed until February, 1881. Harassed as the Gladstone Cabinet was in 1880 it should have been possible to formulate a South African policy in six months.

The most valuable part of this book, that dealing with the relation of Gladstone to the queen, contains extracts from Gladstone's diary and an important exchange of letters with Lord Balfour, all hitherto unpublished. In these pages the viscount attacks the way in which the *Letters of Queen Victoria* have been edited, and particularly volume III., thereby challenging Professor Bell's judgment as given in the April number of this review. The viscount holds that Mr. Buckle, as editor, has consciously and unfairly created an anti-Gladstonian atmosphere. He gives evidence to show that the relations between the queen and Gladstone were good and friendly, down to 1876, and that by 1880 Gladstone reported a complete change, due to Disraeli. Mr. Buckle, according to the viscount, has omitted much of the queen's correspondence which should have been included and has included much which should have been omitted, especially the Wolseley letters. "But nothing mattered to the impartial editor", we are told, "so long as he was able to publish something derogatory to Mr Gladstone" (p. 369). This indictment of Mr. Buckle's *bona fides* does not seem very well substantiated by the rambling pages which the viscount devotes to it. So serious, however, is the charge that one wonders why the Gladstone family do not feel at liberty to publish further documentary evidence to support it. They have at Hawarden 577 letters from the queen and almost as many more from Sir Henry Ponsonby. Historians await their publication.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

My War Memories. By EDUARD BENEŠ. Translated from the Czech by PAUL SELVER. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. 512. \$7.50.)

EARLY in 1915 a young Czech professor armed with a passport no longer valid crossed the Austrian frontier into Bavaria, crawling through thickets to escape the gendarmes. Making his way to Switzerland, he joined an older professor who had been warned not to return to Prague lest he be arrested for treason. Three years later Dr. Beneš "was sitting with the representatives of France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Japan, Serbia, Greece, Belgium and Portugal to decide with them as to the fate of the Empires of Wilhelm and Karl, and to sign the terms of their capitulation" (p. 461), and Professor Masaryk, returning to London after circling the globe in the interests of the Czech cause, was received with diplomatic and military honors as the head of the state. Less striking, but scarcely less remarkable is the fact, not discussed in this book, that after ten years strewn with political casualties of wartime leaders, Masaryk is still the head of the state he did so much to liberate, and Beneš is at the head of the Foreign Office which he organized in 1918.

Personal triumphs, intrigues, the diabolism of enemies, and the exculpation of failures have no place in Dr. Beneš's memoirs as they have in the works of many of his contemporaries. This is, indeed, a personal record drawn for the most part from first-hand knowledge, but it is the record of the secretary general of the Czechoslovak National Council presented, like Masaryk's *The Making of a State*, as a contribution to the history of the Czechoslovak revolutionary movement. Contributions of others are to follow, but it goes without saying that the value of these two books will not be diminished by any number of works which may subsequently be written on this subject.

Dr. Beneš's book is not only a record but an example of his successful collaboration with President Masaryk. It fills gaps, supplies specific information, dates, names, and places lacking in the earlier work. There is a full account, for example, of the negotiations regarding the Czechoslovak forces in France which were carried on largely during Masaryk's absence. It tells of the work of the Mafia, of the difficulties of the Czechoslovaks in Russia before Masaryk's arrival there in 1917, and of their clashes with the Bolsheviks after his departure, of the organization of the colonies in America before 1918, of the historic meeting at Geneva with his delegates from Prague and of the Prague *coup d'état* of October 28.

Aside from these matters, and many others could be named, which concern chiefly his own nation, Beneš gives revealing sidelights on affairs in which other states were directly affected; on the Italian-Yugoslav question and the Rome Conference; on Allied intervention in Russia in 1918; on the peace moves, secret and open, and the efforts of the Czechs to defeat them; on the significance to the nationalities of the Dual Mon-

archy of the Clemenceau-Czernin-Karl controversy; on the "Károlyi armistice"; on the Austrophile policies of the Vatican. With regard to papal policy which he discusses with a tinge of asperity, Beneš says, among other things and without indicating the source of his information, that the Vatican endeavored "to induce the United States not to supply the belligerent countries with foodstuffs and munitions" and that it used its influence to prevent the American declaration of war (p. 242).

Of the work of his collaborators and friends—Štefánik, Osuský, Sychrava, Voska, Denis, Steed, Seton-Watson, and others—Beneš speaks with gratitude and generosity; of his opponents, even the clericals and Socialists whose opportunism gave comfort to the enemy, he writes without rancor. His account of his own achievements is rather like a report on the results of his mission, but the report corroborates Masaryk's observation that "as things developed Beneš grew". The success of the Czechoslovak National Council owed something to fortune and to the mistakes of its enemies, and much to the brilliant services of Štefánik and the faithful labors of others less known. But it owed most to the character, the vision, and the authority of Masaryk so splendidly seconded by the tireless energy and the clear mind of Eduard Beneš, who coördinated these varied elements.

This excellent translation by Paul Selver is an abridgment of the original, and in this respect is less satisfactory than the French version, *Souvenirs de Guerre et de Révolution, 1914-1918: la Lutte pour l'Indépendance des Peuples* (Paris, Leroux. 1929. 2 vols. 120 frs.). In preparing his version "specially with a view to the interest of English and American readers", Mr. Selver has omitted or condensed Beneš's philosophical and critical comment on situations and some of his characterizations of personalities; he has abbreviated accounts of meetings and omitted notes and documents which are of considerable interest. These omissions are minor ones, but they are omissions, and for this reason many to whom the original is not accessible will prefer the French to the English version.

H. H. FISHER.

History of the Great War Based on Official Documents. By direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. *Naval Operations.* Volume IV. By Sir HENRY NEWBOLT. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 412. 16s.)

THE first three volumes of this elaborate work, to which the often abused adjective monumental may justly be given, were compiled by Britain's premier naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, whose regretted life went out just after he had brought to an end volume III. (reviewed XXVII. 562-563). This volume brought the naval chronicle of the war through what may be called the period of great sea operations, ending

with the battle of Jutland. The present volume is the work of Sir Julian's successor, Sir Henry Newbolt, who, while modestly aware of the difficulties of wielding the pen laid aside by so gifted a chronicler, yet points out his enjoyment of two great advantages, first, the inheritance of the system built up by his predecessor, and, second, the services of a staff "trained by long years of efficient and enthusiastic coöperation". On the whole it is hard to see how the present writer compares unfavorably with his forerunner, since he possesses the one great talent, in chronicles of this kind, of collecting, arranging, and putting in clear narrative form a mass of detailed facts and incidents. The great bulk of this task precludes much opportunity to deal out praise or blame, and Sir Henry follows generally Sir Julian Corbett's lead in this.

That the British navy was busy in all parts of the world is graphically shown in this fourth volume. Chapter IV. (the Outer Theatres) deals with operations in East Africa and Lake Tanganyika, the Cameroons, Mesopotamia, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, Serbia, and Salonica. Chapter V. describes the Bulgarian invasion of northern Greece and its consequences, the landings at Athens, and the submarine warfare to January, 1917. Chapter VI. is a stirring and well-written one, narrating the exploits of the intrepid German raiders *Moewe*, *Leopard*, *Seeadler*, and *Wolf*, which attempted to repeat the adventure of the *Emden* on a larger scale. Sir Henry chivalrously remarks that "no British reader will withhold his admiration from the fine seamen who commanded the four Raiders". Chapter VII., on the German naval policy, "brings us", as our author says, "to the true climax of the war, as we could not see before the publication of the German Official documents, the bare truth about the gambler's choice which the supremacy of the British Fleet was certain to force". The Germans were obliged to play their "last card", unrestricted submarine warfare, in spite of the fact that the civilian element, the statesmen in Berlin, was convinced that this act would inevitably bring into play the long-restrained hostility of America. The chapter ends with the entry of the United States into the struggle.

Chapters VIII. and IX. complete and sum up the account of the submarine and anti-submarine war in the Mediterranean and in British home waters during the earlier part of 1917. Sir Henry remarks that this was the most dangerous and perplexing time in British history. "The reckless progress of the final German effort had brought us nearer to privation than we had ever thought to be." He adds significantly: "Every reader of our narrative will know already that in our next volume we shall see one of the traditional methods of the British Navy adapted to meet the new crisis with complete and final success." We may forgive the author his easy use of the traditional "To be continued in our next" of a certain class of fiction, and look forward with interest to volume V. of this history.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the present volume is the first three chapters, particularly chapter I., in which the results of the battle

of Jutland are summed up. Neither Sir Julian Corbett nor Sir Henry Newbolt will picture Jutland in any other light than a complete British victory. Sir Henry's detailed account of the tactical events of the fight and the tactical losses on each side is comprehensive, and, on the whole, reasonable, and just. Like Sir Julian, however, he looks no farther off than the scene of the battle, and is far from hinting that, with a fleet so much more powerful than the German, Jellicoe might have dealt German seapower such a blow as would have opened the Baltic and shortened the war by a year or more. Sir Henry quotes many British and foreign authorities on the battle, but says no word of the outspoken criticisms of excellent American experts, whose praise has gone almost entirely to the German commanders, and who feel that Jellicoe lost an opportunity which the Germans were careful never again to offer him.

Perhaps the weakest characteristic of this official history is the evident effort on the part of its authors to refrain from all criticism of British leaders, a point which has repeatedly been brought out in the several reviews of the volumes of this work. To be sure, in a chronicle written but a few years after the event, ripe and authenticated judgment would be venturesome, and the fact that this history is at least semi-official, compiled with the consent and aid of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty but with their express denial of any responsibility, must have lamed the critical desires of the compilers, if any such existed. The fact, however, that these volumes contain no hint of any criticism, even of the vaguest kind, of Churchill, Fisher, Jellicoe, or any of their subordinates, emphasizes the truth that this "history" is a chronicle, pure and simple. Its greatest weakness is that a reader not familiar with the war from other sources is bound to get an altogether too *couleur-de-rose* impression of the exploits of the British navy, fine as they generally were.

On the other hand the volumes possess one great and valuable attribute, namely, that they are the storehouse of historical details and first-hand experiences, which with each fleeting year would have become more difficult to secure. This phase of the subject is one not calculated to flatter those in power in our own services. The British Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence was established, and began to function, long before the close of the war, and was from the first provided with a competent staff. By contrast the American army and navy neglected almost completely the collection of war chronicles and reports until the close of the war, when the breaking up of units made this task much more difficult. The Historical Section of the United States Navy, a branch of the Office of Naval Intelligence, begun under Rear-Admiral W. W. Kimball, retired, was not established until the close of the war, and, though working at first with a small staff of almost entirely untrained persons, it did excellent work, yet it was not taken seriously by the navy as a whole, and soon became one of the victims of the "economy craze" which cast its blight over everything so vague, and consequently so unimportant, as the nation's naval history. In spite of the efforts of men

like Senator Lodge to place the Naval Historical Section on an expert and creative basis, it sank, after the publication of a few well-written monographs, to the practical level of a filing-cabinet, valuable to be sure, even indispensable, but shorn of all creative functions.

Volume IV. is provided with eleven plans and diagrams in the text, and with fourteen contained in a separate case, all excellent in quality.

EDWARD BRECK.

Les Archives du Conseil de Flandre (Raad van Vlaanderen): Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Guerre en Belgique. [Publiées par la Ligue Nationale pour l'Unité Belge.] (Brussels. 1928. Pp. lxvi, 551. 75 Belgian francs.)

WHEN in the autumn of 1918 the Germans were retreating and their civilian forces were preparing to evacuate Belgium, passports into Holland and Germany were hurriedly prepared to assist the flight of a small group of Belgians. These were the "activist" leaders, members of the extreme wing of the *flamingant* movement, who had been working during the war under German protection to break up the Belgian state and to set up an independent or autonomous Flanders. At the same time the archives of their *Conseil de Flandre* and its allied organizations were hastily packed off to Leipzig to prevent their falling into the hands of the outraged patriots. Eighteen months later during the disorders of the Kapp *Putsch* these archives disappeared. A Belgian professor learned of their whereabouts, the *Ligue Nationale* bought them, and—just how we are not told—the 42 chests of documents were spirited across the frontier into Belgium. The *Ligue* has now prepared French translations, usually résumés, of these documents written originally in Flemish or German and, filling gaps with material left by the Germans in Belgium, has produced this book.

It is a highly interesting volume. The résumés of long deliberative sessions of the *Conseil de Flandre* are so skillfully done that there is little dull reading; with the aid of an excellent introduction the story marches. Whether one regards the activist leaders as dastardly traitors or courageous patriots leading a sacred cause, Germany as the artful villain or a powerful, generous friend, one follows the unfolding of the plot with passionate interest. Here one sees the proud inaugural procession of the new Flemish university at Ghent passing on its way the first group of miserable workmen deported to Germany. Here it is a group of hand-picked activist leaders, many of them recent German appointees to the Ghent faculty, meeting in 1917 to proclaim the independence of Flanders and to form a council for the government of the new state—under the control of the Germans. Again it is these same leaders planning the deposition of the royal family as anti-Flemish, discussing a constitution, and coming almost to blows over the fateful question of the future of the new state; is it to be drawn into the orbit of Prussia or of Holland? In-

creasingly it appears that the activist leaders are being made the dupes of the Germans; one can not resist a feeling of sympathy and of admiration for Claus who, with a clear realization of this degradation of the *flamingant* movement, beards the imperial chancellor himself to defend the true independence of Flanders. In the plans of the most prominent activists the new state was to consist of all Flemish-speaking Belgium plus French Flanders. It was to be federated with Germany, whose troops should occupy the country for ten years after the war and whose navy should have a permanent base on the coast. It was to have a powerful executive, presumably a German *statthalter*, who could control the ministers and, through a nominated *conseil d'état*, the legislative bodies. It was to start with a clean financial slate, for it would recognize no debt incurred by the Belgian government to fight the Germans and would leave the entire pre-war debt to *Wallonie*, which had received too generous a share of Belgian public money. Incidentally this book, supplementing the documents published by Rudiger, adds much to our knowledge of German policy in Belgium. A second volume is promised to contain a bibliography of the activist movement.

Few phases of the World War are more interesting than that treated in this book; nor does it concern only the historians for the problems out of which grew the activist movement are as yet unsolved. Now that the economic and financial rehabilitation of Belgium is accomplished, the gravest task confronting the government at Brussels is to find a basis for understanding between the two elements in the state.

PAUL D. EVANS.

The Economic, Financial, and Political State of Germany since the War. By Dr. PETER P. REINHOLD. [Institute of Politics Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. 134. \$2.00.)

THIS timely little volume on the state of Germany since the war merits careful reading. The author has been intimately associated with post-war reconstruction in Germany, first in Saxony, and later as minister of finance of the Reich. He writes with a good understanding of the international phases of the subject and with commendable objectivity.

In the first chapter he draws a vivid picture of Germany, crushed by defeat, staggering under peace terms she could only vaguely comprehend, and held down by the continuance of the economic blockade. The resultant conditions greatly favored the Reds, whose efforts to get control were not finally frustrated till Socialists and Centrists combined in the Constitutional Assembly at Weimar to give support and stability to the Republic. Furthermore, under the fear of extreme radicalism the assembly leaned over backwards in its provisions to safeguard the inviolability of private property. Despite this, however, the author claims the government of the new Germany is among the most democratic in the world today.

The story of the hectic financial ups-and-downs is told in a masterly fashion and with a deep feeling for the suffering it entailed. According to Dr. Reinhold the way for inflation was prepared as far back as August, 1914, when the imperial government suspended specie payment and decreed the acceptance by the imperial bank of treasury bonds as reserve against paper money. During the war German resources and credit were used up and stabilization of the currency after the peace became impossible despite earnest efforts. This was the more true because the exigencies of foreign politics, notably the occupation of the Ruhr, were in June, 1923, added to the domestic difficulties. From this time on the mark sank rapidly, despite one or two temporary checks, till it stood at four thousand billion to the dollar. When the appeal to the nation was made to support the Renten Mark, the dogged determination of the people to get back to a normal business basis carried the day; the new currency withstood the forces that threatened to batter it down; the mark was stabilized, and credit was re-established.

The author's discussion of the perplexing problems of reparation and war debts, at times a trifle technical, is clear and penetrating. The unwarranted delay in arriving at a fixed sum, the exorbitant sums demanded, and the political motives underlying the whole treatment of the question are reviewed with an objectivity that only occasionally reveals the intensely critical attitude toward the bungling diplomacy over post-war debts and reparations.

Germany's ability to pay the staggering reparation sums must depend, according to Dr. Reinhold, on effective "rationalization" and "standardization" of her industries, her transport system, and her public utilities. The successful efforts in this direction, supported by capital borrowed from abroad, chiefly from this country, have re-established Germany as a great producing nation and restored her purchasing power. At the same time, if it is to continue, and payments on reparations are to be made, Germany must export more than she imports. This can only be done if customs tariffs of other countries permit. But unless this is carefully regulated, it will result in the dumping of cheap German goods abroad and hostile tariff legislation will result.

The problem of transfer the author regards as the crux of the reparations plan. He sees the difficulties clearly, but, unlike Keynes, he refuses to accept the impossibility of the plan and points to paragraph 8 of section D of the Dawes Report in which, he thinks, the authors of the plan not only foresaw the difficulties but suggest possible solutions (p. 116). "Germany", he is convinced, "will effect her payments . . . punctually . . ." (p. 126).

On the interesting questions of the government of the new Germany and the political problems the material is so slight that one questions the wisdom of including the word "political" in the title. Even in economic matters where the government is concerned the treatment leaves much to be desired. Very little is said of the federal economic council provided

in the constitution and hailed a remarkable step forward in the creation of economic democracy. Little or nothing appears on the interesting coöperation between labor and capital or on the remarkable development of the *Kartells*.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

The Washington Conference and After. By YAMATO ICHIHASHI, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Japanese History in Stanford University. (Stanford University: the University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 443. \$4.00.)

THIS volume gives an excellent summary of the proceedings and results of the Conference on Limitation of Armament and on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, held at Washington in the winter of 1921-1922. Professor Ichihashi, being Japanese and attached to the Japanese delegation, has a sympathetic understanding of Japan's part in the conference. But, since he has for many years been a professor in an American university, he may also be regarded as able to appreciate American policy in respect to the problems of the conference.

The author's opinion that Great Britain had a part in the calling of the conference in so far as it concerned Far Eastern affairs is well grounded. The reviewer was attached to the American delegation and set forth the circumstances, as these were understood in the Department of State, in a volume published in 1923.

It is interesting to learn (p. 85) that domestic politics in Japan, after the regrettable death of Premier Hara, hampered the efforts of Baron Kato to come to agreement with the American and British delegations as to the non-fortification of certain islands in the Pacific. In the end, however, Kato carried his point.

Professor Ichihashi accepts the view that Japan's entrance into the World War (pp. 117, 118, 267) was due to "British pressure based upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance". He regards the opinions of Hornbeck, Willoughby, and Reinsch opposing this view as "speculative and not historical". The reviewer during the World War was in charge of the correspondence of the Department of State relating to the Far East, and, since the matter, now after fifteen years, is one of merely academic interest, he seems bound to state that the archives of the State Department fully sustain the assertions of Hornbeck, Willoughby, and Reinsch.

Professor Ichihashi throughout the volume evidences a desire to get at the truth and to be strictly just. The Twenty-one Demands, as they are usually called, he characterizes (p. 289) as "the most serious diplomatic blunder which she (Japan) had ever committed". One circumstance that made the demands offensive to the American government was that the Root-Takahira Notes seemed to require consultation between Japan and the United States whenever any event threatened the *status quo* in the region of the Pacific, yet it was not until three weeks after the presentation of the demands that the Japanese ambassador called upon the

Secretary of State and left a memorandum dealing with the matter. Even then he mentioned but eleven of the demands and did not state those fully.

The author is entirely right in his opinion (p. 184) that the Open Door policy, as originally conceived, was not intended for the benefit of China, but to protect American interests within so-called spheres of interest. Secretary Hay's recognition of Japan's sphere of interest in December, 1900, when he sought approval at Tokio for his proposal to secure a coaling station at Samsah Inlet for the American Navy, to which the author refers, was noted by the reviewer in 1923 in the volume already mentioned. During the Boxer troubles, however, the American Policy of the Open Door was restated so as to include all Chinese territory and to give its benefits to China as well as to the nations having commercial interests there. It is true that this was intended to be a declaration of the attitude of the American government, as Mr. Ichihashi says, yet it is also true that the replies of the several governments showed a general concurrence in the policy outlined in so far as the territorial integrity and administrative entity of China were concerned, but the real importance of the declaration is that it became the model for similar declarations by various powers in treaties, one with another—the treaty of Alliance between Japan and Britain, the Anglo-German Treaty of October, 1900, the treaties between Japan and France (1907), and between Japan and Russia (1905 and 1907), and in the Root-Takahira Notes.

In discussing the Shantung Treaty (p. 278), Mr. Ichihashi refers to the secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan of February 16, 1917. He does not mention the circumstances which induced Great Britain to agree in that document to support Japan's claim to receive the German rights in Shantung. The reviewer was attached to the American delegation at the Peace Conference and can state of his own knowledge that on the day of the first plenary session of the conference, January 18, 1919, a member of the British delegation called at the office of the American commissioners and asked if they would join Great Britain in supporting the claim of Japan as to Shantung. The request was declined, whereupon the member of the British delegation explained that his government was bound by an agreement to give such support and that Great Britain had been compelled so to do because of the desire to receive Japanese aid against the undersea-boat menace in the Mediterranean, which could not otherwise be obtained. A similar statement was made by Lloyd George to President Wilson in the discussion of the Japanese claims by the Council of Three.

Mr. Ichihashi is rather unfortunate in quoting from S. G. Cheng on extraterritoriality. Mr. Cheng is quoted (p. 203) as saying of the Chinese: "They had no notion that the sovereign rights of a State included the rights of jurisdiction over foreigners within its dominion; and they deliberately refused to grant them any judicial redress. In con-

sequence, the right of extraterritoriality was exercised by foreign Powers on sufferance."

One has but to read the list of cases cited by Morse in his *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* to find that just the contrary was true, both in regard to the claim of jurisdiction and in the redress of the wrongs of foreigners. Even in the ninth and tenth centuries the Chinese authorities exercised jurisdiction over the Arabs and Hindus at Canton, although they appointed headmen from among the foreigners to aid in enforcing Chinese authority, just as the Dutch and Spaniards have done in appointing Chinese headmen to aid in the control of Chinese in the East Indies. In fact the Chinese arrived at the conception of sovereignty as territorial long before Europe did. They granted the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction after they had been defeated in war.

In spite of these comments Professor Ichihashi is to be congratulated upon having done a fine piece of work.

E. T. W.

War as an Instrument of National Policy and its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1929. Pp. x, 310. \$3.50.)

The Peace Pact of Paris: a Study of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. By DAVID HUNTER MILLER. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. viii, 287. \$3.00.)

It is an adequate review of the first book to give its title and to name its author. Since the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles Professor Shotwell has labored in the cause of peace, more abundantly and more effectively than any other American, and it is a peculiar pleasure to historical scholars to have one of their number make so forward and effective a use of his scholarship.

This book professes to be, and is, an analysis of the Paris Pact and a history of the diplomatic situation which evolved it. But the author sweeps his eye over the history of war as an instrument of national policy, reviews in detail the special national interests of the signatory powers, analyzes the reserves with which the Briand-Kellogg proposal was approached in the various foreign offices, and finally discloses the pressure of public opinion, which, in the various countries, hurried the hesitating steps of statesmen into action. Reading this narrative one realizes that however vague the phrase "outlawry of war" may be, however statesmen may desire force as either a diplomatic threat or an ultimate resort, democratic opinion in the world regards it as an expression of its hope and a good starting place toward the goal which it intends to reach. Even in America, where we have allowed a tradition of isolation to paralyze our appreciation of the realities of modern international life, Professor Shotwell records that Secretary Kellogg's proposal "gavé expression to a public opinion which had become ready for the proposal before he made it".

The most important service the author has performed lies in the analysis of the language of the pact and of the accompanying explanations, reservations, and correspondence. Are the brief and general sentences of the pact "glittering generalities", mere unsanctioned expressions of a pious wish, or are they a vital covenant, imposing obligations, and, if the latter, do they affect foreign policy generally and American foreign policy in particular? No one has forgotten that senator after senator explained his vote in favor of ratification by the frank declaration that the pact meant just nothing at all! It is greatly to be hoped that such senators will attend Professor Shotwell's class in international law and morality, by reading his book. They will not be unduly alarmed lest they have been "beguiled unbeknownst" into joining the World Court or the League of Nations, for Dr. Shotwell goes no further in this very practical matter than to cite both Senator Borah and Mr. Kellogg to the effect that the treaty is in harmony with the fundamental principles of the Covenant of the League and stops short of committing the United States to any obligation to enforce it against any recalcitrant member. But they will be interested to discover that the treaty they have ratified integrates perfectly with all the anti-war machinery the world has set up: arbitration, conciliation, adjudication, and conference. They may be surprised to find that the pact entails a new definition of neutrality and makes it morally impossible for the United States to be a mere disinterested profit-taking observer in future wars. Senator Borah saw this and said: "It is quite inconceivable that this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party!" That is the strength of the pact. It is a multilateral treaty definitely abandoning war as an instrument of national policy and requiring the solution of all disputes and conflicts by pacific means. Signatories can no longer be neutral when they face nations which keep and nations which violate such a covenant. This changes the whole atmosphere of international relations and Professor Shotwell is wise in not seeking to draw ultimate conclusions. He has given the documentary record enriched with dispassionate comment and the consequences will take care of themselves. To the reviewer, as to the author, the record shows that we have made a long step forward.

Mr. Miller, in a much briefer book than that of Professor Shotwell, approaches the Paris Pact from the point of view of an international jurist. All the correspondence and documents are printed chronologically in an appendix, and for the most part the book is devoted to an exhibition of the processes by which M. Briand's suggestion of "a treaty of perpetual friendship" between France and America evolved into a definitive multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of political policy. But it is more than a narrative of successive statements by statesmen. Mr. Miller was legal adviser in the American Commission to negotiate Peace at Paris in 1919 and throughout this work, as in his earlier book, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, he holds in his hand the thread of the

movement for international peace, of which the making of the Paris Pact is but an episode. To the author, as a jurist, the pact is an effective engagement; to the author, as a student of the evolution of the peace movement, the pact is not the votive resolution of a timid man in a thunder storm, but a peculiarly modern and peculiarly American way of making a fresh departure in an old and perhaps embarrassing subject.

Apart from the historical matter, which is authentically and interestingly set out, the "meat" of the book is contained in the three concluding chapters, *The Meaning of the Treaty*, *The Consequences of the Treaty*, and *Forever and Forever*. In these chapters emphasis is laid upon the second paragraph of the pact, which obligates the signatories to seek the solution of all disputes and conflicts only through pacific means. This, as a necessary consequence, remits the nations to the use of the only "pacific means" so far devised: arbitration, conference, conciliation, and adjudication, and therefore commits them to the development and perfecting of these means. To Mr. Miller this means that arbitration tribunals, international conferences, the World Court, and the League of Nations, all become of vital importance to the United States as the only means we have left for the solution of our international controversies, with the obvious implication that we shall soon manifest our interest by active coöperation.

In the last chapter the author points out that the Paris Pact is forever and forever! It has no time limit and makes no provision either for termination or for withdrawal. In the opinion of the author this is a limitation upon our Constitution. Congress no longer may declare war, at least except in the special case of self defense. This is not suggested to cast a doubt upon the validity of the treaty under the Constitution, as of course no lawyer would doubt the *power* of Congress to declare war tomorrow in pursuit of a national policy or for any other or no reason. But it does measure the profound meaning of this instrument, which the Senate has ratified, to realize that in the interest of international peace we have placed a moral prohibition upon one of the highest powers of Congress, a power used several times in our history in a way and for purposes now forever forsworn! But all progress calls for increasing surrender of the individual will for the common good, and it is clear that if international anarchy is to be replaced with ordered liberty it must be by applying among nations the principle which, alone, in nations makes progress possible.

NEWTON D. BAKER.

Far Eastern International Relations. By HOSEA BALLOU MORSE, LL.D., and HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR, Ph.D. (Shanghai: Commercial Press. 1928. Pp. xx, 1128. \$8.00.)

UNIQUE, valuable, and interesting is this new history of the international relations of the Far East. It is unique in that it consists for the most part of an abridgment of the scholarly three volumes by Morse: *The*

International Relations of the Chinese Empire, a work which is widely regarded as authoritative for the period up to 1911, the year which marks the end of the Manchu régime and the beginning of the Republic. Dr. MacNair has condensed and revised these three volumes; added much material on Japan, Asiatic Russia, Siam, and the Philippines; and brought the history of the entire Far East to 1928.

The work of abridgment is well done. The condensation is accomplished not by summarizing or paraphrasing the statements in Morse, but by omitting from his account sentences, paragraphs, pages, and sometimes whole chapters. On the average Morse's chapters are cut down by a half to two-thirds. The essential is retained; the amplifying detail is eliminated. What remains, so far as concerns the history of China to 1911, is generally expressed in Morse's own language. Practically no new material is added to the account as given in the first two volumes of Morse; after that modifications and additions are more frequent, recent studies being utilized, especially Dr. Tyler Dennett's two books, *Americans in Eastern Asia* and *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, which are based upon State Department documents and the Roosevelt Papers. Morse is rich in foot-notes; MacNair uses them sparingly. This new book will not make the standard work of Morse obsolete. His three volumes will still be consulted by the specialist, but the great majority of those interested in the Far East will find the abridgment adequate and satisfactory.

In the parts of the volume for which Dr. MacNair has sole responsibility, about one-third of the total, he follows the general style and treatment of the sections which he has condensed from Morse. The various periods are well balanced; the essentials are clearly given; and the account aims to be fair-minded and impartial. But the recent history of China, especially its international relations, is almost impossible of presentation in a way to satisfy all parties, for intense emotions have been aroused by the events of the past few years. Dr. MacNair has already suffered from the criticism of ultra-patriotic Chinese. His Chinese publishers have recently withdrawn his volume from circulation, due, it is understood, to objections which have been raised to certain paragraphs dealing with Chinese Nationalism and its relations with the foreign powers. However accurate the author may be, it is obvious that an ardent Nationalist would not approve his account of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the May 30 Affair, the "Shameen Massacre", and extraterritoriality. The founder of the Kuomintang, whose memory is now almost universally revered, is described—at the time when he was leaving Canton a few months before his death—as "no longer admired or respected" (p. 1024); as to extraterritoriality, which Chinese insistently maintain is no longer justified, it is stated, "China in 1927 is but slightly better qualified to protect the lives and property of, and administer justice to, the aliens within her borders than she was in 1843" (p. 1020); and "from evidence and inference the presumption is" that the Chinese or their Russian

advisers—and not the foreigners on Shameen—fired the first shots which led to “the massacre” on that fateful June 23, 1925 (p. 1032). In view of the deep feeling regarding these events, the author might well have taken pains to point out at times the views of the Chinese, however incorrect or unjustified he may have judged them. The account of the May 30 Affair, for example, gives an Occidental no adequate appreciation of how Nationalist Chinese have thought and felt about it. But there is no excuse for forcing the withdrawal of a volume written by an outstanding foreign scholar. The offense is heightened by the fact that the author, upon the whole, is decidedly sympathetic with China. In fact, a Japanese nationalist might well claim that the relations between Japan and China, especially between 1915 and 1922, are written largely from the Chinese point of view. But as Dr. MacNair has pointed out in his preface, his effort to present these controversies impartially should be judged not by a few instances which may be criticized by one party or the other, but by his treatment of the entire history of each country concerned.

The volume is scholarly throughout, but in the excellent bibliography there are some important volumes not listed, which apparently have not been used. Among these are *Die Grosse Politik*, H. Foster Bain's *Ores and Industry in the Far East*, and P. B. Clyde's *International Rivalries in Manchuria, 1689-1922*.

G. H. BLAKESLEE.

A Short History of China. By EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS, M.A., LL.D., Agassiz Professor Emeritus of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xviii, 670. \$4.00.)

China, Yesterday and To-day. By EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS. Fourth edition, revised. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1929. Pp. xxiv, 743. \$3.75.)

IN spite of its modest title, Professor Williams has here written the largest history of China that has appeared in English for many decades. Coming as it does, moreover, from the pen of one with a long and distinguished record as a scholar and diplomat, it arouses high expectations. Here ought to be a volume which will set a new record of excellence in the American study of Chinese history. Perhaps because these anticipations are so high, the book is judged by more exacting standards than are applied to most surveys of China. Submitted to this test, it is distinctly disappointing. It is probably our best study of any length in English of the history of China and has obviously been compiled with much care, but its weaknesses make it a work of only average merit. In the first place, it is chiefly concerned with China's recent history and especially with China's intercourse with Western nations. Nearly three-fifths of the book deals with the period since 1800, fully a fifth with the years

since 1911, and in these sections the major emphasis is, not improperly, on China's relations with the Occident. An author is, of course, quite at liberty to fix his own proportions in his narrative, and those set here meet the demands of the average reader. This portion of the story, however, has been told several times recently and fully as well as, and perhaps better than Professor Williams has told it. He obviously wishes to be fair to all participants in the complicated events of these years and to be appreciative of the Chinese, but he repeats the traditional views of Western diplomats and merchants, especially on the earlier wars of China with the Powers, pointing out China's arrogance and making her chiefly at fault, and not sensing the possible debate over the question whether a sovereign state has not the right to keep its doors closed against foreigners and their commerce, and whether Great Britain and France were not even more arrogant than China. In the second place, Professor Williams seems singularly unaware of some of the outstanding results of scholarship and archaeology. He makes no mention of the striking discoveries of recent years of widespread remains in North China of a neolithic culture and of some traces of paleolithic man, although these must be taken into account in any discussion of the origins of the Chinese, to which he devotes a special appendix. He appears not to have used Maspero, *La Chine Antique* (Paris, 1927), by all odds the best account of China's ancient history which we possess, superseding all earlier handbooks on the subject. In his description (appendix I.) of the sources of Chinese history, he does not indicate the now well-established fact that the portions of the *Shu Ching* contained in what is known as the "ancient text" are clearly late fabrications, and that only the portions in the "modern text" are to be taken seriously. He gives, moreover, exact dates for the first two dynasties, to say the least a highly doubtful procedure. He pays no attention whatever to what recent Chinese scholars, following in the footsteps of the Han school of the last dynasty, have to say about early Chinese history and our sources of information concerning it—as serious an omission as though a writer of Roman history were to take Romulus and Remus as unquestionably historical personages. He appears to be unaware of what scholars have recently had to say about the introduction of Buddhism, and especially about the origin of the traditional account associated with the dream of Ming Ti. If he had taken advantage of Hail's *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion* (1927), he would probably have given a different account of some phases of that revolt. In the third place, the book is lacking in perspective. Many facts and incidents are given and are interestingly told, but the reader misses their correlation into an integrated whole and is often lost in detail.

It is no easy task to write a good history of China, especially since in so many sections the necessary preliminary spade-work of special monographic studies has been but slightly performed. It is not surprising, therefore, that so excellent a scholar as Professor Williams has not been entirely successful and that we must hope for another and a better attempt.

The usefulness and success of the second, now well-known, work are attested by the fact that this is its fourth edition in six years. The author has now brought the narrative down to the close of 1928, has added a chapter on language and literature, and has made a few other changes—the most of them minor ones. The book continues to be what it has been since its appearance, the best extensive one volume general work on China that has appeared in English within a decade.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

A History of Christian Missions in China. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 930. \$5.00.)

THE work of Professor Latourette is the fruit of a rich experience and a thorough research. After a brief introduction dealing with the religious background of the Chinese and the characteristics of Christianity, the author sketches the Nestorian missions, which left little trace in China because they were chiefly concerned with a foreign community. Then follows an account of the revival of Nestorian activity and early Catholic missions under the Mongols. Both of these movements disappeared with the Mongols.

The real missionary movement began with the work of the Jesuits during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under the leadership of Ricci and his colleagues. The account is replete with dramatic interest. The development of national monarchies, their rivalries in exploration, the religious and cultural revival are drawn with skill. The missionary work is intimately connected with the European background. Its early success and its final failure are to be found not so much in China as they were inherent in the conception of Christianity and the political situation in Europe. A short chapter describes the establishment of the Russian Church, which shared the defect of other efforts based on national and political aspirations.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the description of the missionary enterprise in modern China. The subject is treated with a thoroughness which will make the book a mine of information for many years. The history of each missionary society at work in China is given in great detail. Mission methods and results are discussed critically, though sympathetically. The author does not hesitate to express his views on both Protestant and Catholic. Still his general conclusion recognizes the great value of the modern missionary movement to China.

The section on the T'ai Ping rebellion is based on recent studies which show that the real leader was not Hung Hsiu-Ch'üan, but a Hunanese, Chu Chiu-tao by name, who was the political organizer and brains behind the movement. The driving power behind this great rebellion was not Christianity, but was the rising nationalism of the Chinese. The resemblances to Christianity were quite formal. The significance of the

movement was in the fact that it opened up interior China to the missionary and the modern world. Professor Latourette places the missionary movement in the stream of world history. The development of nationalism, the revival of learning, the industrial revolution, the rise and fall of dynasties, the rebellions in remote parts of China are all related to this religious expansion of the West.

The book is well documented. The bibliography represents only a partial list of the works consulted. The work is not a mere reproduction of sources, but gives a connected story of this important development.

The work is significant not merely because of its size and its exhaustive character, but because it seems to mark the end of one epoch in the religious expansion of the West and the beginning of a new period. The period which it describes is that of propagation; the period which is just beginning may be called that of digestion and assimilation. Christianity is now being acclimated and tested by the standards developed by the Chinese people in the course of their long history.

The concluding paragraph expresses the spirit of the whole work: "In conclusion, then, the historian does not cease to be impartial when he declares that the presence and the labors of the missionary were most fortunate for China. Defects the missionary enterprise undoubtedly had. Sometimes it did evil. On the whole, however, it was the one great agency whose primary function was to bring China into contact with the best in the Occident and to make the expansion of the West a means to the greater welfare of the Chinese people. If, when the Chinese have finally adjusted themselves and their culture to the new age, the revolution through which they shall have passed proves to have been more beneficial than harmful, it will be in no small degree because of the thousands of Christian apostles who counted not their own lives dear that to the Chinese might come more abundant life."

LEWIS HODOUS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January, 1722/3, to December, 1728; from January, 1728/9, to December, 1734, preserved in the Public Record Office. Two volumes. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. 481, 464. £1. 10 s. each.)

THESE volumes contain the minutes of the Board of Trade from 1723 to 1734, a period of twelve years, during which, as is commonly stated, the board was entering upon a time of deterioration, due in part to the inferiority of the men who made up its working membership and in part to the "pernicious influence" of the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle became one of the principal secretaries of state in 1724 and, according to the current view, began at once to draw over into his office the chief business of the board. We are interested, therefore, to discover from

the volumes before us whether these statements are true. Was the board inactive during this period and was Newcastle interfering unduly in its affairs?

To each of these questions the evidence before us presents a decided negative. There was no cessation of activity on the part of the board and no undue interference on the part of Newcastle. Laxity in attendance was probably no greater than it had been during the previous decade, and at worst must be charged up against the general official attitude of the time and not be ascribed to any marked inferiority in the personnel of the board. Martin Bladen and Paul Docminique at this time were in no way inferior to William Blathwayt and John Pollexfen of the earlier period, nor was the Earl of Westmorland a less satisfactory presiding officer than had been either the Earl of Bridgewater or the Earl of Stamford. Plummer, Chetwynd, and Pelham were quite as competent as had been Meadows, Monckton, and Pulteney; and it must not be forgotten that this board has to its credit the selection, as its legal adviser, of Francis Fane, king's counsellor and one of the ablest lawyers of his day. There is no instance in these volumes of the members being reprimanded by the secretary of state for inattendance, as was twice done in 1709, when the board is supposed to have been exemplary in the performance of its duties. The meetings were regularly held, sometimes twice in one day, which was rarely the case in earlier years, and the attendance was fairly good. If the entries are more brief and the proceedings less elaborately recorded (and I am not sure that either statement is correct) something must be ascribed to the youth of the secretary, Alured Popple (entered "Alfred" in text and index of the second volume!), who began his duties in 1722. As Popple warmed up to his work, he displays a freer hand.

The business that came before the board was, on the whole, as varied as ever and in its way quite as important. That it does not bulk as large as during the twelve years after 1696 simply shows, I think, that in volume it was not as great as formerly. The flurries of 1696 and the wars that followed, ending in the Treaty of Utrecht, were over and the system was running smoothly. The problems to be solved were less spectacular, but more subtle and in some respects more difficult, and the board met them in nearly two hundred reports and representations, a number of which relating to trade are not entered in my printed lists for those years. Among these papers, drawn up by the board, are the very important reports on various aspects of the general state of the colonies made to the House of Lords and the House of Commons in 1732, 1733, and 1734, the last named of which was considered valuable enough to be printed at the time. These reports, which are no whit less notable than those of earlier years, were probably in large part prepared by the secretary and the clerk of the reports; and the fact that the latter was appointed in 1730 to meet the increasing demands upon the time and energies of the board is itself a proof that the plantation office was not losing any of its business.

The board performed a great deal of other important work also. It made the preliminary investigations for the Naval Stores Act, the Hat Act, the Debt Act, and the Molasses Act, and prepared the first draft of those measures. It began the long drawn-out inquiry into the whole matter of bills of credit, considered the boundary controversies between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York, and Virginia and North Carolina, and assisted the Duke of Chandos and his friends in their effort to secure a title to the Equivalent Land—lying between Connecticut and New York—as the seat of a series of English estates within a separately erected county of New York. It had much correspondence with Connecticut and Rhode Island regarding the possible surrender of their charters and examined at some length into the effects of the disallowance of the Connecticut Intestacy Law. It helped to negotiate the surrender of the Carolinas and to complete the surrender of the Bahamas, both intricate transactions owing to the Granville reservation in the one case and the claims of the lessees in the other. It debated many difficult colonial questions, such as Shute's quarrel with the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the perennial dispute with the colonies over duties on negroes and European goods, the Jamaica revenue act, the London shipwright's petition against colonial shipbuilding, the civil establishment for Nova Scotia (which conferred upon that fishery and conquered dependency the status of a colony), the proposed settlements in Maine, Nova Scotia, Virginia, and South Carolina (associated with the names of Coram, Dunbar, Keith, Stauber, and Purry), and the promotion of the colony of Georgia. It had the six-penny duty to look after, which was extended to the colonies for the first time in 1729; and it began the first hearings in the case of Fairfax and the Northern Neck, which was destined to be prolonged for sixteen years. In some respects most important of all, it concerned itself—often at great length—with the Newfoundland trade, trade with the Indians of New York, trade with Africa, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Sicily, the herring trade with Bremen, and commercial relations with Brussels and Hamburg. It corresponded with consuls abroad and received letters from them in return regarding trade conditions in particular places. This list of the board's activities is by no means complete, but it shows that the board was not without many accomplishments to its credit—accomplishments quite as noteworthy as those of the earlier years. In fact, if we include the well-known report of the year 1721 as falling within this period of "deterioration", I should rate the results of the board's activities as more fruitful than they were during the same number of years after 1696.

Newcastle's relations with the board from 1724 to 1734 were of a routine and comparatively trifling character. They were in no sense of the word "pernicious". I can not see that they differed essentially from the relations which in earlier years Shrewsbury and Vernon had had with the board. The one so-called innovation—the selection of colonial gov-

ernors and deputy governors by the king, that is, by the secretary of state—was not new. The board had never selected the governors, and I doubt, despite their commission, if they had ever been expected to do so. Shrewsbury appointed Bellomont in 1697 and he and his successors continued to name the governors from that time on, only occasionally, in doubtful cases, inviting the board to express an opinion. This control of patronage, though it might be construed as an encroachment upon the legal powers of the board, was of no great significance. It did not affect in any way the main purpose for which the board was created, which was "to promote the trade of this kingdom and to inspect and improve [the king's] plantations in America". Newcastle did not name a governor until 1727, three years after he had received the seals, when he selected Hunter for Jamaica and Londonderry for the Leeward Islands; and his choice of men led to no visible decline in the quality of the governors. Hunter was a much better man than either Fletcher or Cornbury and Burnet was better than Shute. Belcher and Cosby were his most serious mistakes.

The board continued, as before, to draft practically all the instructions, to make all important inquiries, and to prepare all the representations and such bills for parliamentary action as came within its province. Once or twice the secretary drafted a separate instruction, which he sent to the board for inspection, but that had been done also by his predecessors. Except for the selection of the governors, he took into his own hands only what legitimately belonged to him, that is, matters relating to diplomacy and war. The board sent to him papers that appertained to these subjects, and Newcastle, in his turn, sent to the board letters, addresses, and petitions concerning trade and the colonies that he received in the course of his correspondence with the governors and others in various parts of the world. The secretary for the northern department did the same, so that in practice the lines between the offices seem to have been fairly well drawn. Three times only in twelve years did the board have reason to protest, which is rather a remarkable record, when we realize that the secretary for the southern department had the plantations under his care and could have intervened in plantation business if he had wanted to do so. Once when, without consulting the board, Newcastle named a colonial councillor, the latter warned him that he was trespassing on its privileges (1722-1728, p. 287), and Newcastle did not repeat the offense. Again, twice, it begged him to let it know what was passing through the secretary's office in relation to the plantations (1722-1728, p. 349; 1728-1734, p. 154). Neither of these protests need be taken very seriously, for they arose from a certain amount of confusion as to the duties of two offices invested with similar functions at a time when the distribution of governmental powers was still in a state of flux.

The relations of the board with the Privy Council and the Council Committee were regular and unbroken, following the channels in use

since 1696. The committee referred scores of matters directly to the board, never, as far as I have observed, sending anything through the secretary of state. The board replied, not only furnishing information and submitting drafts of instructions, but also expressing opinions, offering suggestions, and proposing remedies in all sorts of cases. In fact, during these years, the Board of Trade had far more influence upon English legislation affecting trade and the colonies and upon English colonial policy in general than had the secretary of state. Too much has been made of patronage, which had little or nothing to do with policy, and far too much dependence has been placed upon the *obiter dicta* of such eighteenth-century writers as Horace Walpole and Edmund Burke. In drafting the general instructions, circular instructions, and additional instructions, preparing reports and representations, obtaining the opinion of their legal adviser on colonial laws, framing bills for passage in Parliament, and in general overseeing colonial administration, the Board of Trade during these years played a part far more significant in defining England's relation with her colonies than anything that could have resulted from its complete control of colonial appointments.

In view of the evidence furnished in these and previous volumes of the series, I believe that Dr. Dickerson and Professors Root, Basye, and Raymond Turner will need to revise some of the statements to which they have committed themselves in print. I will need to revise a few of my own, though from the beginning I have questioned the opinion that Newcastle before 1737 seriously interfered with the work of the board (see this *Review*, XVII. 842). Certainly Professor Basye can no longer say that "In other respects Newcastle was able to divert practically all colonial business to his office", or Professors Root and Turner contend that the year 1714 marks a change for the worse viewed from the standpoint of effective administration. In estimating the place of the board in the history of commerce and the colonies, we must take into account something more than patronage, personnel, and politics. Whatever may have been the situation from 1737 to 1748, which will have to be determined at some later date from a careful scrutiny of the minutes for those years, when finally they shall appear, the fact is clear from the evidence before us that until 1734, at any rate, the Board of Trade, viewed in the light of the administrative habits prevailing at Whitehall, was a useful and intelligent body, with its powers essentially unimpaired. It was often slow in the performance of business and some of its members took their duties very lightly; but everybody was slow in that day and few in high office were conscientious. The defects of the board were the defects of all administrative offices at the time, and that time dates not from 1714 but from 1689.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732. By VERNER W. CRANE, Brown University. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1928. Pp. 391. \$4.50.)

To call this book an important contribution to the history of the Southern frontier would be an understatement, for it is virtually a re-creation of the history of that region during the period that it covers. For some fifteen years Mr. Crane has been at work in this field gathering and digesting information from a wide variety of sources. While some of his conclusions have already been published in the form of articles in this *Review* and elsewhere, and while Heinrich, Bolton, and Swanton have given us valuable studies of the French, Spaniards, and Indians of this region, most of the material in the present volume is either new or freshly related. "The English colonial frontiers", writes Mr. Crane (p. vii), "have been strangely neglected." With the publication of this work his observation ceases to apply to that portion of the English colonial frontiers with which he deals.

The most interesting thing about the book is its demonstration that the Indian trade was the central theme of the history of this region from 1670 to 1732. By "the Southern frontier", the author means essentially South Carolina, including both the outer fringe of settlement and the province's sphere of influence, which was extended westward through the Indian country to the Mississippi by means of trade. During the period covered, which begins with the founding of South Carolina and ends with the founding of Georgia, South Carolina was the Southern frontier, for it was not only the southernmost outpost of English settlement but also the hub of the Southern fur trade. Although, as the author shows, South Carolina did not lose its frontier character or its control of the Indian trade immediately upon the founding of Georgia, the limits that he has chosen for his study are logical, since they correspond to important changes in the local situation.

The South Carolina Indian trade is exhibited in its manifold aspects and widespread ramifications. The account of its organization and functioning is unique and, in the opinion of the reviewer, one of the best features of the book. Not only does the author describe the mechanism of this important business with a wealth of illuminating detail, but he also makes a capital point in regard to the economic factors involved in the international conflict for control of it. This point (pp. 109, 115) is that "the southern trade was not properly a fur trade at all, but a trade in skins or leather", chiefly in deerskins; and that (quoting a contemporary authority) "Deer Skins the only Indian Produce are of more value in England than in France or Spain and in Consequence the Traders give a better price for them . . .". The great advantage that this economic factor afforded the British in their contest with the French and Spaniards along the Southern frontier is obvious, if we accept, as the reviewer does, the author's thesis that this was a fur trader's rather than a pioneer farmer's frontier, that the Southern Indians' alliance was one

of the chief determinants of European supremacy in this region, and that (as a general rule, with exceptions noted by the author) Indian trade and Indian alliances went hand in hand. Many other illustrations of the far-reaching influence of the Indian trade might be given. It played an important part in widening the breach between colonists and proprietors and in stirring up intercolonial rivalries, at the same time that it showed the need for intercolonial union and helped to shape British policy towards the West. Anglo-French rivalry in the trade led to the establishment of Fort King George (Altamaha) in 1721, to the renewal of the Anglo-Spanish controversy over Guale, and to the founding of Georgia in 1732.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Crane failed to make use of the manuscript material in the Spanish archives and based his account of Spanish relations almost entirely on the rather scanty printed sources and the secondary works of Bolton and other specialists. This is all the more regrettable since his study of English, French, and American sources was so thorough and productive. He explains his procedure by the statement that "from the close of the seventeenth century the great issue in the South was Anglo-French supremacy" (p. ix). This explanation is not entirely adequate, since nearly half of the period indicated in his title lies in the seventeenth century, and since even in the eighteenth century Spain's rôle, while subordinate to that of France, was by no means insignificant, as Mr. Crane himself has recognized by devoting a whole chapter to the Carolina-Florida Border, 1721-1730. In discussing the origin of the Yamasee War, he questions the truth of the charge that the Indian uprising was partly due to Spanish instigation (p. 167); but his foot-notes give no evidence that he examined the Spanish sources for information on the point.

Otherwise *The Southern Frontier* is notable for its fine scholarship and is indeed a model of its kind. There are two appendixes, showing the exports of deerskins from South Carolina and the prices of Indian trading goods (British, but not French or Spanish); a critical bibliography; a map of the Southern frontier; and an excellent 32-page index. The book is a credit to the Duke University Press as well as to Mr. Crane.

A. P. WHITAKER.

The American Experiment. By BERNARD FAÿ in collaboration with AVERY CLAFIN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1929. Pp. 264. \$2.75.)

THE brilliant author of *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America* has written, in collaboration with an American, an interesting essay on American history and American society. As in the earlier work, the emphasis is on the fundamental and subtle psychology of the American people rather than on figures or facts. The authors are more interested in great movements than in individual leaders.

In contrast with so many other pictures of America through French eyes, from de Tocqueville to Siegfried, this book reaches a definite con-

clusion without suggesting the constant presence of any single thesis. Almost at the close, the authors decide that "the United States still remains the product of the first experiment at grafting a democracy upon a traditional society". Both democracy and federalism are interpreted as passing phases in the development of a people whose cultural roots were already deep in the soil of European history. These were tools in the conquest of a great empty continent—and federalism, at least, may still have its lessons and uses for a Europe shattered by war, even though its rôle in America itself seems so nearly ended. A unified America demands and challenges a Europe which is at least moving in the direction of unity.

The definitely historical section of the book is limited to three chapters and covers one hundred pages. These chapters, and especially the one which deals with the middle period in American history, are disappointing, and contain too many careless sentences to be quite convincing.

Passing over a few misprints, consider statements opposite which many historians would place question marks. "These men" (speaking of the Constitutional fathers), "the wisest and the strongest in the land, were hopelessly at odds" (p. 43). Is not Schuyler's view of the fundamental economic agreement of the authors of the Constitution more near the truth? Again, is it exact to say that the Constitution "creates a nation, since president and representatives are elected by the entire people", or that "it organizes a democratic elective system" (p. 44)? Did "the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia pass resolutions affirming the right of states to withdraw from the Union whenever they saw fit" (p. 48)?

The authors (p. 63) ascribe to Jackson the measure for distributing to the states the revenues from public lands, when, as a matter of fact, this important bill originated with his rival Clay and was only signed by Jackson with evident reluctance. "Stephen A. Douglas wanted to be president" (p. 72), is given as the explanation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in spite of the rival theories of F. H. Hodder and P. O. Ray. Again, on the same page, the authors state that the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was "subsequently upheld by the decision of Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case". If so, why did Douglas have to hedge so disastrously at Freeport?

The coördination between the work of the two authors is not always perfect. In general, the point of view is that of the French observer. It is, accordingly, somewhat confusing to pass from paragraphs in which the pronouns "we" and "our" refer to France to others in which the reference is clearly to America.

As to proportions, always a delicate problem in a brief historical sketch, what shall we say of a review of the general course of American history limited to one hundred pages, in which there is still space to give five to a rather detailed account of the "Molly Maguires"? Was not the incident itself quite exceptional and unusual, and for that reason, dramatic, rather than significant?

But in making such criticisms one must remember that the evident purpose is not to write a history, but to interpret American society today. When the authors touch on intellectual conditions in the eighteenth century, or on French ideas of America, and especially when they analyze life in contemporary America, they become shrewd and witty observers, having much to say that is wise and important. The chapter on "American Institutions", all the way from the colleges to the movies, is admirable—and will need to be read by the social historians of the future.

The volume would be better for an index.

ROBERT G. CALDWELL.

The Office of Indian Affairs, its History, Activities, and Organization. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. [Institute for Government Research, Service Monographs of the United States Government, no. 48.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1927. Pp. xiv, 591. \$3.00.)

THE series to which this volume belongs is now nearing completion. It is designed to give an account of the history, organization, and activities of all of the administrative services of the United States government. There are at present seventy-five such services, and fifty-five of the monographs have been published.

The development of the federal government since its organization has been, to a large extent, the development of its administrative departments. The expansion of the functions of the government has been marked by the creation of new bureaus, many of them dealing with matters the control of which by the federal government, or for that matter, by any governmental agency whatsoever, would have been unthinkable to the framers of the Constitution. The administrative machinery has become so vast and so complex that it has long been impossible for even the well-informed citizen to form any accurate idea of its manifold activities; and its rapid growth during the last generation has made reorganization and simplification, in the interests of economy and efficiency, a crying necessity. In a message to Congress in 1912, President Taft, in urging such a reorganization, said: "This vast organization has never been studied in detail as one piece of administrative mechanism. Never have the foundations been laid for a thorough consideration of the relations of all of its parts. No comprehensive effort has been made to list its multifarious activities or to group them in such a way as to present a clear picture of what the government is doing. Never has a complete description been given of the agencies through which these activities are performed. At no time has the attempt been made to study all of these activities and agencies with a view to the assignment of each activity to the agency best fitted for its performance, to the avoidance of duplication of plant and work, to the integration of all administrative agencies of the government, so far as may be practicable, into a unified organization for the most effective and economical dispatch of public business."

To provide the materials for such a comprehensive study of the administrative machinery of the government is one of the chief objects which the Institute for Government Research had in view, in undertaking the preparation of this series. In the foreword to the series this object is clearly set forth. "These studies are wholly descriptive in character. No attempt is made, in them to subject the conditions described to criticism nor to indicate features in respect to which changes might with advantage be made. Upon administrators themselves falls responsibility for making or proposing changes which will result in the improvement of methods of administration. The primary aim of outside agencies should be to emphasize this responsibility and facilitate its fulfillment.

"While the monographs thus make no direct recommendations for improvement, they cannot fail greatly to stimulate efforts in that direction. Prepared as they are according to a uniform plan and setting forth as they do the activities, plant, organization, personnel and laws governing the several services of the government, they will automatically, as it were, reveal, for example, the extent to which work in the same field is being performed by different services, and thus furnish the information that is essential to a consideration of the great question of the better distribution and co-ordination of activities among the several departments, establishments, and bureaus, and the elimination of duplication of plant, organization and work."

To this purpose the monographs are admirably adapted, and it is to be hoped that their publication may hasten the reorganization of the administrative departments, which successive presidents have so earnestly advocated. But apart from any immediate and practical purpose which they may serve, these studies are certain to prove of great value to the historian. They make easily available an immense amount of historical material on the activities of the government which has never been so comprehensively presented before, and the extensive bibliographies will facilitate research in a great variety of subjects covering almost the entire range of federal activities.

The different monographs so far published vary greatly in length from that on *The Women's Bureau* of 44 pages to that on *The Office of Indian Affairs* of 591—but the presentation of material follows, with slight variations of detail, a uniform plan. The first section is devoted to a history of the service, the second to a detailed description of its functions and activities, and the third to a description of its organization. There follows an appendix containing statistics, financial statements, a compilation of the laws relating to the organization and activities of the service, and a bibliography.

The Office of Indian Affairs contains an admirable history of the relations between the federal government and the Indians, from the days when the United States was solemnly guaranteeing to the Indians "all their teritorial [sic] rights in the fullest and most ample manner" to

lands in Pennsylvania and Ohio, to the days of the "Oil Indians" of Oklahoma. This most disgraceful chapter in American history is summarized with great restraint, and the author, in accordance with the plan of the series, does not permit himself to indulge in adverse criticism. But the facts speak for themselves; and our relations with the Indians, which were characterized as "a century of dishonor" by Mrs. Jackson in 1881, have been scarcely more creditable during the last half-century. Though there have been less brutality and fewer outrages of the kind which formerly awoke from time to time the conscience of the nation, and though more serious efforts have been made to place our relations with the Indians upon a higher and more altruistic level, nevertheless there have been instances of fraud and corruption on the part of officials, and, with the increasing wealth of some of the tribes, the swarm of individuals who make their living by preying upon the Indians' ignorance of business practices and legal procedure has increased rather than diminished. The apologists for our Indian policy have dwelt upon the inevitable difficulties produced by an expanding population pushing forward into lands sparsely occupied by a people of inferior culture. That cruelty and injustice were, in some degree, unavoidable concomitants of our westward expansion can hardly be denied. But a study of this volume makes evident that in addition to the inevitable factors of the situation there were others of a different nature. To the ignorance, ineptitude, and corruption, which for so long characterized the administration of Indian affairs, is due, in no small measure, this disgraceful chapter of our history. The abuses in the Indian service have been a source of scandal from the foundation of the government. They have been denounced by presidents, committees of Congress, and organizations interested in the welfare of the Indian, from the days of Washington to within the week just past. The words of General Garfield in 1869: "I am compelled to say that no branch of the national government is so spotted with fraud, so tainted with corruption, so utterly unworthy of a free and enlightened government, as this Indian department"—are typical of what has been said by responsible persons over and over again. But the reply of Secretary Stanton to General Halleck in 1864 is a significant indication of the reason why reform has been so long delayed: "What does Bishop Whipple want? If he has come here to tell us of the corruption of our Indian system, and the dishonesty of Indian agents, tell him that we know it. But the Government never reforms an evil until the people demand it. Tell him that when he reaches the heart of the American people, the Indians will be saved."

The author divides the history of the relations between the federal government and the Indians into three periods: the Treaty Period to 1871, the Reservation Period 1871-1887, the Allotment and Citizenship Period since 1887. In his treatment of the first period, he recounts the process by which the Indians were over and over again guaranteed the perpetual possession of lands in treaties which the federal government, in

the face of the invincible westward movement of population, was obliged to abrogate with almost mathematical regularity. In dealing with the later periods, when most of the Indians had been concentrated on lands west of the Mississippi, he traces the beginnings of those more purely administrative problems which have faced the Office of Indian Affairs in our own time.

Although the text is made up to a large extent of quotations from official documents, they have been so well chosen and so skillfully employed that the historical section is vivid and interesting and far removed from the aridity which one might expect in a monograph of this character.

The later sections of the book are of greater interest to the student of the minutiae of political science than to the historian. They give a clear, detailed, and comprehensive account of the multifarious activities of the federal government as guardian of the Indians, and of the organization which has been built up to carry on these activities.

In this volume, at least, the Institute for Government Research has accomplished fully the project set forth in the foreword to the series.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Desertion during the Civil War. By ELLA LONN, Ph.D., Professor of History in Goucher College. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1928. Pp. viii, 251. \$3.00.)

THE publication of this volume is one of the earliest fruits of the Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association. It was the reviewer's privilege to examine the book in manuscript; and the favorable impression then formed is confirmed and deepened by the published work. Miss Lonn has performed a most useful service by presenting an adequate though not bulky treatment of desertion on both sides in the Civil War. Her study is based on the more accessible published material, chiefly, of course, the *Official Records*. As for Confederate desertion, she shows that backwoodsmen and "crackers" had little interest in the struggle; that the conscript net dragged Northerners, Mexicans, and many ruffians into the service; that deserters were often mere boys; and that the poor food, clothing, pay, and equipment (many men being without blankets and others having "scarcely clothing to hide their nakedness") had their inevitable effect in the disintegration of morale. Under the unspeakable camp conditions of that time, men were "kept in the swamp until their systems were poisoned with miasma" (p. 12); and to the mental anxiety of homesickness and depression was added the desperation of those who were forced to desert to save their families. Soldiers from Arkansas, for instance, deserted at once when learning that Indians were scalping on the border. Death was the extreme penalty for desertion; but men were too precious to be shot; and shooting was out of the question for the

thousands guilty. Yet when forbearance was felt to be no longer a virtue, the death penalty was at times enforced. Stonewall Jackson, for instance, never failed to confirm the sentence of death.

Miss Lonn gives a vivid picture of the methods of deserters and the life of deserter bands, turned outlaw, in western North Carolina and Virginia, northeastern Alabama, the Georgia mountains, the Florida swamps, and the cane-bottoms of Louisiana. As to the larger consequences for the South, she concludes that desertion prevented offensives, as when Lee admitted that desertion was the main cause of his retiring from Maryland in 1862 (p. 120); caused withdrawal of forces for deserter-hunting (good soldiers sent after bad often deserting on their own account); weakened the army by the widespread stealing of arms, horses, and equipment; conveyed information to the enemy; terrorized the citizenry, and lowered the general regard for a government that could not enforce its will or prevent anarchy.

When treating Union desertion, the author finds no such widespread outlawry of organized deserters as in the South; but she points out the evil effects of bounty-jumping, and shows that immense portions of the Union armies were reported "absent". The total number of deserters on the Union side, allowing for repeaters, is stated as approximately 200,000 (the estimate of Provost-Marshal General Fry), while the same authority is quoting as finding 104,000 Confederate desertions. Thus desertions were more numerous in proportion to enlistments in the North than in the South: one to seven in the North as compared with one to nine in the Confederacy. An analysis of desertion by states shows that New York had the highest number in the North, approximately 45,000; while North Carolina led the South with 23,000. The value of the book is enhanced by statistical tables; and the reviewer recommends it as better calculated to convey a sense of the sickening realities of the Civil War than many volumes of military history.

J. G. RANDALL.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. 1915, Supplement. *The World War.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1928. Pp. ccliv, 1080. \$1.75.)

THE present volume, as in the case of the 1914 *Supplement*, is divided into four general sections. The first contains correspondence relating to the continuation and spread of the European War and to the various attempts to arrange peace. Amounting to only a tenth of the volume, it is of especial importance for the study of conditions in the Central Empires, the diplomacy surrounding the entrance of Italy, and the diplomatic contest in the Near East. The second general section, forming the bulk of the volume, numbers over 600 pages and is devoted to the problems coming within the category "Neutral Rights". It covers the dispute arising with Great Britain over Allied interference with neutral trade and that with Germany over the submarine warfare. The first was evidently the

more irritating, the second infinitely more serious. The Allied attempt to prohibit all trade with Germany, the problem of contraband, the seizure of American ships and cargoes, might conceivably have led to a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and the Allied nations, had it not been that the importance of this dispute was overshadowed by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, *Hesperian*, and *Ancona*. For the first time the historian is in a position to proceed to a methodical study of our relations with the belligerents. The third section of the *Supplement* is devoted to "Neutral Duties", and the fourth to miscellaneous problems. As in the preceding volume, there is a double list of the papers, first by topics and second by countries, and a brief but serviceable index.

The interest of this volume naturally exceeds that of its predecessor in view of the increasing number, complexity, and importance of the problems which the State Department had to face in guiding the United States along the difficult path of neutrality. A brief review permits us merely to note fresh light on various issues of a controversial nature. It appears that although the State Department received no text of the Treaty of London it was informed by the American ambassadors in Great Britain and Italy of the general nature of the agreement, especially as it affected the Slavs. In each case the information came originally from Mr. Steed. The German contention that the submarine campaign was merely a retaliation to the British food blockade is seriously punctured by the evidence that Mr. Gerard, following the instructions of the State Department, took up at length with Germany the possibility of a compromise, according to which the British would permit food-stuffs to enter Germany, if the poison gas warfare and submarine attacks on merchant vessels were discontinued. But the Germans refused definitely to consider the proposal unless the free entrance of raw materials also were permitted. The German appeal to humanitarian sentiments can thus hardly be regarded as sincere. It is also interesting to note that the report of Mr. Bryan's alleged remark to Ambassador Dumba, to the effect that the first *Lusitania* note need not be taken too seriously, as passed on to Mr. Gerard by Herr Zimmermann, was immediately cabled by Mr. Gerard to Mr. Bryan. The latter at once invited Dr. Dumba to guarantee the falsity of the report, and to telegraph accordingly to Berlin. The exchange of documents leaves the definite impression that the Secretary of State was the victim of casual or intentional misrepresentation. The mass of despatches from the ambassadors in the different European countries, of which those of Mr. Gerard are especially informing, supplemented by the reports of the consuls, emphasizes the impression already created by previously published memoirs, *i.e.*, that the chance of negotiating peace in 1915 was practically non-existent. The only hope lay in the compromise proposals of Colonel House, which, if they ever enjoyed any possibility of success, were ruined by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Even if the political leaders in Germany and Great Britain had approved

the suggested compromise and had overcome the unwillingness of the French to consider it, they would hardly have dared to face the storm of popular disapproval that would have followed in every country. The governments had aroused the peoples to such a white-heat of belligerent fury that they had really lost control of the situation. The chances of a negotiated peace weakened as the war proceeded, for the demands of each nation naturally increased in proportion to its sacrifices, and the hope of complete victory in each state was as lively at the end of 1915 as at the outbreak of the war.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Minnesota in the War with Germany. By FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK and LIVIA APPEL. In two volumes. Volume I. [Publications of the Minnesota Historical Society.] (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1928. Pp. xviii, 374. \$3.50.)

ONE by one the authentic war histories of the states are being written. And they are indeed a welcome addition to that mass of "stuff" that flooded the country immediately following the close of the war. The private publishing houses had their day ten years ago. But now one can sit down and carefully assess the facts and write about them. And this is exactly what the authors have done in this volume, the first of a two-volume series, describing Minnesota's part in the World War. They have drawn upon the extensive collection of state war records, official and unofficial, newspapers, diaries, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., collected by the Minnesota Historical Society.

The opening chapter—there are thirteen in all—describes the fore-shadowings of the conflict. Minnesota citizens attempted to remain neutral at the outset. The presence of 14 German daily and weekly newspapers, with a combined circulation of over 100,000, and the activities of the Minnesota Peace Society with its 70,000 members, adopting the slogan "flour barrels are better than gun barrels", made it rather easy for the people of Minnesota to assume a neutral position.

Minnesota senators and congressmen were quite undecided as to what stand to take in February and March, 1917. Four of her congressmen voted against the declaration of war. But how could they have done otherwise when Congressman Lundeen had discovered by a referendum ballot that of the 54,000 voters in his district only 800 wanted war, while 8000 had voted against it (p. 52)? Then when the selective service bill was introduced, three of Minnesota's congressmen voted against it.

But the pro-war adherents were determined to override this opposition. The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, backed by the patriotic citizens of the state, led the way. They encouraged enlistment in the army and navy. They got an act passed by the Minnesota legislature in 1917 making it a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment, or both, to in any way discourage enlistments. And in June, 1918, the Public Safety Commission issued an order making it a misdemeanor

punishable by fine or jail imprisonment for any male person of 16 years of age or older, with certain exemptions, not to be engaged in some useful occupation (p. 105).

The chapters on the first draft; selective service; training of officers at Fort Snelling; all recall the vivid pictures that were enacted a little more than a decade ago. In some respects this volume is more than a mere record of one state's part in the World War. The chapters dealing with the officers' training camps at Fort Snelling, and the one on the S. A. T. C., are as good a review of these two forms of service as can be found anywhere in print. Likewise the chapter on the federalized national guard at Camp Cody is much more than a description of Minnesota's troops. It is an excellent discussion of the manner in which a National Guard unit was merged into the national army. And it is difficult to find a better description of the national cantonments than that set forth in the chapter on Minnesotans at Camp Dodge. The volume contains 12 illustrations, but no index.

JOHN W. OLIVER.

MINOR NOTICES

The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, pp. xii, 198, 6 s.) The Shumerians, as we should more accurately spell their name, could have found no better historian than Woolley, the excavator of "Ur of the Chaldees". His book possesses an importance entirely out of proportion to its small size. Its limits are generous, for the history is carried to the days of Hammurabi, and so includes the non-Shumerian dynasties of Agade, Isin, and Larsa. Attention is not confined to the relatively dry narrative history. Every aspect of the culture is considered, with the aid of the published texts and with full utilization of the archaeological material. Thirty illustrations, chosen for the most part from the excavations at Ur, will be a revelation to those who have believed that the Shumerians were incapable of aesthetic expression. Some of the sculpture is astonishingly well executed; the vases might grace a modern silversmith's shop.

Woolley has written a popular account, and is therefore justified in omitting references to his authorities. A large part of the new material is due to the excavations at Ur, and this has been published, in final or in preliminary form. Here and there, we could wish a fuller proof for his opinions on debated points, but these will doubtless be given elsewhere. His presentation of the racial problem is the most doubtful, and the reviewer would decorate these pages with a series of question marks. The discoveries of skeletal material at Ur are epoch making, but they raise far more questions than they solve.

The last chapter presents "the Claim of Sumér". With much of what is said, all students of the Ancient Near East will agree. Shumerian culture was the basis of the later Babylonian civilization, to a lesser degree of that of Assyria and of the other countries of Western

Asia. The arch, vault, and dome, employed from the earliest Shumerian times, were transmitted through Babylonia and Assyria to Hellenistic Greece and to Rome, and so laid the foundation for a new architecture in later Europe. Artistic tendencies are more subtle but none the less certain in their operation. The most important contributions were in the realm of ideas, especially as they affected the modern world through the Hebrews. The "Laws of Moses", with their dominant influence on later legislation, were based indirectly on Shumerian originals; many another religious concept of the Bible is equally Shumerian in origin.

When Woolley gives cultural priority to the Shumerians as against the Egyptians, opinion will be more divided. He notes that the First Egyptian Dynasty possessed a culture which was virtually new as compared with the predynastic, and that this culture is admittedly due to a foreign element. This foreign element, he argues, must go back ultimately to the Shumerians, for the culture contains such undoubted Shumerian elements as cylinder seals, pear-shaped mace heads, panelled building, peculiar vase forms, grotesque animal drawings, the sistrum, certain mythological beliefs. The culture of the prehistoric royal tombs recently excavated at Ur is to be dated earlier than the First Egyptian Dynasty, yet it is already old if not actually decadent. Art is conventionalized and stereotyped; the technique, especially in metallurgy, is so perfect that centuries of apprenticeship are demanded in explanation. By the First Egyptian Dynasty, Mesopotamia was at a far higher cultural level than was Egypt, and its culture was as ancient as that of Egypt was new. Woolley makes out a plausible case; there will be much learned debate before his conclusions are accepted.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church. By the late Dr. Kaufmann Kohler. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xl, 297, \$3.00.) At the time of his death in 1926, Dr. Kohler, so the introductory essay informs us, was regarded as the foremost exponent of Reform Judaism. The mere fact that he could link the history of the church and the synagogue together so dispassionately as he has done in this volume gives ample proof of his broad and modern background. The book covers a wide variety of themes and hence is extremely sketchy in places. The actual amount of its contribution to knowledge is not great, but even the scholar well versed in the subject-matter will find a certain charm about it that makes it well worth reading. The main thesis put forward by the author that the synagogue is the creation of the Hasidim, the precursors of Pharisaism, is interesting and valuable though we do not believe that it is possible to connect these Hasidim with the devout ones and saintly ones of the Psalms, much less with the devotional assemblies of the Babylonian exile. The synagogue first makes its appearance in the Hellenistic age, and a satisfactory explanation of its origin would doubtless have to take into account the change effected in the Jewish

mentality by the fact that Jewry suddenly breathed the air of a Greek world. After briefly characterizing the Pharisaic eschatology and Jewish apocalypics, Dr. Kohler comes to the second part of his book, in which he attempts to give an account of the origin of the church. His treatment of the gospel-history is critical, but he reaches the conclusion that Jesus's "great sympathy with the outcast and despised made him a redeemer of men and an uplifter of women without parallel in history". When the resurrection experiences led to the establishment of a Christian religious community the latter, Dr. Kohler believes, was formed with the assistance of an Essene element that allied itself with the church—a scarcely tenable assertion. He professes great admiration for St. Paul, but criticizes him for having created a new division among men; *viz.*, that of believers and unbelievers. All in all it is the work of an able and well-read scholar which will be read with interest by Jews and Christians.

EMIL G. H. KRAELING.

Osebergfundet. Utgit av den Norske Stat under redaktion av A. W. Brögger, Hj. Falk, Haakon Schetelig. With a summary in English. Bind II., av Sigurd Grieg og Magnus Olsen. (Oslo, Universitets Oldsaksamling, 1928, pp. x, 360, 19 plates, 100 kr., bound.) Volumes I. and III. of this work have already been reviewed in this publication (XXXIII. 850-851). In the present volume, the contents of the Oseberg ship are described from the viewpoint of "culture-history" rather than from that of archaeology. Dr. Grieg's contribution (pp. 1-286) is entitled *Kongsgaarden* (The King's Court). It includes not only detailed descriptions and illustrations of practically every article in the ship, but of analogous finds from other countries and places. A partial list will indicate the richness and variety of the materials associated with the "King's Court": a wagon of oak and beech, three ceremonial sledges with ornamental carvings, animal-head posts done by two artists, three beds, three oak chests, a box-shaped chair, kitchen utensils, such as iron pots, a frying pan, troughs, ladles, wooden bowls, and dishes, buckets and barrels, axes and knives, various implements used for spinning and weaving, such as looms, distaffs, linen and clothes beaters, reel and frame for winding thread, combs, shoes, a few ornamental articles of lesser value (tomb robbers have removed the articles of precious metals), and finally farm equipment, as a work-sledge, spades, a manure fork, whetstones, awls, and riding and driving equipment. All this in the tomb of Queen Aasa, mother of Halvdan Svarte and the grandmother of Harald Fairhair. Two runic inscriptions were found in the ship, one on a beech oar, the other on a fir pail. These are given probable renderings by Magnus Olsen (287-297). They are valuable rather as illustrations of the historical development of runic inscriptions than for their content. The three volumes that have thus far appeared dealing with the Oseberg find have been characterized by exceeding—perhaps excessive—caution on the part of the collaborating authors. Possibly the experts are reserving

their guesses for the later volumes. A bolder setting forth of the probabilities as to the place held by this remarkable find in the general history of culture and of art would surely be welcomed by that increasing group of scholars who are interested in the history of civilization.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Les Influences Anglaise et Française dans le Comté de Flandre au Début du XIII^e Siècle. Par Gaston G. Dept, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Gand. [Recueil de Travaux Publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Gand, 59^e fasc.] (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe and Rombaut, 1928, pp. 231.) To explain the Hundred Years' War by reciting a few pages from Froissart was once considered good historical writing. How far modern scholarship has advanced beyond that facile method is exemplified by such a book as that of M. Dept. It is once again brought home to us that the so-called Hundred Years' War was, except for secondary details, the mere continuation of an ancient struggle, in which chivalry had about as much significance as altruism in the great war of 1914.

M. Dept's monograph intensively covers only the brief period from 1202 to 1226. It deals with the rivalry during these years of French and English for control of Flanders. When Baldwin IX. departed for the Holy Land in 1202, the English king already enjoyed the support of a strong party among the nobles, as well as of the trading class in the towns. This domination was first seriously threatened during the weak regency of Philip of Namur, when the crafty Philip Augustus was able to build up a baronial faction of his own. However, with the advent of a new count, the French cause collapsed. Ferrand of Portugal, though securing the hand of the Flemish heiress from Philip Augustus, made common cause against him with John Lackland. Thus by 1213 English influence in Flanders reached a new height, but it was not to remain unchallenged. After his triumph at Bouvines, Philip Augustus was able to reconstitute the alliance between French monarchy and Flemish aristocracy that had so important an influence upon subsequent events.

This essentially simple story M. Dept tells with a wealth of detail ably supported by scholarly citations. However, it is not the intricacies of local politics or genealogy that, to the mind of the reviewer, contribute most to our historical understanding. In an admirable introductory chapter M. Dept traces the connection between the period 1202 to 1226 and the Norman Conquest. One might wish that an equally lucid conclusion would perform the same service for the succeeding century—would sketch the persistence of the Flemish question down to the outbreak of war between Edward III. and Philip VI. For it is obvious that, instead of dying after Bouvines, it became aggravated. Indeed, as M. Dept shows, even after the nobility had joined the forces of Philip Augustus, the communes of Flanders maintained their attachment to England.

Here we find a truth fundamental to Medieval Europe. State and nation were concepts of which men had no consciousness. War and politics were as yet essentially feudal. But while the interests of the aristocracy were scarcely more than those of mercenary adventurers, trade was producing a middle class with a stable policy. Markets could not be shifted so readily as feudal allegiances. And in proportion as commercial factors came to dominate the country, Flanders tended to become more of a political entity. It is surely noteworthy that, whenever the Flemish government was strong, the English alliance prospered. To an intelligent count wool was of greater moment than wages.

As would be expected of a pupil of Professors Pirenne, Haskins, and McIlwain, M. Dept has not restricted his research to one side of the Channel. The results that he has already attained surely lead us to hope that his studies will be continued.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Actes et Lettres de Charles Ier Roi de Sicile concernant la France, 1257-1284. Extraits des Registres Angevins de Naples et publiés par A. de Bouard, Professor à l'École Nationale des Chartes. (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. vii, 413, 40 fr.) The three hundred and seventy-nine volumes, known as the *Regesti Angioini* and preserved in the state archives at Naples, are among the most important and less-known collections of documents surviving from the Middle Ages. Besides being of the utmost importance for the history of the kingdom of Sicily and for Naples and southern Italy from the sixth decade of the thirteenth century to the opening years of the fifteenth century, they are extremely valuable for the rest of Italy and for many parts of Europe. As long ago as 1886 P. Durrieu in his *Les Archives Angevines de Naples, Étude sur les Registres du Roi Charles Ier*, pointed out their great importance for the history of France, particularly in the reign of Charles I., the first Angevin king of Sicily. From these registers, which form the remains of the chancery of the Angevin kings of Sicily, Professor de Bouard has now collected and published for the first time all the material for the history of France in the time of Charles I., King of Sicily. He has sought to include every document dealing with the political, military, administrative, economic, and social history of France during this period. As is to be expected from the source from which they were taken these documents deal largely with administrative history and especially with the administration of those districts of France held by King Charles I., the brother of Louis IX. of France, namely, the counties of Anjou, Provence, and Tonnerre, and the baronies of Alluie and Montmirail. From the orders sent by the king to the seneschals of Provence and to the baillis of Anjou much light is thrown on the revenue and financial organization of these provinces. A new and rich source for the history of France is thus made available, which is also of service for the study of the history of the Sicilian kingdom. In making this collection Professor de Bouard has accomplished

his task with care, skill, and erudition. Because of the limitations of space he was unable to publish transcripts of the eleven hundred documents which are included in this collection, but has contented himself with omitting the formulas, as is often done in the registers, and in giving the substance of the documents, using as nearly as possible the words of the original, which after all was frequently the custom of the clerks of the Sicilian chancery in registering a document. Occasionally however a document is given in full. Reference is made to where a document in this collection has been previously published in whole or part, which also serves to show how little this great source has been utilized. There is an index, chiefly of proper and place names; had a subject-index been included this valuable volume would be of still greater service to students.

JOHN C. HILDT.

The Chancery under Edward III. By B. Wilkinson, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Medieval History, University College of the South-West, Exeter. [Publications of the University of Manchester, no. CLXXXIX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1929, pp. xxxii, 242, 17 s. 6 d.) This is a useful and much needed piece of work. We now have at our command for information about the chancery during the fourteenth century, Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte's *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England*, *The Chapters on the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, by Professor Tout, and the present volume, all published within three years. The first named describes for us the warrants behind the letters and writs issued by the chancery, as well as the methods of making and sealing instruments sent out from that department. Professor Tout describes the place of the chancery in the administrative system and in politics. Dr. Wilkinson is concerned with the activities of the chancery "as a secretariat" and "as an office of administration", and with the personnel of its working force. With these three studies before us we can learn much more about a very important department than we could have known before.

The treatment of the subject in this book is very simple. The first chapter contains a brief survey of the history of the chancery before Edward III. The two that follow deal with its secretarial and administrative activities. These bring together in convenient form much information that we have had and add some new material; they are sound pieces of investigation. Chapter four, on the organization of the chancery, has long been needed and is very helpful. The two chapters that follow are devoted to the personnel of the department. Chapter five, on the chancellors, suffers from the great disadvantage of having been sent to the printer before Professor Tout's third volume had been published. What it has to tell us about the political background of the changes that took place was largely superseded before it appeared. The biographical sketches of the greater clerks are very useful, though, as the author warns us, the distinction between clerks of the upper and lower

forums is often far from clear in the records. There are seven appendixes. Of these the first two treat of controversial subjects antedating the reign of Edward III., while the others contain information about officers and payments for the expenses of the household of chancery, as well as a few unpublished documents.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

Un Financier Colonial au XV^e Siècle: Jacques Coeur. Par René Bouvier. (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. 175, 25 fr.) An adequate biography of Jacques Coeur would go far to explain one of the most perplexing phenomena in history, the transition from the devastated France of the early fifteenth century to the united, powerful France of the end of the century. The meteoric rise of Jacques Coeur began when the "flayers" were terrorizing the countryside; his fall, in 1451, came when the reforms of Charles VII. were just beginning to take effect. During this period Coeur succeeded in developing an organization embracing finance, commerce, and industry which might excite the envy of a Stinnes. M. Bouvier has not solved the problems raised by this career. He has described admirably the situation in France which would seem to preclude the rise of a great capitalist; he has described briefly and clearly the many activities of Coeur. He has not, however, shown how such a career was possible at such a time. Neither has he, out of the fragmentary and prejudiced evidence which survives, succeeded in making a living personality of Coeur. On the other hand, he has refrained from making the dearth of material an excuse for the creation of a fictitious Jacques Coeur, as other recent writers have done. Within the space of one hundred and fifty pages he has given an excellent summary of French economic life in the first half of the fifteenth century and of our present knowledge of Jacques Coeur's career; he has contributed nothing new. The avowed purpose of the work is of interest to students of international affairs; to stimulate Frenchmen to emulate the achievements of their ancestors in the Mediterranean basin so that France may find in that region "power, countless riches, and a new youth".

R. J. SONTAG.

Opus Epistolarum des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen, Litt.D., Collegii Corporis Christi Praesidem, et H. M. Allen. Tomus VII., 1527-1528. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. xxiv, 560, \$9.50.) It would be quite superfluous to repeat here what has already been said in these pages in praise of this monumental edition of the Erasmus correspondence. Enough that this seventh volume fully maintains the high standard of its predecessors. Its two hundred and seventy-eight letters cover only the period from March, 1527, to December, 1528, and of these ninety-two are addressed to Erasmus from a great number of correspondents.

One turns naturally to such items as might illustrate the reaction of public events upon the thought and action of the great scholar. These are the years in which an imperial army, led by a Lutheran and largely composed of Lutherans, was engaged in that "punitive expedition" against Rome which was to bring the papal policy into line with the imperial and secure to Charles the backing he sorely needed before he could proceed against the daily increasing power of the reforming party. In Germany the principle of the *cujus regio* of 1526 was being worked out into permanent form as the basis of that further compromise of 1529 out of which "Protestantism" was born. It is hardly too much to say that this was the most momentous crisis of the Reformation, and there can be no doubt that both parties felt that the name of Erasmus was the most important to conjure with, if only he could be persuaded to declare himself one way or the other. Yet, as one turns the pages of this volume one looks in vain for any such declaration. Over and over again occur the familiar complaints of ill-health, caused partly at least by the pressure of both friends and enemies, of malicious attacks from rival scholars, and wilful perversions of his most harmless utterances; illustrations found in a long letter to More [1804] and in one to and one from Charles V. [1873, 1920]. To the emperor he expresses his conviction that the Lutherans "are losing ground" at the moment when they were solidifying their scattered territories into a block against which the imperial forces were to be powerless for twenty years to come. Charles heartily approves of his work and will defend him to the best of his ability. Both of these letters are given also in a Spanish translation, an interesting indication of the interest in reformatory movements then active in Spain.

In this volume appears also the shameful episode of Louis Berquin in letters to and from him and others of the Paris group. At the close is a partial index of correspondents, to be replaced by a fuller one in the final volume.

E. E.

World Map of Francesco Roselli, Drawn on an Oval Projection and Printed from a Woodcut supplementing the Fifteenth Century Maps in the Second Edition of the Isolario of Bartolomeo doli Sonetti. Described by George E. Nunn from the copy in the collection of George H. Beans. (Philadelphia, privately printed, 1928, pp. 30, \$2.00.) Mr. Nunn has undertaken in this special study to set out the important features of the map by Francesco Roselli of 1532, copy of which is in the collection of Mr. George H. Beans. His monograph is one well and attractively printed in an edition of five hundred copies. The owner of the map makes suitable and courteous reference to the author, calling his work "a labor of love".

That Mr. Nunn has a deep interest in the subject of early maps and the records they contain of contemporary geographical conceptions, is again made evident by this scholarly piece of work. He incorporates

views he has expressed more or less fully in his earlier publications such as his *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*. The transition from the Behaim-Ptolemy conception of the eastern Asiatic coast to the more nearly accurate one, as Roselli represents it, he critically reviews, still adhering however to many of the erroneously expressed views concerning Columbus's purpose and the beliefs he and other early explorers were thought to have entertained concerning trans-Atlantic discoveries.

That there were those who very early thought of the New World as a part of Asia must be accepted, but that there were many who from the very earliest years believed it to be an independent region must also be accepted.

His thought, for example, that the so-called Bartholomew Columbus map of about 1506 is "probably the most important map historically ever drawn" gives evidence that he has never carefully examined the manuscript in which the three maps appear. It is now very evident that Professor von Wieser, great student that he was, failed in his interpretation of these maps, particularly as to their apparent date, doubtless considerably later.

These and many other early maps Mr. Nunn brings under his own critical review, reproducing, in much reduced size, many of them.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743. By D. G. E. Hall, Indian Educational Service, Professor of History in the University of Rangoon. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. viii, 276, 12 s. 6 d.) The author's introduction to this study gives at once an outline of his subject as an historical problem and a critical note on the character of the sources. The eleven chapters of the main text, which are so many distinct episodes in Anglo-Burmese relations, deal mostly with the principal—and usually only—English factory in Burma, that at Syriam. The accounts of the idiosyncrasies of the Burmese government and the activities of company's servants, free traders, and interlopers present a vivid picture of the difficulties with which the East India Company had to contend in its earlier years. The destruction of the Syriam factory as an incident of the Talaing rebellion of 1743, which abruptly ended a period of waning English interest in Burma, supplies a logical terminus for this work, for English contacts were renewed only after an interval of several years and then on an entirely new basis.

The eight appendixes are mostly extracts from the original sources which relate to long controverted matters. A complete bibliography of sources used is appended, in which the factory records of the East India Company are most conspicuous. The index is quite adequate and well arranged.

Due to the frequent and extended quotations from the scant surviving records of the period and the résumé of other original materials, the book partakes of many of the qualities of a primary source itself. Indeed, its

principal defects as a piece of historical writing are due to the author's care to leave out of consideration no available material which might throw light on his little known subject. The reader is conscious of a good deal of unnecessary repetition here and there, and no special effort has been made by means of literary art to add to the intrinsic interest of the information recorded. The work is well documented throughout and has been done with great care for accuracy. It performs a distinct historical service by filling in, as far as possible, a long existent gap in our knowledge of early English enterprise in the East.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Piet Heyn en de Zilvervloot. Bescheiden uit Nederlandsche en Spaansche Archieven Bijeenverzameld en uitgegeven door S. P. L'Honoré Naber en Irene A. Wright. [Historisch Genootschap, derde serie, no. 53.] (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1928, pp. clxxxviii, 240; xl, 308.) In the memorable preface to *L'Île des Pingouins*, Anatole France observed in mockery of historians: "Quand un fait n'est connu que par un seul témoignage, on l'admet sans beaucoup d'hésitation. Les perplexités commencent lorsque les événements sont rapportés par deux ou plusieurs témoins." Almost always this is true, but here is a rare case of agreement among witnesses: Dutch records of Piet Heyn's famous exploit in capturing the treasure fleet from New Spain in 1628 do not differ on material points from Spanish records of the same event. The two groups of documents thus published in one volume by the Historical Society of Utrecht not only afford ampler knowledge of the West India Company's most famous captain than has hitherto been readily accessible, but add much picturesque detail of the combination of war, piracy, and religion which was still the brisk practice of successors of the Sea-Beggars. Mr. Naber has prefaced his documents with a discussion of the sources, and with a biographical sketch of the admiral's adventures: his youthful misfortunes which made him twice a captive and a galley-slave of Spain; his expeditions to Brazil and to Angola in the company's service; the glittering luck of his encounter with the treasure fleet; his appointment as lieutenant-admiral of Holland and—almost at once—his death in 1629 in a sea-skirmish with some Dunkirk privateers. There follows a brief but enlightening consideration of Piet Heyn's naval tactics which the documents—mostly sea-orders and a few reports to the company—further illustrate. Miss Wright's contributions from the archives of Seville and Simancas relate entirely to the capture of the silver fleet, and include valuable Spanish reports of that event and documents bearing on the trial of the unfortunate captain-general and admiral of the fleet. Collectively they present an incomplete but striking picture of Spanish colonial and commercial administration at that time—an administration well thought out, more than passably manned, but ponderous, inert, and inflexible. All the advantages of compactness, discipline, initiative, and luck were on the side of Piet Heyn, who, by the testimony of the enemy,

was "hombre de muy buena persona, y muy buen gouierno, soldado y marinero" (pt. II., p. 29). But, the reader reflects, his success was illusory, pieces of eight were a barren harvest, and the West India Company, choosing to hunt treasure, chose also to lose Brazil.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Le Jansénisme durant la Régence. Par J. Carreyre, Professeur au Séminaire Saint-Sulpice. Tome I., *La Politique Janséniste du Régent, 1715-1717.* (Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 1929, pp. xiv, 205.) Professor Carreyre's opinion of the bull *Unigenitus*, the centre of the Jansenist conflict during the Regency, is stated at the outset. The pope, wrote the papal secretary of state to the nuncio in Paris, "a envoyé la bulle en France, non pour être examinée mais pour être obéie". To which the author adds: "Rien n'est plus logique, rien n'est plus conforme à la doctrine romaine; rien au fond, n'est plus prudent et plus sage, en matière religieuse" (p. 3).

To Philippe d'Orléans it was not so simple a problem. Cynical, even irreligious, he hoped to build up a political party by an alliance with the Jansenists and the Paris *parlement*. At the same time he wished to close the religious rift which enfeebled the church, and still worse, from his point of view, divided the state. Might not M. Carreyre have added that the Regent felt himself bound by Louis XIV.'s promise to obtain the acceptance of the bull? Two years were sufficient to convince him that the Jansenist alliance would not do. At the start he had placed Noailles at the head of the "Conseil de Conscience", and had appointed four bishops considered notorious Jansenists by the papal court (p. 21). At the end of the two years the Regent issued the *Declaration* of October 7, 1717, imposing silence on both parties, and was prepared to embark on "une politique plutôt antijanséniste".

Philippe's attempts at conciliation could not succeed. On the one hand, Clement XI. refused to compromise. On the other hand, the Jansenists and Gallicans (although the word *Gallican* does not appear to be in the author's vocabulary) refused to accept the bull without at least explanations which the pope refused to admit. The negotiations at Rome, and the opposition of the recalcitrant bishops and lower clergy, the Sorbonne, the Paris *parlement*, and provincial *parlements* and faculties, are well set forth.

M. Carreyre has used a wealth of contemporary pamphlets, and manuscripts in the Vatican, the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque de Sens. We look forward to the completion of his work.

E. A. BELLER.

La Réaction Thermidorienne. Par Albert Mathiez, Chargé du Cours d'Histoire de la Révolution Française à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1929, pp. viii, 324, 40 fr.) M. Mathiez, whose indefatigable re-

searches have placed all students of the French Revolution in his debt, once more makes them his debtors by his new volume on the Thermidorean reaction. With the appearance of this work the author brings his chronological treatment of the Revolution through 1795 and the number of volumes in that series to four (the first three, also published by Colin, have been translated and published in one volume as *The French Revolution*, Knopf, 1928).

The first three chapters treat the Thermidoreans' offensive against the institutions of the Terror, the split in their ranks, and the trial of Carrier before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The next three deal with the formation and composition of the *jeunesse dorée*, the recall of the Girondins, and the amnesty to the rebels in the West. Then follow a brilliant chapter on the reopening of the churches and the concomitant decline of the revolutionary religion and two excellent chapters on the insurrections of Germinal and Prairial. The remaining chapters are given over to the White Terror, which M. Mathiez links up integrally with the returned émigrés, the royalist fiasco of Quiberon Bay, and the series of events centring about the constitution of 1795 and culminating in the Vendémiaire uprising.

It is impossible within the limits of this review to discuss in detail the author's selection and interpretation of facts. His treatment of the Revolution in terms of the class struggle, so well known to his old readers, also marks the temper of his latest volume. He has written, in a forceful and lucid style, the first carefully documented study of the last fifteen months of the National Convention, displaying on every page his matchless knowledge of the sources and his unerring flair for ferreting out intrigues and for baring the sordid personal motives of the Thermidoreans. But M. Mathiez has the defects of his good qualities. When due recognition has been made of the invaluable character of his study in filling in a gap long neglected by the historians, his volume still remains as much an indictment of the Thermidoreans as a treatment of the Thermidorean reaction. The implications of every move against the Terror institutions, he makes per lucidly clear; the relative sincerity of the Thermidorean temper and the natural desire, after five years of turmoil, to return to bourgeois normalcy, he either disregards or questions.

There are a number of minor typographical errors which are easily detected. The book is indexed, which is sufficiently rare in French studies to merit a passing note.

LEO GERSHOY.

The Sword of State: Wellington after Waterloo. By Susan Buchan. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, pp. 298, \$4.00.) It would seem that Mr. John Buchan—who has written so copiously and so variously for our information and for our entertainment—had more than met the quota for one household; nevertheless Mrs. Buchan has also made her offering in the shape of an extremely readable

book: *The Sword of State*—as the title and subtitle indicate—deals with the non-military activities of the Duke of Wellington, the author's great-great uncle. In addition to recollections communicated to her by her great-grandmother Charlotte Arbuthnot Wellesley, first Baroness Ebury, Mrs. Buchan has had access to the manuscript diary of Frances, Lady Salisbury. Besides making good use of this limited amount of new material she tells the well-known story of the duke's political career and influence from the best available printed works. With an eye for the essentials, for the picturesque, and with a deft power of vivid narrative she has wrought wondrously well with a theme so familiar in its main outlines. It should be a real solace to that type of general reader who of late years has begun to search thirstily for knowledge from springs not too inaccessible. While Mrs. Buchan writes with a certain degree of critical balance she is obviously desirous of confuting those who have reflected on the motives and doings of her noteworthy ancestor, or who have retailed gossip to his disparagement. Perhaps, however, when there is such a marked tendency toward "outstraching" the leading pioneer in tearing the trappings off heroes, a slight leaning in the opposite direction is permissible.

The seventh chapter—the last and longest—devoted to the duke's private life, will be the most informing to those already acquainted with the general history of England from Waterloo to the repeal of the Corn Laws. Among the topics treated in this final chapter are: the pathetic and futile figure of the duchess; the duke's relations with women, especially with that "charming and provocative riddle" Mrs. Arbuthnot, and with Miss J., who strove to save the soul of the illustrious widower, first through bonds of matrimony, and, when that proved impossible, through persistent epistolary exhortation extending over seventeen years. That communicative adventuress, Harriette Wilson, comes in for a scathing denunciation, although the Waterloo veteran suffers far less in her disclosures than his contemporaries. Among the duke's finer qualities stressed by his descendant are his unostentatious charities and his love for children, except, unfortunately, his own. Many of the historic anecdotes are repeated, though two or three of the best, at least in the reviewer's opinion, are not included. "Girl friends" (p. 32) is perhaps allowable in this particular instance, yet it is to be hoped that this phrase will not become current in England. March 6 (p. 95) should be April 6. In view of the restrictions in the annual Indemnity Act it may be queried whether the situation of the Dissenters during the century preceding the Test Acts was "a sentimental rather than a practical grievance" (p. 130).

A. L. C.

Napoleon I.: ein Lebensbild. Von Friedrich M. Kircheisen. In zwei Bänden. Band II. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1929, pp. vi, 431, 10.50 M.) This work is a continuation of the volume with the same title published in 1927. It takes up the narrative with the Peace of Press-

burg, where the earlier volume ended, and carries it down to the death of Napoleon. The two volumes together form but a part of a series of works dealing with various aspects of the Napoleonic era. The author has in fact devoted practically a life-time to this epoch. It has been his object, he tells us, to write the history of Napoleon and of his age as it was not possible to do earlier, largely because of the lack of reliable sources. But neither in this nor in the earlier volume does he tell us what these newly discovered sources are. It is this omission which most detracts from the value of the work.

His further purpose was to write the history of Napoleon "without sympathy and without antipathy" and without "psychological fantasy and speculation", in other words to let the facts speak for themselves. In this purpose he has been more successful. The story is told objectively and with sustained detachment. Other merits of the work are the smooth and easy narrative and real vividness, the latter secured largely by the use of concrete detail. Occasionally so many details are brought in as to blur the effect, but in the main they serve to give a sense of reality. The minute description, for instance, of the paraphernalia which was a necessary accompaniment of Napoleon's every journey throws lights upon him as a man, while the description of the means to which the soldiers resorted to protect themselves against the cold presents an unforgettable picture of the horrors of the retreat from Moscow. There is, however, an undue emphasis on military detail and an inadequate appreciation of economic influences. It is a pleasing narrative rather than a great and original contribution to Napoleonic literature.

Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. By Joseph Redlich. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xvii, 547, \$5.00.) In this book we have a welcome and highly valuable contribution to the meagre literature in English upon Austro-Hungarian history. Transcending court gossip, usually retailed at second or third hand, indifferent to the sensation seeker, and unpretentious in the realms of psychoanalysis, Redlich has produced an important biography. In this thoroughly informed interpretation of Francis Joseph and his times, we have biography as it should be. Character, qualities, and personal aspects are pertinently and sufficiently delineated. Equal significance, moreover, is given to circumstance and background; the book is a brilliant and scholarly sketch of the Habsburg realms between 1848 and 1914. Broad outlines and momentous situations are indicated with the clarity, balance, and accuracy which betoken mastery.

Viewing the life of his subject "in close connection with the political transformation of Europe and the progressive shift in world power" between 1815 and 1920, the author seeks to make the "specific content" of his description the Emperor's human and political personality. "What makes him . . . impressive is that there was in him, as in no other European monarch of the past century, a perfect correspondence between

the man and his work." His distinguishing mark is that, in the midst of changes, he stood firm, retaining to the end his primitive, "legitimist" conception of the ruler whose will is always the strongest political force in his realm. From the beginning, his position was a false one. Ascending the Habsburg throne in 1848, as its conqueror, Francis Joseph accepted Schwarzenberg's "great deceit" of his people—a supreme piece of political jugglery. Habsburg tradition was naturally conservative, and yet his pride of power and monarchical instincts led him into revolutionary paths. He brought about a revolution "to the right" by his dependence upon military autocracy—strange to Habsburg history—and by the transformation of the Empire into a unitary monarchy. Direct and simple, lacking imagination or capacity for deep insight into the facts and forces of human life, and possessing no knowledge of the significance of personality, he sought, nevertheless, to exercise an absolutist sway over his army, his foreign office, and his civil government.

Among the many unfortunate results of thus applying eighteenth-century conceptions to nineteenth-century problems may be noted the weakening of Austria's position in the Eastern Question through Francis Joseph's diplomacy from 1852 to 1856; the loss of prestige consequent upon his personal assumption of field command in the war of 1859; the exclusion from Germany due, in part, to his treatment of the German question as a dynastic affair; and the fatal confusion of government arising from his handling of the internal conditions of the '90's, when the "doom of the Habsburg empire was sealed". His only creative work might be said to have been his acceptance of Déak's plans, thus becoming the "sole dual monarch in history". In his person united three elements: Austrian emperor, Hungarian king, and monarch common to both—"with the fierce light of modern state organization beating upon it, here, was the mystic principle of the Trinity set up as a practical form of government!"

It is only to be regretted that this biography is not more extensive, of the same scope, let us say, as Morley's *Gladstone* or Ronaldshay's *Curzon*, so that the information, experience, and penetrating judgments of Redlich could give us in greater detail, particularly of the diplomatic crises, a fuller study of this eventful and portentous life.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

Australasian Preferential Tariffs and Imperial Free Trade: a Chapter in the Fiscal Emancipation of the Colonies. By Cephas Daniel Allin. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1929, pp. 228, \$2.00.) In this posthumous monograph Professor Allin has continued his *History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies* from 1863 to 1873, a period notable for the growth in Australia and New Zealand of a new conception of the permanence and of the constitution of the Empire, and for the triumph of that conception over the little-England view long accepted at Westminster.

The adoption of protection in Victoria in 1863 sharpened intercolonial differences and tended to embitter relations already not altogether happy, amply demonstrating the wisdom of Earl Gray's attempt to secure a uniform tariff in 1848, and of the early proposals for federation. The prompt attempt of New Zealand and New South Wales to secure the repeal of the imperial prohibition on discriminatory tariffs failed; the Colonial Office still insisted on maintaining free trade and on controlling colonial action. A movement for a customs union, which would have been acceptable to the Colonial Office, broke down because of the unyielding provincialism of Victoria and New South Wales.

Economic interest, stimulated somewhat by irritation at the refusal of the home government to allow the colonies to determine local policies, induced an unprecedented coöperation in pressing the demand for tariff autonomy, and success furnished the Australian colonies with their first lesson in the advantage of united action. At the same time a vigorous loyalty to the Empire—a loyalty sound and mature, but impatient of obedience which seemed to be based on mere unthinking tradition or sentiment—decisively rejected republicanism, challenging the still prevalent expectation of the eventual separation of the colonies and suggesting a wider and more enduring basis for the Empire of the future.

In describing the conversion of Mr. Gladstone and his government, and the reluctant modification of precedents in colonial administration, involving the abandonment of part of the free-trade doctrine, Allin closely parallels Professor Knaplund's *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy*. The point of view, however, is that of the Australasian governments. Professor Allin has made careful use of the parliamentary debates and papers and the official correspondence of the colonies.

The volume is prefaced with a warm biographical memoir by Professor William Anderson, who has also included a list of the published works of a scholar whose patient pioneering in a field still little exploited will be increasingly appreciated.

ERLING HUNT.

La Politique Russe d'Avant-Guerre et la Fin de l'Empire des Tsars, 1904-1917. Mémoires de Baron M. de Taube, Ancien Professeur de l'Université de Saint-Petersbourg. (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. vii, 412, 40 fr.) This volume is much more rich and interesting in its interpretation of Tsarist diplomacy and its sidelights—far from flattering—on Russian personalities than the ordinary run of post-war memoirs. Baron Taube possesses charm of style, subtlety of approach, and much inside information, which he has enlarged by reading widely in the documentary publications which have been issued by the Germans and the Bolsheviks. Descended from a Baltic family of German origin he was a devoted servant of the Tsar, and some twenty of his brothers and cousins faced the Germans on the Eastern front during the war. He himself had the courage to warn the Tsar in the spring of 1914 of the fatal path along

which the Russian militarists and the weak hand of Sazonov were leading Russia to the abyss. He did not seek the limelight, yet he was no inconsiderable person, as is seen from the offices which he was called to fill: professor of law at the University of St. Petersburg, devoted pupil of the great jurist, Martens, and his successor as legal adviser to the Russian Foreign Office, chief Russian representative at the Dogger Bank Arbitration, at the London naval conference of 1908, and at the Hague Court, and acting-minister of education during the early months of the war. In such official positions he was well placed to see the weakness, incompetence, and follies of too many Russian officials. Izvolski, whom he several times caught lying, comes in for severe but often amusing criticism. Enjoying for ten years *otium cum dignitate*, not taking himself or the world too tragically, and being a good *raconteur*, he recalls episodes *quorum pars magna fui* with a singular detachment, humor, and frankness. After relating how the Dogger Bank Affair, which at first roused such a storm of Anglo-Russian hostility, was cleverly turned into a step toward Anglo-Russian rapprochement, he explains the annulment of the Björkö Treaty and the making of the Baltic and North Sea agreements of 1907. This brings him to his main theme, the ambitious vanity and blunders of Izvolski's diplomacy and the nervous weakness of Sazonov prior to July, 1914, which he illustrates by many interesting examples. Much less valuable is his very brief account of the July Crisis and his attempt to assess responsibility for the war.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia. A Study in Government and Administration. By Charles A. Beard and George Radin. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. x, 325, \$2.50.) This concise survey of Yugoslavia appears to belong to political science but actually is as a mirror of past history. Nearly all appropriate topics are given space: Economic Realities, the Political Background, the Constitution, the Crown (especially important), Parliament, Political Parties, the Cabinet, National Administration, and the Budget System. National Economic Problems and Public Opinion are followed by descriptions of the courts and the law and local government. The chapter on Foreign Policy and National Defense is suggestive rather than satisfying. These writers do not echo the many depressing statements about Yugoslavia that have been printed. The Yugoslavs constitute not a nest of bloody murderers, but a community of normal men, like the rest of us, stirred at times to passionate, ill-advised action, but really capable of working a government. There are almost ludicrous resemblances brought out between American and Yugoslav political ideas and political manoeuvring. "Since the Yugoslav papers, unlike those of the United States, relegate gruesome murders, suicides, and divorces to obscure corners and confine them to minor notices, politics must make up for scandals as well as sports" (p. 173). Just as official pressure at elections is admittedly a present evil,

though a declining one; so are extravagance and corruption in pensions, lack of uniformity in law, Cabinet crises, inequalities in taxation, but in all of these cases, "there is no ground for taking an extreme view of the matter" (p. 89).

Had the comment on the genesis of the constitution (p. 54), quoted from McBain and Rogers (p. 347), been accurately cited and had it also been tracked to its original source, there would have been less ground for the criticism expressed in this book. The Macedonian and refugee problems are not firmly grasped. As to minorities, German claims (p. 306) are hardly final authority. It makes considerable difference to Yugoslavia whether these minorities number 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., or 25 per cent., two millions or three, of its population of twelve (p. 306). Did the Serbian *consistently* take the advice of Russia and France (p. 304)? Croatia borders upon the Adriatic, but Croats bitterly resented the ratification of the Nettuno Convention. "1928" should be "1918" (on page 34). The statement that "The material upon which this book is based was consulted upon the ground in Yugoslavia" (p. vii) is supplemented only by rather insufficient foot-notes. Small though the volume is, yet a bibliography and an index are sorely needed.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

The First Delineation of the New World and the First Use of the Name America on a Printed Map. By Henry M. Stevens, M.A. (London, Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles, 1928, pp. xvi, 127.) Mr. Stevens has given us in this monograph a most interesting study of an unsigned and undated document, believing the same to be the oldest known printed map of the New World, and the oldest one on which the name America appears. There is no inclination on his part to deny its Waldseemüller and St. Dié origin, although its printing he assigns to Nuremberg.

It was in 1893 that this document came into the possession of Mr. Stevens, and he interestingly tells of its acquisition and of its later sale to the John Carter Brown Library, in which library it is still counted as one of its most interesting treasures. He has not departed from his earliest conviction, may it be said, that it may be considered a sort of trial block-print of the 1513 *Orbis Typus*, and that it probably was prepared some months before the printing of the *Cosmographiae Introductio* in 1507, when Waldseemüller was at work with his "confrères" in St. Dié in the preparation of a new edition of Ptolemy, that is probably in 1505 or 1506. If his assumption were accepted as proved this would give it a date earlier than the great Waldseemüller world map of 1507 on which the name America is generally believed first to have appeared, the only copy of which map was discovered and described by Professor Joseph Fischer, S.J., in the year 1901.

The reader is quite irresistibly carried on, page after page, in a perusal of this interesting and scholarly study, but he is repeatedly led

to note that the "probably" this, or "apparently" that of the author leaves the way open for doubt as to his assigned date or priority. His arguments are very detailed; hence there is want of space here even to list them. However, among his more important lines of very special investigation, and neither time nor labor has been spared in the preparation of his monograph, he has given consideration to the problems of type peculiarity and of printing, to problems touching the when, why, and where such a document as this was prepared, to the watermark of the paper, to its probable relation to the *Orbis Typus*, finding its somewhat proof-sheet character to be evidence of its priority.

As stated, this must be counted a splendid piece of historical investigation, but with others, more or less familiar with the problems involved, some doubt yet remains that we have here the first printed map of America, even one older than the Contarini map dated 1506, and the first to bear that name.

E. L. STEVENSON.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1927-June, 1928. Volume LXI. (Boston, the Society, 1928, pp. xvi, 326.)

The most substantial contribution to this volume is Professor Arthur L. Cross's thorough study of Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law. Colonel C. E. Banks gives a history of Scottish Prisoners deported to New England by Cromwell. Mr. Ford makes an interesting exhibit of the book-trade in Boston in 1771-1774 by printing correspondence of Henry Knox as bookseller. He also prints a statement by Preston S. Brooks describing with much complacency his attack on Sumner. Of biographical sketches of deceased members, Mr. W. V. Kellen's account of Arthur Lord stands out especially.

Frontiers and the Fur Trade. By Sydney Greenbie. (New York, John Day Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 235, \$3.75.) Mr. Greenbie has clearly stated the theme of his volume in the following words: "This is the story of the two oldest pursuits of men, hunting and fishing, and their part in peopling the American continent and creating what is unique in modern American life and its spirit." The principal emphasis, however, as the title indicates, is upon hunting and the fur trade. The earlier chapters describe in interesting fashion certain aspects of the European and Asiatic fur trade before the modern era, a subject which has been considerably neglected. Many persons will object to the thesis that the American frontier is an extension of that of Europe. It is a fact, however, that the European demand for furs played a much more important part in the exploration and colonization of America than is commonly appreciated. Mr. Greenbie states the case rather happily when, in referring to the beaver trade, he says: "The Indian, the buffalo, and the eagle adorn the coinage of our land, but the creature that itself for generations was the coinage has been quite neglected."

As a piece of vivid and impressionistic writing on a picturesque theme, the volume will doubtless have a certain popular appeal. But as a contribution to the history of the fur trade it can not be taken seriously. The author's presentation of his material is characterized by a vagueness or looseness of expression which is somewhat exasperating to one who is in search of accurate information. For example, the word "monopoly" is so loosely used as to deprive it of any economic or political significance. The Northwest Company was not an outgrowth of the Michilimackinac Company, as stated on page 153, nor was it made up so largely from employees of the Hudson's Bay Company as the author implies. In fact, the details of the early history of the Northwest Company are exceedingly obscure. Except for an occasional passing reference in the text, there is no indication of the sources from which the materials for the book have been drawn. The style is occasionally turgid and passages like the following (p. 144) are not uncommon: "The Hudson's Bay Company lay like the apple of fable in the throat of France in America; the colonies of England were the cancer in her stomach." Mr. Greenbie showed real imagination and a sense of historical values in his selection of a subject. But to treat of such a theme successfully, one must have a thorough acquaintance with the vast and extremely diverse literature of the field, and this acquaintance, the reviewer feels, the author did not possess.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

The Development of Governmental Forest Control in the United States. By Jenks Cameron. [Institute of Government Research, Studies in Administration.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. x, 471, \$3.00.) This is too interesting a book for so formidable a title. Two features are of particular value. It goes behind the scenes to analyze the attitude and motives of government, lumbermen, and public. It includes, moreover, the only adequate history of the middle period of our forest history, between 1776 and 1876.

The colonial period, where England tried to ensure a permanent supply of mast pines for her navy, has already received full treatment. So, too, the last half century, with its official forestry work, its national forests, and its coöperation between government and lumber interests, has been well handled in Dr. Ise's *The United States Forest Policy* (1924).

But in the intervening century, Mr. Cameron had a virgin field for research, and some interesting revelations are made. Our original forest reservations on the Southern coast arose from the navy's need for live oak. When forest policy finally emerged from its long domination by such naval interests, the government about 1850 made ineffectual attempts to check the wholesale devastation of the pine forests of the Lake States.

Throughout the book, the author has made a study of motives. The forests were natural victims of the frontier spirit. The lumbermen, "men who feared no law", defied not only the royal deputies in New

Hampshire but also the federal forest agents in Florida and Michigan. They did much to squander the nation's forest heritage, but in return they laid the foundations of an empire in the place of the woods. Then, about 1876, "adventure's heyday" drew toward a close. The nation, long lulled by the "Great Inexhaustibility Legend", began to see "the bottom of the bin". Even the lumber interests realized that their business would go with the forests; so coöperation with the government gradually replaced antagonism. Mr. Cameron shows the contributions of the great forestry protagonists, Schurz, Hough, Fernow, and Pinchot. He also takes the reader behind the scenes of official policy to see, for instance, a Florida federal judge selling his live oak lands to the government and becoming their official keeper; the zeal of federal agents in the Michigan forests stopped for political reasons; and the purchase of lands for national forests justified on the far-fetched argument of the navigability of rivers.

The only weak part of the book is the chapter on the colonial period, based largely on secondary sources and not even the latest of those. Recent research has shown that on the eve of the Revolution the British "Broad Arrow" policy was being modified along the lines of localized reservations and coöperation with the lumber interests, a forecast of modern policy. The extensive bibliography should be a useful guide through the maze of official publications and periodical literature. The book is well written and well linked together.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, Tour of the United States, 1783-1784. Spanish text edited with introduction and notes by William Spence Robertson, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Illinois. (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1928, pp. xxxvi, 206.) Miranda's Diary is an account of a journey which took the author the whole length of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States in 1783-1784. The somewhat sketchy record of places visited and persons encountered is enlivened by anecdotes and comments which touch on all phases of contemporary life. The young Venezuelan visited several of the principal American cities and met almost everyone of importance. As he was particularly interested in the military history of the Revolution he made special efforts to visit and describe the scenes of the principal battles. He is generous in his praise of the hospitality of the people and shows himself on the whole favorably impressed with North American political and social institutions. There are suggestions throughout the diary of the revolutionary spirit which was to shape his later career. He is frank in his comments, both on persons and customs. George Washington seems to have made a rather unpleasant impression, but Benjamin Franklin (whom he did not meet) is highly praised for his skill as a military engineer, for his scientific achievements, and for his other discoveries "much more useful to the human race" such as the famous shaving soap which bore his name. Many of the leading citizens of the

new republic, including even some of the university presidents, appeared to Miranda ignorant and uncultivated, chiefly no doubt because of wide differences in points of view. The Puritan tradition was clearly repugnant to him and he complains bitterly of excessive church going and the "crass superstition" shown in the observance of the Sabbath in New England. He objects also to household vermin and night-singing bullfrogs in the South. Altogether the book is a most entertaining picture of the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War, and the picture derives peculiar charm from the fact that it is seen through South American eyes.

The Widening Scope of American Constitutions. By Sister M. Barbara McCarthy, A.M. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1928, pp. 134, \$1.00.) That our early state constitutions contained only the broad outlines of government, while modern constitutions have become increasingly diffuse and elaborate, is a fact generally recognized; but the working out of the details to illustrate this movement for 48 commonwealths is a formidable task. In addressing herself to this difficult problem Sister Barbara has, with a few minor imperfections of proof-reading and punctuation, produced a valuable monograph. In tracing the growing size and content of constitutions, she sets forth the decline of confidence in the legislature, the increasing tendency toward elective offices, the removal of religious and property qualifications, the gradual extension of the franchise, the many provisions touching corporations, the regulation of matters affecting labor, the expansion of public education, the progress of prohibition, and the growing tendency to bring social and industrial questions generally (hours of labor, employer's liability, the minimum wage, child labor, etc.) within the scope of constitutional provision. Though the author's generalizations are given in the briefest form, often being reduced to charts and maps, the elaborate annotations indicate the solid research upon which the conclusions rest.

J. G. RANDALL.

Congressional Investigating Committees. By Marshall Edward Dimock, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. 182, \$1.75.) The frequency of and the prominence given to congressional investigations in recent years give particular timeliness to this study. The author reviews all investigations by either house of Congress since 1784 with a view to interpret the results in terms of political cause and effect. The first two chapters are introductory in character and comprise nearly one-third of the monograph. The first of these relates to the significance of the problem in the United States and to the exercise of similar functions by other modern constitutional governments. The second traces the English origins and the transference of this power to the colonial and state governments.

The next three chapters treat of the three groups of congressional investigations, classified respectively under each of the legislative functions claimed by Congress—namely, those in relation to members of Congress, those connected with law making, and, finally, those designed to exercise control over the executive.

It is a matter of interest to note that some three hundred and thirty investigating committees have been authorized. Although an investigation may be inaugurated by either house there is a striking contrast between early and recent practice. In the early days the House instituted seven or eight times as many investigations as the Senate, while in recent years the tables have turned. In the period 1900–1925, for example, Congress conducted some sixty investigations; about two-thirds of these were instituted by the Senate. There have been some fifteen joint committees. The first of these was the celebrated committee on the Conduct of the Civil War.

In the allotted space it is impossible to do more than indicate certain results and tendencies. Investigations in regard to members have been relatively few in number. These related chiefly to their qualifications and conduct. The most prominent of these have been election cases, notably the recent cases of Smith and Vare. Investigations in pursuance of the law-making function of Congress have been undertaken to secure information with reference to social and economic conditions and other subjects of public welfare. The present tendency is to delegate a considerable part of this function to fact-finding commissions. Investigations intended to effect the control of the executive have been the most important and numerous. These have related to nearly every one of the executive departments. The conduct of the President or a member of the Cabinet has been subjected to investigation twenty-three times. The recent Fall and Dougherty cases are examples of this type.

This valuable monograph concludes with an extended discussion of the law and procedure and a critical appraisal and forecast.

H. V. AMES.

The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794–1845. American Political, Social, and Intellectual Life from Washington to Polk. Edited by Allan Nevins. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xviii, 585, \$5.00.) There is solid justification for an abridgment of the famous *Diary of John Quincy Adams*. The twelve volumes of the original are becoming more and more inaccessible; and, moreover, while they must always remain indispensable to the scholar, their very bulk acts as a deterrent when it comes to making their precious analyses of men and events available to the general reader. Professor Nevins has, therefore, performed a service in preparing the work under review.

He has accomplished his task, moreover, with the highest degree of success. The proportions of the work are excellent. No one of the critical periods in Adams's life is slighted. The salient moments in his

long political career are given with very considerable detail, as for example in the long chapter on the years 1821-1825. Nor is Mr. Nevins's emphasis, as the subtitle of the abridgment makes clear, entirely political. There is a very considerable body of material that throws light on social and intellectual conditions, on conditions of travel, on religious and intellectual currents, on the development of the national capital. Adams's innumerable personal judgments, to be accepted with caution, but always interesting despite their spleen, are reproduced on the most satisfactory scale.

Here and there the method of abridgment introduces a new subject somewhat abruptly. But in general Mr. Nevins's notes obviate this difficulty.

Not the least valuable part of the whole work is the penetrating analysis of the personality of the diarist by which it is preceded. Sympathetic and yet discriminating, it is one of the best brief descriptions of this noble, and yet bleak, personality that has ever been penned.

The Road to Oregon: a Chronicle of the Great Emigrant Trail. By W. J. Ghent. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1929, pp. xviii, 274, \$5.00.) In an introduction partly devoted to a somewhat carping criticism of Parkman for failure to show a spirit of historical inquiry in his *Oregon Trail*, the writer outlines his own purpose in these words: "It is sometimes asserted that the main business of a historical writer is interpretation. In the view of the author the main business is accuracy" (p. xi). To the reviewer there seems no evident incompatibility between these two aims; but granted the point, Mr. Ghent's preference for the latter—apparently in his mind at the expense of the former—would throw some question on his publisher's reference to the volume as "a saga of America in the making" (jacket). As a matter of fact, despite his passion for accuracy first, Mr. Ghent has allowed a number of minor errors to slip into his book, a few of which, in answer to his prayer that "every error . . . may be corrected and exposed" (p. xi), are collected at the end of this review. Withal, he has written a decidedly readable and entertaining narrative of this famous corridor from the fur-trapping days in the early decades of the nineteenth century down to the decline of the trail which followed the building of the Union Pacific. To the oft-told story of the path-breakers, the early missionaries, and the Oregon pioneers, Mr. Ghent adds little, but in his chapters entitled *The Fictious 'Fifties* and *The Stage Coach Era* he assembles much interesting data on the early mail and stage schedules and of the merits both of competing routes and competing companies.

Mr. Ghent interprets his subject broadly, devoting considerable space to incidents only remotely associated with the Oregon Trail—the fate of the Donner party, for example. On the other hand, the picturesque Bonneville is dismissed with four lines.

For the most part the author has confined his researches to published material. However, he seems not to have used the extremely important Oregon Pioneer Association *Transactions* except as they have been in part reprinted. For the great migration of '43 he could have drawn advantageously on the published fragmentary journal of William Sublette, and for the entire narrative the rich manuscript collections of the Missouri Historical Society would have proved a splendid foundation.

Errors occur here and there, but they are not egregious. Glens Ferry is not in Owyhee County, Idaho (p. 8). Andrew Henry was the partner, not merely the "field captain" of W. H. Ashley, who was elected lieutenant governor of Missouri in 1820, not 1821 (p. 13). In tracing the history of the Overland Train (p. 156) there is no reference to Frémont's second expedition, which pioneered much of the route through Colorado and Wyoming. On pages 21 and 22 occurs a somewhat contradictory statement regarding the first wheeled vehicles to use South Pass.

An interesting appendix summarizes the progress thus far made in marking the trail. The volume is admirably illustrated.

H. C. DALE.

The Isthmian Highway: a Review of the Problems of the Caribbean. By Hugh Gordon Miller, LL.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 341, \$4.50.) The author deals with several questions of foreign policy, some of which are not at first glance closely related to the subject of the book. The history of the Monroe Doctrine, the general question of intervention in the Caribbean and elsewhere, relations between the United States and Great Britain, and the freedom of the seas are discussed at some length, and the theories set forth are illustrated and supported by extensive quotations from other writers. With respect to the canal itself, the author advocates a more business-like accounting system and the appointment by the Hague Court of an international auditing committee to assist the President of the United States in fixing rates.

Mount Vernon on the Potomac: History of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. By Grace King. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. xiv, 491, \$4.00.) The story of the preservation and restoration of Mount Vernon has been told many times, and will be told again from generation to generation. The tale has not been told more gracefully or with more fervor than Grace King has done it. Delaying only to make a brief summary of the deplorable neglect into which the home of Washington had fallen, the author tells in detail of the inspiration of Mrs. Robert Cunningham, and of the seven years of struggle and the final triumph of her daughter, Ann Pamela Cunningham, to rescue Mount Vernon and restore to the estate the atmosphere in which Washington lived during his peaceful years. It is impossible to know Washington without knowing Mount Vernon. Moreover, the causes

which led to the dilapidation of the estate were changes in social and economic conditions which affected the entire country. Thus its story is not an isolated instance, but is typical of the gradual parting of the ways between the South and the North and New West.

Miss Cunningham's regency of the Mount Vernon Association lasted until 1874, covering the entire period of storm and stress and well into the time of established success. The second half of the book, devoted to the internal workings of the Association, relates the gathering of personal belongings of Washington; the rehabilitation of mansion and gardens under good advice; protection against unwelcome gifts; the accumulation of letters and documents (many as yet unpublished and unread); the story of the Houdon bust, the most authentic likeness of Washington; and the notable contribution to American history made by the Association in financing the compilation, editing, and publishing of the *Washington Diaries* under the direction successively of Worthington C. Ford and John C. Fitzpatrick.

Quite incidentally this book is the complete and convincing answer to the recurring agitations to have Congress take the management of Mount Vernon away from the Ladies' Association, because an entrance fee is charged and because the place is not opened on Sunday. Such agitations, happily, are futile; but, unhappily, they arouse in the public mind feelings disturbing to the peace and quiet of the home of Washington, now protected with respect and reverence.

CHARLES MOORE.

The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895. By Norman J. Ware, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Economics in Wesleyan University. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1929, pp. xviii, 409, \$3.00.) This book is a history and interpretation of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Ware was fortunate in obtaining access to the official correspondence of the knights, which had been kept secret by its last Master Workman until 1917, twenty years after the knights had disappeared. This enabled him to give a picture of Master Workman Powderly, from his own letters, which is a valuable contribution to the history of American labor leaders, and a new light on the factional internal fights and jealousies of the knights. There is a large amount of secret documents contained in the book, and the whole is well organized and well written, with a dramatic combination of idealism and cynical disappointment that the knights did not come up to his ideals. The ideal of the knights was "solidarity". Their motto proves it. "An injury to one is the concern of all." There was no reason, in the nature of things, that the knights should have failed when they had such an inspiring motto. The failure must be attributed to something else—the stupidity and selfishness of mankind.

It is difficult to comprehend this kind of history-writing as late as the year 1929. It takes us back to St. Augustine, Robert Owen, Moody, and Mencken. Ordinarily modern historical science tries to see such a move-

ment as the Knights of Labor in the midst of its environment. Not so with Ware. No serious attention is paid to the circumstances of American politics, the cycles of prosperity and depression, the post-war deflation, the free land and closed land, immigration, American individualism, the conflicting state and federal legislatures, the Supreme Court, the power of capitalist organization, and so on, which might throw some light on the spectacular rise and fall of the knights coinciding with a business cycle. It turns on the futile personality of Powderly, the executive unscrupulousness of Gompers, the perversity and craft exclusiveness of that idealized workingman who really wants—if he only knew it—solidarity. It is this that makes Ware's book dramatic and cynical. Labor is labor wherever found; capitalism is capitalism wherever found; labor is solidaristic and class conscious wherever found. Only stupid, brilliant, and unscrupulous personalities count.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Two Great Scouts and their Pawnee Battalion. By George Bird Grinnell. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1928, pp. 299, \$6.00.) This is a story of the "Last American Frontier" by one whose intimate acquaintance with the West dates back to 1870, and who has made a life-long study of the plains Indian and his habitat. The subjects of the study are the North brothers, Frank J. and Luther H., who grew up on the Nebraska frontier of the fifties, in close touch with the Redmen of the region, especially the Pawnees. This early acquaintance with the Pawnees paved the way for the later organization by the brothers of the Pawnee Battalion for government scouting service in the wars against other tribes.

Having no tribal friends on the plains, the Pawnees, veritable Ishmaelites of the prairie, were disposed to be friendly with the whites, a fact which facilitated their enlistment in the service of the government. In the great Sioux war of 1864, when the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska, in common with the entire Northwestern frontier, was exposed to the attack of the Sioux, an army officer suggested to Frank North that he should utilize his knowledge of the Pawnees by organizing a company of them as scouts. The suggestion was promptly acted upon, the Pawnee Battalion came into being, and the North brothers were launched upon their careers as scouts.

In 1865 the scouts participated in the campaign into the Powder River and Yellowstone country against the hostile Sioux and Cheyennes. From 1867 to 1869 the battalion did guard duty against the Indians along the line of the Union Pacific railway, then under construction, while the period from 1870 to 1877 was filled with a variety of campaigns, ranging from the Kansas frontier on the south to the Black Hills and the Yellowstone on the north.

The book is an attempt, not altogether successful, to establish the claim of the North brothers to inclusion in the select list of great Western

scouts, along with Jim Bridger and Kit Carson. The material is interesting in itself, but not especially well organized. For the student of history, the value of the work would have been considerably enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliography and the citation of authorities for important statements. The chapter on Custer's Black Hills expedition of 1874 is based upon the author's personal observations as a member of the party. The bulk of the material for the book was evidently supplied to the author by Luther North. A map, likewise based upon data supplied by North, and a rather complete index add to the value of the book.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

Twenty Years with James G. Blaine. By Thomas H. Sherman. (New York, Grafton Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 194, \$3.50.) Blaine, the Plumed Knight! What a name to conjure with in American history! And yet no satisfactory biography of him based on much study and reflection has thus far been written. Other personalities of his period are being studied as collections of private papers are opened to scholars. The renewed interest in his public career is attested to by the recent appearance of three books dealing with it. Unfortunately, most of the large and invaluable collection of papers which Blaine accumulated during thirty years of distinguished public service will never be available for his biographers or for students of his period. During the summer of 1891, bundle after bundle of the Blaine papers, which had been kept in his Maine home, were burned under the supervision of Louis Dent, his private secretary, in accordance with Blaine's own directions.

It was therefore with keen anticipation that historical scholars read the announcement that Mr. Sherman, who had been Blaine's private secretary from 1869 to 1889, was writing *Twenty Years with James G. Blaine*. Disappointment awaits them, however. The book adds little of importance to what is already known. Over one-third of its 194 pages is devoted to reprinting material from newspapers, magazines, and the *Congressional Record*. Comments of Republican newspapers on the Mulligan Letters and on Blaine's candidacy for the presidency, and eulogistic statements issued by various public men upon his death are printed, but typical comments of Mugwump and Democratic papers are religiously overlooked. Laudatory adjectives and adverbs abound.

Among the chief topics discussed are Washington in 1861, the assassination of Lincoln, Blaine as Congressman and Speaker, his controversy with Conkling and his intimate relations with Garfield, the latter's assassination, and Blaine's radical attitude towards the South. Some new and interesting, but not important, details are given. Five important telegrams and letters that passed between Benjamin Harrison and Blaine are printed and Blaine's work in Harrison's Cabinet is reviewed briefly. Mr. Sherman, however, glosses over the very important fact that the relations between these two men, beginning shortly after Harrison's nomination in 1888, were delicate, and that the gulf widened between

them until Blaine ardently desired Harrison's defeat for renomination in 1892. "My associations with Mr. Blaine cover some of the most pleasant experiences of my public life and some of the most trying", wrote Harrison in May, 1893, in a private memorandum concerning his relations with Blaine. Tracing the rise of this estrangement and its effect on the foreign policy of the United States would have been much worth while. Such material is exactly what one would expect from an intimate personal associate. Dr. Alice Felt Tyler in *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* could not do this as her book was written without access to either such Blaine manuscripts as still remain, or to the Harrison Papers.

The book does shed additional and agreeable light on Blaine's remarkable personality, his domestic life, and his personal relations with other leaders. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has contributed an introduction; more valuable, however, is the charming personal sketch of Blaine contributed by his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Blaine Beale, written originally for "Just Maine Folks". Blaine's famous eulogy of Garfield is reprinted in the appendix. The book is appropriately illustrated and well printed.

A. T. VOLWILER.

The Memorabilia of Fifty Years, 1877-1927. By the Rt. Rev. Edward Rondthaler. (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1928, pp. x, 520, \$5.00.) In 1877, just as the period of Reconstruction closed in North Carolina, Reverend Edward Rondthaler, a native of Schoeneck, Pennsylvania, came to Salem, North Carolina, as pastor of the Moravian church there, a position which he held for thirty-one years. In 1891 he was consecrated a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian Church. During the half century which followed his coming, he grew steadily more influential in the affairs of his church and at the same time identified himself closely with the state of his adoption, winning a widespread popularity and affection, confined to no class, race, or creed.

Following a custom established by the founders of Wachovia from the beginning of the settlement, he prepared in 1877, and every year thereafter, a memorabilia which was read at the annual New Year's Eve service. These are printed in full in the present volume. In them are recorded the events and circumstances, all the happenings of each preceding year; and from them may be traced the course of life, not only of the Moravian congregation, or even of the community at large, but of the state as well. National, and to some extent international, events find reflection here also.

These annual records throw much light upon the pastoral relation of the writer with his people, and they reflect the deep spirituality of the man, showing at the same time, however, his interest in practical matters and public affairs. The volume, apart from its autobiographical interest and its value as church history, is important as a real contribution to local history. Salem, united to Winston some years after the coming of Bishop Rondthaler, under the title Winston-Salem, is in the centre of that

region of piedmont North Carolina which has had during the years covered by this record a striking industrial development. From a small and relatively unimportant community, the towns have grown until they make the largest city in the state. A great tobacco centre, other industries are not lacking.

The volume furnishes an interesting study of a typical piece of development in Southern industrialism. Along with that may be seen reflected here the growth of public education, of public health activities, the extension of gas, electricity, water, and sewerage—the transition, in other words, from a country village of post-bellum North Carolina to a modern and progressive small city. It is along these lines that the book has its chief value outside of its own community.

J. G. DEER. H.

Der Trust in seinem Entwicklungsgang vom Feoffee to Uses zur Amerikanischen Trust Company. Von Hermann M. Roth. (Marburg in Hesse, N. G. Elwert, 1928, pp. 320, 15 M.) Dr. Roth's book is an excellent survey of the development of the trust (in its legal, rather than its economic sense) in its various forms under English and American law. Based on extended study and a thorough knowledge of the sources in English, both primary and secondary, it offers the average English reader a comprehensive record such as is scarcely to be found in his own language. The author lays stress on the trust as an epitome of English legal history, and as a typical example of English legal institutions, which have had an unbroken and natural, largely empirical, growth. His development of this point of view, and his discussion of the characteristics of the legal development of that country (where he draws particularly on Maitland), and of America, are among the most interesting and valuable parts of his book.

The essential features of the trust developed earlier on the Continent than in England. Indeed, Roth begins with Roman law, though he specifically rejects the idea of any direct connection between the Roman *usus* and the Medieval *use*. Our trust concept was based chiefly on the old German *Treuhand*, a concept which was transferred to England, where also the distinction between legal and equitable title arose out of the feudal differentiation between the *seisin* and the *use* of land.

In its early development, the trust emphasized a personal, rather than a legal, relationship between trustee and beneficiary; indeed, it grew up outside the legal system, supported by popular conscience, later by the Church, and in the fifteenth century, gradually by equity law. The attitude of the Crown, upon whose rights it tended to infringe, was at first hostile; nevertheless, its application was extended from real to personal property, then to certain business forms, the executor function, the carrying out of charitable purposes, and especially to non-economic associations. More recent developments are the investment trust and the public trustee.

American contributions to the trust institution have been mainly in the nature of adaptation to our particular situation. The wide use of the business trust in general, the rapid extension of the investment trust in recent years, the great importance of the incorporated trust company—these are the most important features of trust history in America. That peculiarly American phenomenon, the use of the trust form for the development of monopolistic combinations, also receives notice.

In conclusion, the author deals with the possibilities (which he thinks are considerable) in the extended use of the trust form in Germany. The book is partly a testimonial to the German interest in all that goes to explain English and American economic success. It is well written, thorough, and should be useful, as well as interesting, not only to Germans as a suggestion for the future, but to the English and Americans as an historical explanation of the present.

MILDRED HARTSOUGH.

America's Naval Challenge. By Frederick Moore. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 166, \$1.50.) This book can not properly be classified as history. In fairness to his readers the author should have written a preface explaining that it is a use of certain historical facts for the purpose of emphasizing the needlessness of a programme of naval expansion on the part of the United States. In the absence of such an explanation, opinion on the book will vary according to the prejudices and predilections of the individual readers. By the advocates of a stronger navy it will be branded as sheer propaganda. By their opponents it will be hailed as a clear and informing statement of the problems involved in our naval policy and its relation to the maintenance of world peace. And both claims will be correct. If we accept Lord Bryce's definition of propaganda as "a war on opinion by opinion", it undeniably belongs in that category and loses nothing by being placed there. If we desire an interesting and thought-provoking discussion of the development of our naval programme since 1916, this book is pre-eminently worth reading.

Starting with the assertion that 1916 saw the inauguration by the United States of a programme of naval expansion which constitutes a direct challenge to Great Britain and Japan for a race in naval construction, he proceeds to show the effect of this programme upon President Wilson's plans for world peace. Then by sketching the general situation in the Pacific area, he lays the foundation for the Washington Conference and the programme of disarmament. Proceeding from this point, he brings out the inability of Great Britain and the United States to agree on further reductions because of the influence of naval authorities in both countries, and in his final chapter he attempts to show that since no single country can now afford to attack the United States, "only the further development of navalism here, causing ultimate foreign alliances against us, can bring such a thing as war about" (p. 141).

The author's style and methods are those of the journalist rather than of the historian. His selection of facts offers small ground for criticism, but he could have inspired more confidence in his work by citing his authorities. His conclusions are generally sound, but occasionally it is difficult to accept his speculations. For example, what is the basis for the statement (p. 137) that in his Armistice Day speech of 1928 President Coolidge "may have wanted to send a warning to England that her naval men must be curbed if ours here are to be defeated in their campaign"? There is no bibliography, and the index is not adequate.

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Music and Musicians of Maine. By George Thornton Edwards. (Portland, Maine, Southworth Press, 1928, pp. xxviii, 542, \$7.50.) Local music histories are still rare in America. As forerunners of the work before us we might name Ernest C. Krohn's *A Century of Music in Missouri* (1921), Helen J. Andrus's *A Century of Music in Poughkeepsie* (1912), and Elizabeth P. Simons's *Music in Charleston from 1732 to 1919* (1927). Mr. Edwards's very welcome volume is a far more ambitious undertaking than any of these. With incredible industry he has gathered and digested such a mass of facts, names, and dates as must astound the average reader.

The author's researches extend from the early seventeenth century to the present day. In six chapters the musical life of what is now the state of Maine is recorded with varying degrees of minute fulness. Biographical and genealogical data are presented in a profusion without parallel in earlier works. The names of John Knowles Paine, Annie Louise Cary, and Lillian Nordica, all natives of the state, lend much lustre to its musical history, while Samuel Francis Smith, Frederick Nichols Crouch, Luther Whiting Mason, Hermann Kotschmar, Luther Orlando Emerson, and Emma Eames resided there. Chapter VII. (122 pages) is devoted to a "Who's Who" of living musicians of Maine.

The almost complete absence of references to the sources which furnished the historical data is unfortunate. Exact references to the most important newspapers and to other records would have helped to make the book a model for other workers in similar fields. They would have aided the next musical historian of Maine in adding to the author's very complete lists of names of officers, conductors, and even the personnels of choral and instrumental ensembles the more important programmes of their performances, which (excepting the titles of larger choral works) are almost wholly lacking. For the completion of the musical picture they are practically indispensable. On the other hand, the portraits and other illustrations, numbering more than 150, and the sixty-three finely printed pages of classified indexes greatly increase the value and usefulness of the book, which is of necessity made up of innumerable small fragments which do not always lend themselves to continuous development or presentation. Musicians and historians alike owe a debt of

gratitude to this indefatigable chronicler, whose example deserves imitation in every other state of the Union.

OTTO KINKELDEY.

Canada in the Commonwealth: from Conflict to Co-operation. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, pp. xvi, 144, 7 s. 6 d.) This book contains the first Rhodes Memorial Lectures delivered at Oxford by a distinguished Canadian. In judging what Sir Robert Borden has written, his purpose must be constantly kept in mind. No outline of Canadian history has been attempted. Only the most dramatic incidents have been selected to impress British readers with the larger significance of the history of the dominion, and perhaps to prove that Canada is not "an empty land", with "air too thin to breathe".

Because of this emphasis on the dramatic, and the author's conviction that only the French occupation of the St. Lawrence and Acadia kept Canada from passing out of the British orbit, half of the book is devoted to the French period. These sketches are admittedly discursive, and there will be differences of opinion as to the selection and interpretation of details. The Quebec Act is hardly mentioned; two pages are devoted to the period from 1763 to 1791; and little attempt is made to review adequately the years when Canada achieved responsible government. Twenty-three pages cover the years from 1763 to 1914. A brief allusion to the War of 1812 fails to show the significance of the imperialism of the American West as the determining cause of the conflict.

The concluding chapters, dealing with the World War and culminating in the Imperial Conference of 1926, are by far the most valuable, for here the author can write in the first person. The reader gets interesting comments on the new conceptions of the constitutional relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations; on the rough and thorny path to complete dominion representation at the Peace Conference; and a good discussion of the necessity for separate Canadian legations. In 1927, when a Canadian minister to Washington was announced, the proposal did not include taking charge of the British embassy in the absence of the ambassador, as was originally suggested in 1920. Chapters XII. and XIII. describe the incidents of the Peace Conference and the Washington Disarmament Conference respectively.

A bibliography for each chapter has been appended. It is valuable, but one notes many significant omissions. The index is very brief. The book hardly gives even a bare epitome of Canadian history. It is written primarily to stimulate interest in the subject. Although its proportions are bad even for this purpose, it contains some penetrating observations by a scholarly statesman who has had no small part in the building of the "third British empire".

CARL WITCKE.

HISTORICAL NEWS

July 1 Professor Henry E. Bourne assumes the managing editorship of this *Review*. He may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., which will continue to be the official address of the *Review*.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1923 has been issued by the Government Printing Office (1929), a volume of 146 pages.

The Committee on Membership of the American Historical Association announces the following university representatives: J. P. Baxter, 3d, Harvard; C. F. Brand, Leland Stanford; Carl Christol, South Dakota; D. C. Clark, Oregon; W. F. Dunaway, Pennsylvania State; A. L. Dunham, Michigan; Glenn W. Gray, Nebraska; W. T. Hutchinson, Chicago; Paul Knaplund, Wisconsin; J. A. Krout, Columbia; O. G. Libby, North Dakota; J. C. Malin, Kansas; A. J. May, Rochester; John Musser, New York University; A. H. Noyes, Ohio State; J. W. Oliver, Pittsburgh; F. C. Palm, University of California at Berkeley; J. W. Pratt, Buffalo; N. V. Russell, University of California at Los Angeles; R. J. Sontag, Princeton; G. M. Stephenson, Minnesota; J. E. Swain, Illinois; P. W. Townsend, Indiana; and R. G. Trotter, Queen's University.

PERSONAL

Francis Aidan Gasquet died on April 5, at the age of 82. He was created a cardinal in 1914, was prefect of the Vatican archives, president of the international commission for the revision of the Vulgate, and a member of many other commissions. He had been from 1878 to 1884 Superior of the Benedictine Monastery and College of St. Gregory at Downside, and was especially interested in the ecclesiastical history of England. He was the author of more than a score of historical works, including *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* (1888-1889), *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (1890), *The Great Pestilence* (1893), *The Eve of the Reformation* (1900), *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia* (1904-1907), *Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (1922), and *Cardinal Pole and His English Friends* (1927).

Guernsey Jones died on May 5, at the age of 60. He was professor of English history at the University of Nebraska, where he had taught for more than thirty years. He was the author of an "interesting monograph" *The Diplomatic Relations between Cromwell and Charles X. Gustavus of Sweden*, and his translations from sources have been widely used.

Professor Edward P. Cheyney has been transferred to the newly endowed Henry Charles Lea Professorship of History in the University of Pennsylvania.

G. H. Ryden has been promoted to a full professorship and headship of the department of history and political science at the University of Delaware. Dr. Ryden is working in the field of international relations in the Pacific with especial reference to Samoa. Yale University awarded him the John Addison Porter Prize of \$500 for an essay in this field in June, 1928. He is also editing the Caesar Rodney letters, which are in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware, and which will be published by that society some time this year.

Dr. Harlow Lindley has been made "curator of history for the state of Ohio". This is a newly created office in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at Columbus.

In Western Reserve University Professor Henry E. Bourne's work will be carried on by Mr. John W. Gough of Bristol University during the first semester and by Professor Robert B. Mowat, also of Bristol, during the second semester.

We note the following promotions or appointments: *Harvard University*, S. B. Fay of Smith College to be professor in Harvard and Radcliffe, under a new plan of appointments, jointly supported by both, J. B. Hedges of Clark University and Humphrey Sumner of Balliol College, Oxford, to give courses; *Tufts College*, A. H. Imlah to be assistant professor; *Smith College*, R. C. Binkley of New York University to be associate professor, and L. C. Hunter of the Carnegie Institute of Technology to be assistant professor; *Yale University*, J. M. S. Allison to be professor, and A. B. Darling to be associate professor; *Hamilton College*, G. L. Ridgeway of Colby College to be professor; *Colby College*, W. J. Wilkinson, who has been at the University of Vermont, to be professor; *Vassar College*, Miss Violet Barbour to be professor, and Miss Jean Birdsall assistant professor; *New York University*, A. A. Beaumont, jr., to be associate professor, and J. F. Scott, H. S. Commager, and Geoffrey Bruun to be assistant professors; *Columbia University*, Dr. Eileen Power of the University of London to be visiting professor of Medieval history, Allan Nevins to be professor in the graduate school, Professors J. T. Shotwell and E. M. Earle to return to their teaching in February, and J. M. Gambrill to be professor in Teachers College; *College of the City of New York*, W. I. Brandt of the University of Iowa to be associate professor; *Long Island University*, Leo Gershoy of the University of Rochester to be assistant professor; *University of Virginia*, O. J. Hale to be assistant professor; *University of Michigan*, Albert Hyma to be associate professor, A. H. Hirsch of Wesleyan University to teach in place of U. B. Phillips; *Western Reserve University*, R. M. Robbins of Washington State University and G. N. Steiger, on leave of absence from Simmons College, to be assistant professors;

University of Chicago, H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington to be associate professor; *University of Iowa*, C. W. Kiewiet to be assistant professor; *University of Nebraska*, Professor C. H. Oldfather to be chairman of the department in place of J. D. Hicks, who has become dean of the college of arts and sciences; *University of Washington*, Miss Ebba Dahlin and C. E. Quainton to be assistant professors; *University of Oregon*, G. V. Blue to be assistant professor; *Stanford University*, R. H. Lutz to be professor, and Professor C. W. Hackett of the University of Texas to give courses during the winter and spring sessions; *University of California*, F. C. Palm to be associate professor; *University of California, at Los Angeles*, W. F. Adams to be assistant professor.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in the last two numbers: *Harvard University*, Professor W. E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania; *Cornell University*, Professor G. A. Hedger of the University of Cincinnati, Professor F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, Professor L. H. Jenks of Rollins College, and Professor F. B. Marsh of the University of Texas; *University of Pennsylvania*, Professor W. E. Lunt of Haverford College; *Pennsylvania State College*, Professor A. P. James of the University of Pittsburgh, Professor A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College, and Professor J. O. Knauss of Western State Teachers College; *University of Pittsburgh*, Professor C. H. Oldfather of the University of Nebraska; *College of William and Mary*, Professor E. E. Daly of the University of Oklahoma; *University of Virginia*, Professor P. S. Flippin of Coker College; *University of Alabama*, Professor L. B. Schmidt of Iowa State College; *University of Michigan*, Professor W. K. Boyd of Duke University, Professor G. M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University, and Professor W. T. Laprade of Duke University; *University of Illinois*, Professor A. E. Martin of Pennsylvania State College; *Northwestern University*, Professor J. D. Hicks of the University of Nebraska; *University of Nebraska*, Professor R. T. Johanneson of Mississippi College for Women; *University of California*, Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard University, Professor A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois, Professor T. M. Marshall of Washington University, Professor J. C. Parish of the University of California at Los Angeles, and Professor P. J. Treat of Stanford University.

Professor F. M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, is to spend next year in Europe working on the final volume of his *Mirabeau and the French Revolution*. The first volume, *The Youth of Mirabeau*, was published in 1908 (see XV. 371); the second volume, *Mirabeau, an Opponent of Absolutism*, is complete in manuscript; the third volume will be entitled *Mirabeau, the Defender of Constitutional Monarchy*.

The following announcements of fellowships and grants awarded to historians for the year 1929-1930 have been made: Professor Ulrich B. Phillips has received an Albert Kahn fellowship and will spend next year

in a trip around the world, including a visit to the Soudan. Fellowships have been awarded by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation: to M. E. Curti, for studies in the interrelations of European and American pacifism; to Jacob Hammer, Geoffrey of Monmouth; to H. S. Lucas, Flanders, 1280-1360; to Sidney R. Packard, Norman institutions, 1189-1228; to L. D. Steefel, first year of Bismarck's ministry; to Dorothy Stimson, ecclesiasticism and scientific thought in England, seventeenth century; to A. B. Thomas, frontiers of New Mexico, 1778-1789; to A. P. Whitaker, Spanish régime in Louisiana; and to Judith B. Williams, efforts in England to open markets for the products of the Industrial Revolution. The American Council of Learned Societies made grants in aid of research to Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, for expenses incidental to research in British archives on England's new policy after 1763 and its effect on the colonial empire of Great Britain; Edgar B. Graves, Hamilton College, for expenses of travel incidental to research in the Public Record Office, London, and in the archiepiscopal archives of York and Lincoln on problems connected with the Statute of Praemunire of 1353; R. F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, for securing photostat copies of letters of Franklin Pierce, in private possession, for use in writing a biography of Franklin Pierce. Dr. Frederick Tilberg of the University of North Dakota has been granted one of the American-Scandinavian fellowships for 1929-1930. He will continue his study of Swedish-American commercial relations in Stockholm and some of the northern German cities.

We mention the following leaves of absence for the year 1929-1930, in addition to those already noted: *Harvard University*, W. C. Abbott for the second half and Frederick Merk for the year; *Hamilton College*, M. L. Bonham, jr., for the year, which he will spend studying the history of Canada; *Wells College*, Frances H. Relf, for 1929-1931, which she will spend continuing her research on the diaries concerned with the sessions of Parliament in the early seventeenth century; *Columbia University*, C. D. Hazen and Frederick Barry during the second session, J. M. Gambrill during the year, and F. R. Flournoy of St. Stephens College for the second session; *University of Pennsylvania*, W. W. Hyde for the year, which he will spend making an extended research tour of the Near East, Southern Russia, and Greece; *University of Wisconsin*, J. L. Sellers for the first session, which he will spend studying the economic history of the South; *Stanford University*, P. A. Martin during the year; *University of California*, W. A. Morris for the year.

GENERAL

General review: Gino Luzzatto, *Rassegna di Storia Economica* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

The Royal Historical Society invites essays in competition for the Alexander Prize. The candidates may choose their own subjects but

must submit their choices for the approval of the literary director. The essays must show signs of original research, must not exceed 10,000 words in length, and must be sent in on or before March 31, 1930. Those interested should apply for further particulars to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

American historians will enjoy the generous praise and tactful criticism in Professor T. F. Tout's presidential address at the meeting of the Royal Historical Society this year. His subject was History and Historians in America.

The first meeting of the Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences was held at Paris, May 20 to 25. This important committee was appointed at the International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Oslo last August. The original seven members included Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University, and Dr. George Sarton. Since then fifteen others have been elected to the committee, of whom four are Americans, Professors Florian Cajori, David Eugene Smith, Charles H. Haskins, and Louis C. Karpinski. At the meeting there was a programme of papers and a discussion of possible international coöperation in the history of science. Professor Thorndike was in attendance to represent the interests of the History of Science Society, of which he is president.

The Agricultural History Society held its twelfth annual meeting in Washington, April 29, with thirty-five members present. Professor E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia was elected president, Professor Rodney H. True of the University of Pennsylvania vice-president, Dr. O. C. Stine of the United States Department of Agriculture secretary-treasurer; and Miss Clarabel R. Barnett of the same department and Professor Arthur P. Whitaker of Western Reserve University were chosen members of the executive committee. An amendment to the constitution was adopted providing for an increase of annual dues from two to three dollars, an increase which had become necessary in order to place the society's publication, *Agricultural History*, upon a firm financial basis. Two particularly noteworthy addresses were delivered at the meeting, one by the retiring president, Dr. Solon J. Buck, on Some Materials available to Research Workers on Agricultural History, the other by Dr. L. O. Howard, until recently chief of the Bureau of Entomology, on the History of Economic Entomology. In addition, Mr. E. W. Allen, chief of the Office of Experiment Stations, spoke of the work of the late Dr. A. C. True, and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Agricultural Library, Chicago, described the plans for the agricultural section of the Rosenwald Museum.

The January number of *Agricultural History* contains the paper of Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, the Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture, read before the society at Indianapolis in December, 1928; that of Dr. Carl R. Woodward, Agricultural Legislation in Colonial New Jersey, read before the society at the Washington meeting in December,

view of the large number of contributions, it has been expanded into two volumes: one, *Aus Politik und Geschichte*, contains seventeen contributions in the fields of political history and historical theory (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1928, pp. x, 362); the other, *Aus Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, has thirteen essays in social and economic history (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. vii, 369). Among others, attention may be directed to the following studies: Hermann Haering's "Treitschke und seine Religion", Fritz Kern's "Der Deutsche Staat und die Politik des Römerzuges", Joseph Ahlhaus's "Civitas und Diözese", in the first volume; Fedor Schneider's "Staatliche Siedlung im Frühen Mittelalter", Alfred Schultze's "Das Testament Karls des Grossen", Rudolf Häpke's "Die Oekonomische Landschaft und die Gruppenstadt in der Aelteren Wirtschaftsgeschichte", Walter Tuckermann's "Das Deutschtum in Kanada", in the second.

The Naval War College has published through the Government Printing Office (1929) *International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes* (1927). The situations are Goods on Neutral Vessels, Visit and Search, Armed Merchant Vessels. In the appendix are given the laws of various countries for the admission of foreign warships to their ports and harbors. There is a full index.

The Yale University Press has published for the Council on Foreign Relations a revised and enlarged *Political Handbook of the World* (1929). For each of sixty-three countries, including in this edition the United States, there are given the capital, area, population, ruler, cabinet, premier (if any), and parliament, followed by a summary of party programmes and leaders, and a list of the more important newspapers with their political affiliations and proprietors or editors; in the United States section the circulation is given for each paper listed. The space allotted to a country varies from a single page to ten pages each for France and the United States. The editors are Malcolm W. Davis and Walter H. Mallory, and they have produced an indispensable work of reference in this volume of 198 pages.

J. H. Clapham, professor of economic history at Cambridge, gave in his inaugural lecture, entitled *The Study of Economic History*, a very interesting sketch of the development of the study, and of the relation of economic history to economics and to history (Cambridge University Press, 1929).

René Maunier's *Introduction à la Sociologie* (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 112) is the product of his lectures at the École des Hautes Études Sociales. The last third on the history of sociology is of interest to historians.

The versatile Sidney Dark has written another book, *Twelve Bad Men* (Crowell). In it he furnishes biographical sketches, averaging about 5000 words each, of Louis XI., Cesare Borgia, Cellini, Thomas

Cromwell, Mazarin, Judge Jeffreys, Marlborough, Frederick the Great, Casanova, Talleyrand, Fouché, Robespierre. The volume is not to be taken seriously.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Douglas Jerrold, *Oswald Spengler and the Meaning of History* (English Review, April); Rabbi Isaac Herzog, *Moral Rights and Duties in Jewish Law* (Juridical Review, March 1); Col. C. M. Bundel, *Is the Study of Military History Worth While?* (Infantry Journal, March); Corrado Barbagallo, *Economia Antica e Moderna*, concl. (Nuova Rivista Storica, January); Charles S. Lobingier, *The History of the Conjugal Partnership* (American Law Review, March-April-May).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Geuthner has reprinted the *Supplément aux Éléments de Bibliographie Hittite* (see *A. H. R.*, XXIX. 623) which G. Contenau published in *Babyloniaca*, vol. X., parts 1-3. The bibliography contains about 950 titles. The activity in Hittite studies is indicated by the fact that this Supplement contains nearly 400 titles for the years 1922 to 1926 (Paris, 1927, pp. 76).

Wagner and Debes (Leipzig) are publishing the Kromayer-Veith *Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, consisting of 34 plates containing 120 maps, with explanatory text; part V. contains maps illustrating the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Caesar's Gallic Wars.

Pierre Jouguet has written "an excellent sequel to the ordinary histories of Greece", *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (London, Kegan Paul, 1929).

Of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs* (Brussels, La-mertin), which is progressing under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale and the supervision of M. Bidez and his associates, five volumes have appeared, listing and describing the manuscripts of Paris, Italy, the British Isles, and Spain, with a volume presenting Michael Psellus *Περὶ Χρυσουργίας*, ed. Bidez.

The Oxford University Press will publish in the near future a Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome by S. B. Platner.

Professor A. E. R. Boak has made many additions to the text in his revision of his *History of Rome to 565 A.D.* (Macmillan). The maps are enlarged and colored and two have been added, as have also genealogical tables and several plates.

A new book on Byzantine history is being written by the Austrian scholar, Ernst Stein. The first volume of this *Geschichte des Spät-römischen Reiches* deals with the years 284-476 (Vienna, Seidel, 1928, pp. xxii, 592), the second will continue to 641. Like Seeck's far more

comprehensive work, it is destined both for scholars and for a popular audience.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alexandre Moret, *Un Événement Archéologique; les Tombes Royales d'Our* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1); J. Toutain, *La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique* (Journal des Savants, March); Walther Wolf, *Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus* (Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, LXIV. 1); B. Ebbell, *Die Aegyptischen Drogennamen* (*ibid.*); William F. Edgerton, *A Clause in the Marriage Settlements* (*ibid.*); Ch. Picard, *Le Palais de Minos à Cnossos, I.* (Journal des Savants, March); Georges Radet, *Aornos* (*ibid.*, February); Carl Koehne, *Die Gründe von Cäsars Schnellem Rückzug aus Deutschland im Jahre 53 v. Chr.* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); Thomas J. Pitts, *The Rise and Progress of the Roman Law* (American Law Review, March-April-May); P. J. Hughesdon, *Factors in the Fall of the Western Empire* (Sociological Review, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

St. Paul, by Emile Baumann, is a translation of a French work which has already gone through eighty editions. The book will probably appeal to many in this country because of its orthodox point of view and lack of critical spirit (Harcourt, Brace).

One of the last works of the late Pierre Batiffol was a new study of *Saint Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, Gabalda, 1928, pp. 236).

The Cambridge University Press announces a volume of *Studies in Eusebius*, by J. Stephenson, which contains among other subjects chapters on the great persecutions and the outbreak of the Arian controversy.

Noteworthy article in periodical: Paul Monceaux, *Le Pape Grégoire le Grand, I.*, concl. (Journal des Savants, January, February).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto has established an Institute of Mediaeval Studies which will be under the direction of Professor Étienne Gilson of the Sorbonne.

Students of Medieval history will welcome the announcement by the Oxford University Press of *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, by Professor Charles H. Haskins. This will contain twelve chapters of which three are entirely new; the other nine are revisions of articles which have appeared in various periodicals, including three from this *Review*. It is expected that the volume will be ready early in the fall.

In *Speculum* for April Miss Hilda Johnstone has a valuable article on Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England, and Samuel H. Cross one on Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition. Kenneth J. Conant contributes Preliminary Restoration Drawings of

the Abbey Church, the second report on the excavations at Cluny. There are also important notes on l'Éducation Scientifique de Boèce, by R. Bonnaud, and on l'Harmonie des Sphères selon Boèce, by R. Bragard. E. K. Rand has a short note on Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours, illustrated by four plates. Helen R. Bittermann discusses the legend of Harun Ar-Rashid's gift of an organ to Charlemagne.

In the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVII., fasc. I. and II., are especially to be noted the papers by M. H. Delehay, l'Hagiographie Ancienne de Ravenne, and by Maurice Coens, Les Vierges Martyres de Cologne d'après un Ouvrage Récent. The latter is especially interesting, upon a subject which has long been hotly discussed.

Quellen und Forschungen, XX., contains five important contributions, including many previously unpublished documents: Ohnsorge describes Eine Ebracher Briefsammlung des XII. Jahrhunderts and edits twelve letters from it; Hampe, in Ein Sizilischer Legatenbericht an Innocenz III. aus dem Jahre 1204, adds six more letters to those which he has already edited from the "Capuaner Sammlung"; Vehse writes on Benevent und die Kurie unter Nicolaus IV.; with six documents. Baethgen, in a monograph of 124 pages, gives an important discussion and much material for the Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung unter Bonifaz VIII.; and Erdmann discusses the second and least known phase of the Council of Trent in the article entitled Die Wiedereröffnung des Trienter Konzils durch Julius III., to which he appends nineteen documents. In addition Otto Vehse edits the 1300 A.D. copy of Clement III.'s Privileg für San Niccolò am Tordino, indicating which portions are genuine; and Ludwig Bertalot adds a contemporary Descriptio Coniurationis Patavine by Jacob Zenus.

Of the first nine volumes in the thirteen-volume *Histoire du Monde*, under the direction of M. Cavaignac, the first is *Prolégomènes*; two deal with the Mediterranean world up to the fifth century A.D., four with India and China, and one with Pre-Columbian America. Volume VII. is *Chrétienté et Islam*; part II., *La Chrétienté Médiévale*, by M. A. Fliche, is written mainly along traditional lines; the Byzantine Empire here, as usual, receives scant treatment. There are no notes or other apparatus. Frequently statements are very inexact, for example, "Le sac de Rome [in 410], qui en trois jours transforme le temple de la civilisation antique en un monceau de ruines fumantes, est le dernier exploit du chef wisigoth qui meurt aussitôt dans l'Italie du sud, tandis que son armée se débande". (Paris, Boccard, 1929, pp. xviii, 501.)

The biography, *Ramon Lull*, published by the S. P. C. K. (London) is said to be both scholarly and interesting, the first satisfactory life. The author, E. Allison Peers, has made a thorough study of the man and of his times.

A new edition of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's excellent *Roman Law in Mediaeval Europe* is announced by the Oxford University Press. It is edited by Professor F. de Zulueta.

The rich store of Franciscana is further increased by an *Histoire de la Fondation et de l'Évolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Libr. Saint-François; Gembloux, Duculot, 1928, pp. xxiv, 699), by P. Gratien, O.M.C.

The "Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome" continues its important publication of the *Lettres Communes des Papes d'Avignon*, analyzed from the registers of Avignon and of the Vatican. Vol. IX., fasc. 21, is a quarto volume devoted to *Jean XXII., 1316-1334*, edited by G. Mollat, professor at Strasbourg (Paris, Boccard, 1929, pp. 272). The "Bibliothèque" sponsors also two valuable and solidly documented works by B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *Les Papes et les Ducs de Bretagne; Essai sur les Rapports du Saint-Siège avec un État* (*ibid.*, 1929, 2 vols., pp. xxiv, 944) and *François II., Duc de Bretagne et d'Angleterre*, describing the efforts of this duke to resist with English aid the encroachments of Charles VII. and Louis XI. upon his local autonomy (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 344).

Analecta Bollandiana, XLVI., fasc. 3 and 4, contains the last chapter of Delehaye's important study of *Lettres d'Indulgence Collectives*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alexander Cartellieri, *Kaiser Otto II.* (Beiträge zur Thüringischen und Sächsischen Geschichte, Festschrift für Otto Dobenecker); Ivan Pusino, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien und in Russland* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXL. 1); Édouard Perroy, *Charles V. et le Traité de Brétigny* (Moyen Age, September-December); A. Leman, *Un Traité Inédit relatif au Grand Schisme d'Occident; Propositions de Chrétien Coc, Doyon de Saint-Pierre de Comines, au Synode de Lille de 1384* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April); André Bellessort, *Un Pape Humaniste, Pie II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); Ernest Bock, *Monarchie, Einung und Territorium im Späteren Mittelalter; ein Beitrag zur Deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The most recent addition to the *Histoire Générale* of MM. Halphen and Sagnac is vol. VIII., *Les Débuts de l'Age Moderne; la Renaissance et la Réforme*, by Henri Hauser and A. Renaudet (Paris, Alcan, 1929, pp. 624).

The History of Science Society has just received a subvention of \$7500 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the establishment of a revolving publication fund. It hopes to publish very shortly as the first volume under this subvention an English translation (the first) of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*. Two other manuscripts are awaiting publication.

a new work. Jacob is the author of *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion*, which was reviewed in this journal, XXXI. 821. The volume is to be published by the Oxford University Press.

In the University of Colorado *Studies* for February E. F. Meyer begins a study of English Craft Gilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages. In three chapters he discusses the borough as a creator of the gilds, as a controller of their membership, and as a regulator of their activities. Further sections will be published in later numbers in the *Studies*. These first chapters give promise of a notable work.

The Cambridge University Press announces *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1365-1381*, edited by H. H. Thomas from the archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guild Hall.

To the number of popular biographies of English sovereigns has been added Francis Hackett's *Henry VIII*. (New York, Liveright).

The fourth volume of the series *Life and Work of the People of England*, by Dorothy Hartley and Margaret M. Elliot, is on the seventeenth century. Like the preceding volumes on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, it is "a pictorial record from contemporary sources". There are 166 illustrations, accompanied by interesting explanatory text. The pictures represent many phases of the life: agriculture, building, travel, warfare, amusements, medicine, etc. (Putnam, 1929).

An article, "The Fame of Sir Edward Stafford", by J. E. Neale, in the *English Historical Review* for April is mainly an attempt to refute the charge of treachery brought against Stafford by Dr. Conyers Read in an article with the same title in this *Review*, XX. 292 ff. Professor Neale makes use of information drawn from the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, of the reign of Elizabeth, June 1586 to June 1588, published two years ago. Those interested in the controversy should also consult Professor Pollard's paper in the *English Historical Review*, XVI. 572 ff., and Read's *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (1925).

Select Documents for Queen Anne's Reign down to the Union with Scotland, 1702-1707, selected and edited by G. M. Trevelyan, is a very useful book. As the editor says, "nearly all the contemporary authorities which it would be necessary for students to have in their hands, were either out of print, or were on the point of going out of print. Moreover they were widely scattered in a number of different books. . . . A few transcripts, hitherto unpublished, from the British Museum MSS. have been added". Pertinent documents are grouped under six sections: Foreign Treaties of Alliance; Home Politics; Gibraltar; Blenheim and Ramillies; Marlborough Papers; Scotland and the Union. There is an excellent preface, an introduction to each of the sections, lists of the principal ministers and of the Parliaments of Anne's reign,

and sketch-maps of Gibraltar, Blenheim, and Ramillies (Cambridge University Press, 1929, pp. xiii, 251).

A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation, by D. R. Gwynn, is a history of the Catholic Church in England since the emancipation act in 1829. Special emphasis is given to the work of Wiseman and of Manning (New York, Longmans).

Peel and the Conservative Party: a Study in Party Politics, 1832-1841, by George Kitson Clarke (London, Bell, 1929), is described as a "brilliant book" and a careful study from unpublished material, "in which every page is fresh and vigorous".

Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Disraeli* is to be published in a revised edition in two volumes (21 s.) in September, by Murray (London).

R. B. Mowat has written a *Life of Lord Pauncefote* which is published by Constable (London).

Three reprints of articles on Medieval London by Martin Weinbaum are at hand: that entitled "Stalhof und Deutsche Gildhalle zu London" appeared in the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 1928, XXXIII. 45-65; the article dealing with "Die Londoner Gerichtshofbeschreibungen des Mittelalters, eine Textkritische Studie" was published in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXI. 1 and 2, while that on "Londons Aldermänner und Warde im 12.-14. Jahrhundert" was contributed to the *Gedächtnisschrift für Georg von Below*, noticed elsewhere in this issue.

In the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. XXXVIII., section C, no. 6, H. D. Richardson and G. O. Sayles discuss the Irish Parliaments of Edward I., "in order to cast light upon the mother institution in England". Their valuable paper may be obtained from Williams and Norgate (London) for a sixpence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edmond Faral, *L'Abbaye de Glastonbury et la Légende du Roi Arthur* (*Revue Historique*, January); James Tait, *The Origin of Town-Councils in England* (*English Historical Review*, April); F. W. Brooks, *The King's Ships and Galleys, mainly under John and Henry III.* (*Mariner's Mirror*, January); F. W. Brooks, *The Cinque Ports* (*ibid.*, April); William T. Morgan, *The Origins of the South Sea Company* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); W. T. Morgan, *English Fear of "Encirclement" in the Seventeenth Century* (*Canadian Historical Review*, March); W. C. Abbott, *Macaulay and the New History* (*Yale Review*, spring); T. W. Riker, *A Survey of British Policy in the Fashoda Crisis* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); Hugh Graham, *Education in Medieval Scotland* (*Catholic Educational Review*, May).

FRANÇOIS

General review: H. E. Bourne, *A Decade of Studies in the French Revolution* (Journal of Modern History, June).

Three volumes of source-material and studies in local French history during the Middle Ages are *Le Laonnois Féodal*, vol. III., *Châtellenies de la Duché-Pairie de Laon*, by the Comte de Sars (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 773); *Les Grandes Compagnies en Velay, 1358-1392* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 285), by Jacques Monicat, and *Chartes et Documents de l'Abbaye Cistercienne de Preuilly*, edited by Albert Catel and Maurice Lecomte (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 422).

Histoire Diplomatique by René Pinon, professor at the École des Sciences Politiques, constitutes vol. IX. of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Histoire de la Nation Française* (Paris, Plon, 1929, pp. 648).

There is a promise of fascinating reading in the new book by Henri d'Alméras, *À Pied, à Cheval, en Carrosse; Voyages et Moyens de Transport du Bon Vieux Temps*; there are chapters on the pilgrims, troubadours, and jongleurs, on Dante as a student in Paris, on journeys of Froissart, Molière, La Fontaine, and Mme. de Sévigné, on old inns, and means of transport (Paris, Michel, 1929, pp. 320).

A scholarly work has been written by Yvonne Bezard on *La Vie Rurale dans le Sud de la Région Parisienne de 1450 à 1560* (Paris, Firmin, 1929, pp. 382).

A translation of Henri Lavedan's *Monsieur Vincent, Aumônier des Galères* (Paris, Plon), made by Helen Y. Chase, is published by Longmans (New York).

Based partly on unpublished correspondence is the discussion of the struggle for Provence, 1593-1596, by L. V. Simpson, in the University of California *Publications in History*, vol. XVII., no. 1.

Certain movements in the French Church of the eighteenth century receive treatment at the hands of E. Preclin in two books bearing the respective titles, *Les Jansénistes du XVIIIe Siècle et la Constitution Civile du Clergé* (Paris, Gamber, 1929, pp. 616) and *L'Union des Églises Gallicane et Anglicane; une Tentative au Temps de Louis XV.* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 210).

Lafayette and Three Revolutions, by J. S. Penman, is the story of Lafayette's political life and the part he played in the American Revolution and in the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830 (Boston, Stratford).

The Cambridge University Press announces a new edition of Arthur Young's *Travels in France, 1787-1789*, which will also contain a selection from his *General Observations* upon French conditions. The editor is Miss Constantia Maxwell, who, four years ago, edited his *Tour in Ireland*.

The *Tableaux des Personnages Célèbres de la Révolution Française, du Consulat et de l'Empire*, by Jean Lhomer and Pierre Cornuau, contains more than 900 names and should be a useful reference-book for workers in these fields (Paris, Cornuau, 1929).

An interesting new volume in the "Recits d'Autrefois", published by Hachette, is *L'Affaire Pierre Bonaparte: le Meurtre de Victor Noir*, by M. Alexandre Zévaès.

Secrets of the Second Empire consists of letters, selected from the papers of H. R. C. Wellesley, first Earl Cowley, British ambassador at Paris, 1852-1867, and edited by his son, Hon. F. A. Wellesley (New York, Harper).

The *Correspondance Intime de l'Amiral de la Roncière Le Noury avec sa Femme et sa Fille, 1855-1871*, is published by the Société de l'Histoire de France, under the editorship of Joseph L'Hôpital and Louis de Saint-Blancan. The letters have value for the history of the Second Empire. Vol. I. covers the period from Apr. 2, 1855, to Jan. 25, 1861 (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 280).

In his *Histoire de la Commune de 1871, d'après des Documents et des Souvenirs Inédits; la Justice*, Georges Laronze, a magistrate, has gone beyond his immediate subject and furnished a considerable mass of new information on various aspects of the Commune, based on exhaustive research (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. xvi, 696).

From *Die Grosse Politik* Max J. Kohler of New York has extracted Some New Light on the Dreyfus Case, which he used, with other material, for an article in the *Freidus Memorial Volume*. This is now reprinted separately (Vienna, 26 pp.).

Dr. Eleanor Lansing Dulles has presented the various crises in the finances of France from 1914 to 1928 in *The French Franc* (Macmillan, pp. xxxvi, 570). This represents the result of four years of research in ascertaining and interpreting the facts. The late Professor Allyn A. Young in the introduction says: "Miss Dulles's book has a twofold significance. In the first place it is a history. It gives an account of an important episode—or series of episodes—in the recent history of France. In the second place, it is an essay in monetary theory." In both respects it will prove valuable.

A valuable source of information for the political, economic, and social history of the region in question is the *Encyclopédie Départementale des Bouches-du-Rhône*. It is not a popular reference-book, but the fruit of original research. Vol. VIII., dealing with *Le Mouvement Économique: l'Agriculture*, is by Paul Masson and Ét. Estrangin (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. xv, 908).

The publication at Dijon of the two fascicles of *Annales de Bourgogne*, an historical quarterly, is announced for June 30, with a note-

worthy list of contributors. The price in the United States is 60 francs a year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léon Vignols, *La Destruction d'Archives Coloniales* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); C. Fabre, *Lettres d'Amortissement Accordées au Chapitre de Saugues par Béraud II., Dauphin d'Auvergne, en 1396* (Moyen Age, September–December); Gabriel Hanotaux, *Pour le Cinquième Centenaire; la Mission de Jeanne d'Arc*, I., concl. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 1); Bertrand de Chanterac, *Odet de Foix, Vicomte de Lautrec* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Général Weygand, *La Conversion de Turenne* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); J. J. Jusserand, *Louis XIV. et ses Ambassadeurs à Londres* (*ibid.*, April 15); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Portrait de la Reine Marie-Antoinette* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Robert A. Moore, M.D., *Gabriel Honoré de Riquette, Count of Mirabeau: a Medico-Historical Study* (Annals of Medical History, March); Duc de Broglie, *Mémoires*, I.–IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 1, March 1, 15); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Souvenirs d'Émigration* (Revue de Paris, February 15); Crane Brinton, *Les Origines Sociales des Terroristes* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, November); Albert Mathiez, *Portraits Révolutionnaires; Robespierre et Vergniaud*, I. (*ibid.*, March); Simon Askenazy, *Napoléon Inédit* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Édouard Driault, *Napoléon, Chef de Guerre* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); Albert Mathiez, *Saint-Simon, Lauraguais, Barras, Benjamin Constant, etc., et la Réforme de la Constitution de l'An III. après le Coup d'État du 18 Fructidor An V.* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, January); P. L. Roederer, *Lettres à Élisa Bonaparte; Publiées par Paul Marmottan* (Nouvelle Revue, Jan. 1–Feb. 1); Maurice Reclus, *La Jeunesse d'Adolphe Thiers* (Revue de Paris, March 1); Paul Marmottan, *Joseph Bonaparte à Mortefontaine, 1800–1803; Lettres et Documents Inédits*, I.—concl. (Nouvelle Revue, March 1–April 15); L. de Contenson, *Lettres du Comte Louis de Périgord, 1806–1807* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 2); Georges Lefranc, *Die Begründung des Französischen Eisenbahnnetzes; eine Studie über das Gesetz vom 11. Juni 1842* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXVI. 2); Sébastien Charléty, *Ernest Lavisse, 1842–1922* (Revue de Paris, February 1); Ch. L. d'Espinay de Briort, *Une Correspondance Inédite; le Prince Impérial et Ernest Lavisse, 1871–1879* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); H. Prentout, *Le Rôle de la Normandie dans l'Histoire* (Revue Historique, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The Hispanic Society of America has published in its Notes and Monographs an illustrated account of *Early Engraved Ivories* in its collection (55 in number) from the excavations of George E. Bonsor near

the Guadalquivir River. These ivories Bonsor dates about 700 B.C., and assigns to a Liby-Phoenician origin.

A fresh consideration of the rôle of Guicciardini, based on the family archives and accompanied by the publication of important new documents, has been made by the Rumanian scholar, André Otetea, in his *François Guichardin; sa Vie Publique et sa Pensée Politique* (Paris, Picard, 1929, pp. 396).

The Oxford University Press announces *A History of Italy, 1870-1915*, by Benedetto Croce.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lieut.-Comdr. Louis H. Roddis, U. S. N., *García de Orta: the First European Writer on Tropical Medicine and a Pioneer in Pharmacognosy* (Annals of Medical History, March); Earl J. Hamilton, *Imports of American Gold and Silver into Spain, 1503-1660* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Louis Bertrand, *Philippe II. à l'Escorial*, III., concl. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1, 15); C. Scaccia Scarafoni, *L'Antico Statuto dei "Magistri Stratarum" e Altri Documenti Relativa a Quella Magistratura* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, L. 3-4); Piero Barocelli, *La Figura di Roma in Uno Storico Celtista* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); G. Falco, *Costituzioni Preegidiane per la Tuscia e per la Campagna e Marittima* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, L. 3-4); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie; l'Oeuvre Militaire*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 2); Tommaso Tittoni, *Ricordi Personali di Politica Interna*, I., II (Nuova Antologia, April 1, 16); Carlo Pagani, *Dopo Custozza e Volta nel 1848* (*ibid.*, March 1); Luigi Salvatorelli, *Giovanni Giolitti und seine Auswärtige Politik* (Europäische Gespräche, March).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The Oxford University Press has published the *Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, from the manuscript in the Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart. Jörg was born in 1428, and his diary "reads like a chapter out of Froissart".

The Württemberg "Landesamt für Denkmalpflege" plans a three-volume history of *Die Römer in Württemberg*. Vol. I., by Friedrich Hertlein, covers *Die Geschichte der Besetzung des Römischen Württemberg* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. xvi, 200). The remaining volumes are entrusted to Fr. Hertlein, P. Gössler, and O. Paret.

New source-material for Prussian history is available in *Acta Brandenburgica; Brandenburgische Regierungsakten seit der Begründung des Geheimen Rates*, vol. II., 1606-1607 März, edited by M. Klinkenborg (Berlin, Gsellius, 1928, pp. v, 647).

Gertrude Aretz's biography of Queen Louise of Prussia has been translated into English by Ruth Putnam and published by Putnam (New York).

The Cruise of the Kronprinz Wilhelm, by Alfred, count von Niezychowski (New York, Doubleday, Doran), is described as the story of the warfare against shipping on the Atlantic conducted by the German mystery ship during the first year of the war.

La Révolution Allemande de 1918, by Eduardo Labougle, is published by the Presses Universitaires (Paris). This is a translation of the well-known Spanish volume of which the first edition was published eight years ago and received with so great praise. The author was secretary of the Argentine legation at Berlin from 1914 to 1919, and this book shows what excellent use he made of his opportunities.

J. Borovicka, in *Ten Years of Czechoslovak Politics* (Prague, Orbis, 1929), writing from the Czech standpoint, gives valuable information concerning the development of parties, party leaders, and party changes since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. This information supplements such works as that of Graham (*New Governments in Central Europe*) on the one hand, and those of Papoušek, Beneš, Masaryk, on the other.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Lampe, *Ein Altmärkisches Bauernarchiv* (Thüringisch-Sächsische Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, XVII. 2); Kurt v. Raumer, *Die Pfälzerzerstörung von 1689; Quellenproblem und Forschungsaufgabe mit Besonderem Blick auf die Zerstörung von Speyer* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 3); Arnold Berney, *Reichstradition und Nationalstaatsgedanke, 1789-1815* (*ibid.*, CXL. 1); Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Kaiserin Friedrich* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); Gaetano Vitali, *Guglielmo II. e Bismarck*, concl. (Nuova Antologia, February 1); Burkhard Seuffert, *Ueber die Veröffentlichung von Landtagsakten* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); *Die Unterredungen P. A. Schuwalows mit Fürst Bismarck im April-Mai 1887* (Kriegsschuldfrage, March); *Der Inhalt der Deutsch-Oesterreichischen Militärkonvention* (Der Krieg, May); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

No. 52 of the *Werken* of the Historische Genootschap (Utrecht, Kemink, pp. 212) is a volume on the history of the Clares and Tertiaries in the Netherlands, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Klarissen*, etc., statutes and votes of chapters and similar documents, with introductions by David de Kok. Vol. XLIX. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen*, besides various accounts and inventories useful to students of economic history, contains a series of interesting letters of 1665 and 1666 found in the Vatican archives, written for the information of the papal nuncio in Brussels by an anonymous correspondent in Holland, who is here proved to have been Leeuw van Aitzema; also, of interest to students of Guiana history, the journal of a young Dutch lady who in 1677 accompanied her father to the new settlement on the Oyapock.

Belgian Problems Since the War, by Louis Pierard, is based upon six lectures given at Williamstown last summer. The first lecture deals with the problem of the two groups, Walloons and Flemings; the second with the use made by workers of leisure, and the last four with labor and socialism. The volume shows keen insight and a broad knowledge of conditions elsewhere as well as in Belgium. It is both interesting and important (Yale University Press, 1929, pp. xi, 106).

Noteworthy article in periodical: Michel Huisman, *Le Problème de la Sécurité de la Belgique et des Pays-Bas à l'Avènement du Second Empire* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, Feb.-Apr. 1928).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: N. Brian-Chaninov, *Courrier Russe* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

The first of four volumes of *Selections from Lenin* is *The Fight for the Programme, Party Organization, and Tactics, 1893-1904*, compiled by Pierre Pascal and translated by J. Fineberg (New York, International Publishers).

The Revolution of 1917, from the March revolution to the July days, by Nikolai Lenin, a series of articles and addresses declaring the policies and tactics of the Revolutionists, has been published in two volumes by the International Publishers (New York).

The Vanguard Press (New York) has published a study of *The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets*, by Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Otto Rydbeck, *Medeltida Kontrollmärken av Bly* (Fornvännen, 1928, 3); Elias Hurwicz, *Aus dem Archiv Pobedonoszew* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); Axel Schmidt, *W. Klütschewskij* (*ibid.*, March); Pierre Rain, *Nicolas II. et sa Diplomatie pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Général Goury Danilow, *L'Abdication du Tsar; Récit d'un Témoin* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); C. Diamandy, *Ma Mission en Russie, 1914-1918*, I. (*ibid.*, February 15); Inna Lubimenko, *Des Archives de l'Oukraïne Soviétique* (Nederlandsch Archievenblad, XXXVI. 2).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The *Slavonic Review* contains several general articles that concern all or nearly all Eastern and Central Europe: Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Russia and Poland fill the *chronicle* and Yugoslavia monopolizes the two important collections of documents. Slavonic Studies in France are reviewed by Boris Unbegaun. Russia clearly dominates, however. There are articles by Sir Alfred Knox on the Grand Duke Nicholas, by Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky on

Psychological Undercurrents of the Russian Revolution, by R. R. Kachorovsky on the Russian Land Commune. This number continues the study of Poland and the Slavophil Idea, by W. Lednički, and begins Bulgaria under the Tsar Simeon, by Stephen S. Bobčev. Both of these will appeal strongly to the real "Slavophil"; the student of Eastern European origins can not safely overlook them. The beginning of a series of articles by Ifor L. Evans on Agrarian Reform in the Danubian Countries is a source of deep satisfaction. This subject is one of keen interest to all, indirectly affecting West as well as East. Lord Onslow gives Arthur Nicolson, Lord Carnock, full justice and much appreciation. C. A. Macartney does for Hungary what he did so successfully for Austria in the last issue; he makes us see by the use of language not at all technical the development of Hungary since the World War and the real truth about its "partition". Many will welcome Wycliffe's Influence upon Central and Eastern Europe (by Otakar Odloželík), a scholarly piece of work of a most interesting nature. Czechoslovakia should feel grateful for the tribute paid by Niloš Weingart in the Centenary of Joseph Dobrovsky. Last but by no means least, the revelation of what the Central Powers had in store for Serbia, fully revealed in the "Unprinted Documents" section, is convincing evidence of what would have happened to the Slavs in case the World War had ended differently. The reviews are of an especially high order. (A. I. A.)

Roumania for January (vol. V., no. 1, published by the Society of Friends of Roumania) contains two articles on the Optants' Dispute, by David Mitrany and N. Henry Josephs, as well as a bibliography of books and articles recently published on this subject. Among the other contents may be noted a Roumanian Civil War Hero, by A. Popovici, an account of George Pomutz, who served in the United States army with distinction, and was afterwards consul at St. Petersburg and Kronstadt; the Minorities of Roumania, by Walter Littlefield; and Bessarabia Today, by George Boncescu. There is also a valuable summary (44 pages) of current events and statistics.

The Union of Moldavia and Wallachia, an Episode in Diplomatic History, by W. G. East, is published by the Cambridge University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Hélène Vacaresco, *La Mystique Nationale Roumaine aux Environs de 1848* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLIII. 1); Josef Brauner, *Bosnien und Herzegowina; Politik, Verwaltung, und Leitende Personen vor Kriegausbruch* (*Kriegsschuldfrage*, April).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Kévork Aslan's *Études Historiques sur le Peuple Arménien*, which covers the history down to 1050 A.D., was first published twenty years ago. The new edition contains about 20 excellent illustrations, but otherwise seems little changed (Paris, Geuthner, 1928, pp. 339).

Reuben Levy, lecturer in Persian at the University of Cambridge, has attempted in *A Baghdad Chronicle* to gather all the material for the social history of the "City of Peace" from the date of its foundation until its capture five centuries later, by Húlágú, the Mongol. His notes and bibliographical list of authorities (not complete) show the thoroughness of his research. The Chronicle will correct many unfounded statements in the current accounts of the city (Cambridge University Press, 1929).

Methuen (London) has published an English translation of Henri Lammens's very learned work, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, of which the French original was published three years ago.

Fr. Charles-Roux treats in *Les Échelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIIIe Siècle* the period during which the French merchants established in the Levant ceased to depend on the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce and came under the jurisdiction of the central government (Paris, Geuthner, 1928, pp. 224; Haut-commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban).

To the *Revue des Études Islamiques* for 1927 M. Jean Deny contributed the *Souvenirs du Gâzi Moustafa Kemâl Pacha*, translated from the original publication in the Turkish papers. The first parts dealt with the Great War and have been reprinted separately by Geuthner (Paris).

The grave difficulties of the problem which confronts Great Britain in India are brought out in *India on Trial*, a study of present conditions, by J. E. Woolacott (London, Macmillan, 1929, pp. xv, 257). The author is not unbiassed; he dwells upon the advantages which British rule has conferred upon India and upon India's incapacity for self-government, both of which are apparent. His conclusion is that "the British connection has proved of inestimable value. . . . Upon the maintenance of that association unimpaired the political progress and economic prosperity of India unquestionably depend".

The volume on *La Civilisation Chinoise* in Henri Berr's series, "L'Évolution de l'Humanité", has been written by Marcel Granet (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1929, pp. xxii, 524).

K. S. Latourette's *Development of China*, of which the first edition was published in 1917 (see XXII. 857), was revised for the third edition in 1924. Now because of the developments in the last four years it has again been revised, the last two chapters have been re-written, and the bibliography brought up to date (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1929, xiv, 323).

Professor Asakawa, whose long-delayed volume on Japanese documents has recently been published by the Yale University Press, is the author of two important articles, Agriculture in Japanese History: a General Survey, published in the *Economic History Review*, vol. II., no. 1 (January); and the Early *Sho* and the Early Manor: a Compara-

tive Study, published in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, vol. I., no. 2 (February).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. L. Sukenik, *Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Syria* (Jewish Quarterly Review, April); Marguerite Verdat, *Dupleix et l'Inde Française* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); William McDougall, *The British in the East* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); E. M. Earle, *American Missions in the Near East* (Foreign Affairs, April); Georg Cleinow, *Russland in Zentral-Asien* (Europäische Gespräche, February); P. Pelliot, *L'Origine des Relations de la France avec la Chine; le Premier Voyage de "l'Amphitrite" en Chine*, I., II. (Journal des Savants, December, March).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

H. A. R. Gibb has selected and translated a portion of Ibn Battuta's *Travels in Asia and Africa*, and has supplied an introduction and notes (London, Routledge). He is preparing a complete version for later publication.

Bantu, Boer, and Briton: the Making of the South African Native Problem, by W. M. Macmillan, should be read in connection with his *Cape Colour Question*. Both books "evolved from the study of the private papers of Dr. John Philip". Professor Macmillan, with great knowledge of his subject, writes as an advocate of the necessity for preserving to the natives enough land so that they will not become a landless proletariat and of the necessity of giving full rights of citizenship to the "little group of progressive and dispossessed Bantu when and as they attain to civilization". Interesting is the similarity of some of the customs in South Africa to Anglo-Saxon customs, e.g., the "spoor-law" (p. 55).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: François Charles-Roux, *Un Horloger Diplôme; Naudi et le Rétablissement des Relations entre la France et Tripoli en 1802* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, January); Col. Emilio Bellavita, *La Battaglia di Adua, Leggenda e Realtà* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

AMERICA

GENERAL

An act of Congress, approved February 28, 1929, amends the act of March 3, 1925, respecting the papers of the Territories, providing for the editing and publishing of those papers, and appropriates \$125,000 for that purpose.

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington announces for publication early in the summer two volumes: the second volume of *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery*, edited by Helen T. Catterall, which deals in 601 pages with material on North

Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee; and the fourth volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by the late John Spencer Bassett, which deals in 508 pages with the years 1829-1832. The preface of the latter has been written by Dr. J. F. Jameson.

Among recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are the following: photographs of early American letters and documents in the National Museum, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, dated 1652-1845; photostats of record-books of the vice-admiralty courts of New York and Philadelphia; 66 letters and business documents of Levinus Clarkson, 1772-1793; photostats of a letter from George Washington to Artemas Ward, Apr. 4, 1776, and of several hundred original letters of Washington preserved in other libraries; copies of the records of the Shakers of Pleasant Hill, Ky., 1806-1879; papers of William Clark, 1812-1846; 56 letters of James S. Pike to William P. Fessenden, 1849-1868; a letter-book of Thomas Ewing, 1856-1857; letter from W. H. Wallace to Abraham Lincoln, Apr. 12, 1865, with endorsement by Lincoln, Apr. 14; correspondence of William E. Chandler, 1865-1919, several thousand letters; drafts of reports made by Daniel E. Sickles, minister to Spain, 1869-1871, to the Secretary of State; papers of Eugene Gano Hay, 1874-1927; letters from Leonard Wood to Miss Jessie H. Haskell, 1877-1910; addresses of Grover Cleveland, 1889-1892; papers of Benjamin F. Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, 1889-1893; letters from Booker T. Washington to Miss Olivia E. Phelps Stokes, 1891-1893, and 173 other letters and documents of negro history including diaries, 1851, 1861, 1866, of Bishop B. T. Tanner, and journal, 1818-1883, of George Teamoh, fugitive slave and state senator, Va.; papers of William D. Bynum, 1894-1904, mainly relating to the National Committee of the Sound Money Democracy; letters from Benjamin Harrison to Severo Mallet-Prevost, 1898-1899; and, presented by the Duke of Marlborough, from the archives of Blenheim Palace, a letter of the first duke to his duchess, after Ramillies, 1706, a volume of illuminated addresses to the duchess, of 1880, commemorating her work for relief in time of Irish famine, and 124 specimen letters from celebrities, 1894-1918, to the present duke.

The Business Historical Society, Inc., with headquarters at the Baker Library, Soldiers Field, Boston, is searching for the contemporary records of early American business—ledgers, letters, articles of partnership, indentures, journals, and diaries of the men who laid the foundations of our present industrial system. It is urging the preservation of such historical data in local archives or, failing the necessary facilities for adequate housing and care, it offers the resources of the Baker Library, where the material will receive every attention and be made available for future study.

Among the collections already in the Baker Library may be mentioned a few of outstanding importance, which represent the sort of

material for which it is searching: the library on finance collected by the late Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island; an economic library collected by the late Professor James Mavor; the records of nine organizations connected with the cotton business covering a history of the industry from 1790 to the present day; records on the woollen industry, 1821-1852; original records of the meetings of directors and stockholders of several of the oldest banks in the country; early shipping records and correspondence of pioneers in the carrying trade such as Thomas Hancock, whom John Hancock succeeded, covering the latter half of the eighteenth century, Israel Thorndike of Beverly and Boston, during the period of the Revolutionary War and to the War of 1812, William Appleton and Company, succeeded by S. Hooper and Company, dealing with the "clipper-ship" trade of the days of the Mexican War, the Gold Rush, and the Civil War, Nathan Trotter and Son of Philadelphia, and others of equal note; original records of the first iron works in the American colonies, installed in 1640, containing agreements, inventories, depositions, and correspondence; papers of Jay Cooke relating to the development of the Northern Pacific Railroad; papers describing many of the activities of John Jacob Astor; a library collected by the late George C. Dempsey of Boston concerning the development of liquor manufacture and prohibition activities; the H. Gordon Selfridge Collection of Medici Manuscripts (see *A. H. R.*, XXXIII. 829).

The Pulitzer prize for the best book upon the history of the United States published in 1928 was awarded to Fred Albert Shannon for his *Organization and Administration of the Union Army*. The prize for the best American biography was awarded to Burton J. Hendrick for the *Training of an American: the Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*. This is the second time that Hendrick has won the award for biography.

The March number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society contains a paper by Rev. William J. P. Powers on the Beginnings of English Catholic Emigration to the New World (1578-1634); one concerning the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, by a member of the sisterhood; and a descriptive account, by George Barton, of St. Joseph's-in-the-Hills, Malvern, Pa.

The April number of the *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society, vol. III., no. 3, has interesting accounts of the Land Speculations of a Great Patriot (Robert Morris), and of the Story of Asphalt.

Professor R. W. Kelsey has begun a series of Handbooks of Citizenship. The subtitle is Topical Supplements to Textbooks of American History and Government. The first two numbers are Farm Relief and the Tariff. In each the historical background of the problem is presented and a bibliography furnished. The purpose is indicated by quotations from Frederic Harrison and James Harvey Robinson showing the folly of attempting a solution of such a problem without approaching

it historically (Pennsylvania History Press, Haverford, 1929, pp. 36, 38):

The *Forty-Second Annual Report* (pp. 900) of the Bureau of American Ethnology (for the years 1924-1925) contains, as is usual, an informing statement, constituting the report proper, by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, chief of the bureau, concerning the progress of investigations conducted by the bureau and the publication of the results; but for the student of history the meat of these volumes is chiefly in the "Accompanying Papers". Four such papers make up the bulk of the present volume: Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy (pp. 450), Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians (pp. 200), Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast (pp. 54), all three of them by Dr. J. R. Swanton, and Indian Trails of the Southeast (pp. 128), by the late W. E. Meyer. Together these papers constitute a valuable contribution to the aboriginal and early history of the Southeast. The Papers in the *Forty-Third Annual Report* (pp. 828) of the bureau have not the same unity, nor have they so wide a range of appeal to historical students. The first paper, by Francis La Flesche, recounts Two Versions of the Child-naming Rite among the Osage Indians; the second, which is by Professor F. G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, is a collection of Wawenock Myth Texts from Maine; the third, also by Professor Speck, is concerning the Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut, and includes a diary and some memoranda, in the Mohegan language, left by Fidelia A. H. Fielding (died 1908), the last Indian who retained the ability to speak the language; the fourth is a collection of Picuris Children's Stories, with Texts and Songs, by J. P. Harrington and Helen H. Roberts; the fifth paper is part two of J. N. B. Hewitt's Iroquoian Cosmology, of which the first part appeared in the *Twenty-First Annual Report* of the bureau.

Bulletin 84 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a monograph on the *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language*, by John P. Harrington. The author describes his paper as a "reconnaissance report" on the language of a small and distinct tribe whose original habitat was in western Montana (their present home is about Anadarko, Okla.). The author indicates that, while structural and lexical resemblances to Aztec are not numerous, yet some of these resemblances are sufficiently striking to suggest unity in the remote past.

The Government Printing Office has issued (1929) for the Library of Congress *Noteworthy Maps, No. 2*, containing the accessions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, 155 items with annotations.

The Century Company has published a revised edition of *Our Republic*, by S. E. Forman (see XXVIII. 550). Two new chapters—the Coolidge Administration and Our Republic Today—have been added, and the last chapter of the first edition has been rewritten and expanded. But the revision has not corrected the errors in the preceding edition,

e.g., p. 399, Forman still dates Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech two years too early (New York, pp. xvi, 925).

President Cyril Clemens of the Mark Twain Society (Mayfield, Calif.) is writing a life of Samuel L. Clemens. If any readers of the *American Historical Review* have letters or other information regarding Mark Twain they are asked to communicate with him.

ITEMS, ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Tennessee chapter in charge, announces the publication at an early date of an annotated reprint of Adair's *History of the American Indians*, the first reprint in English. Judge Samuel C. Williams, editor of the *Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake* reprint, has been engaged to do the editorial work on the projected volume.

It is not often that European historical writers concern themselves with the internal development, intellectual or otherwise, of the United States. One welcomes, therefore, the treatise by Charles Mollon on *Les Collèges et les Progrès du Libéralisme en Nouvelle Angleterre; Période Coloniale* (Paris, Vrin, 1929, pp. 254), together with *The Conflict of Ideas in Colonial New England; being an Anthology illustrative of Orthodox Congregationalism and Liberal Tendencies from the First Settlement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Close of the Colonial Period* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 72).

The Military Journal of George Ewing (1754-1824): a Soldier of Valley Forge, was last year privately printed by Thomas Ewing of Yonkers, N. Y. (see the *January Review*, p. 433). The journal has now been republished by Mr. Ewing, with the addition of letters and related materials and with the slightly altered title *George Ewing, Gentleman: a Soldier of Valley Forge* (pp. 182). The most important of the additions is a series of letters of George Ewing, beginning in 1815. Some maps accompany the journal and several portraits are interspersed among the other materials.

Perry Walton (88 Broad Street, Boston) has brought out *Paul Revere's Own Story*, embodying (in facsimile) Revere's letter to Dr. Jeremy Belknap relating the account of his ride on the night of Apr. 18, 1775, an account of the actions at Lexington and Concord, a biography of Revere, and two hitherto unpublished letters (to Joshua Humphreys, designer of the frigate *Constitution*) respecting methods of refining copper. The book is compiled by Harriet E. O'Brien.

Those interested in affairs of honor will enjoy Don C. Seitz's *Famous American Duels*, although sometimes the accounts are "rather heavily documented". There are introductory chapters on the Duello and the Code (one of the Codes was prepared by Governor Wilson of South Carolina). One English duel, *Whately v. Temple*, is included, because

of the part played in it by Benjamin Franklin. Then follow accounts of duels in which Aaron Burr, Andrew Jackson, Stephen Decatur, Henry Clay, and others participated (New York, Crowell, 1929, pp. xi, 345).

Professor Gilbert Chinard of the Johns Hopkins University continues his studies in the field of Franco-American contacts during the late eighteenth century with *Lettres Inédites de Beaumarchais, de Mme. de Beaumarchais et de leur Fille Eugénie, Publiées d'après les Originaux de la "Clements Library"* (Paris, Margraff, 1929, pp. 139) and *Lettres de Du Pont de Nemours Écrites de la Prison de la Force, 5 Thermidor-8 Fructidor An II.* (*ibid.*, 1929, pp. 102).

A very timely publication is cahier III. of the historical documents published by the Institut Français, *L'Enfant and Washington, 1791-1792* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1929, pp. xi, 181). It contains about fifty published and unpublished documents now brought together for the first time and supplied with adequate comment by Elizabeth S. Kite. There are letters of L'Enfant, Washington, and Jefferson. Charles Moore furnishes a foreword. The introduction is a reprint of "Major L'Enfant and the Federal City" from J. J. Jusserand's *With Americans of Past and Present Days*.

The *Journal of Duncan M'Gillivray* is extremely interesting, especially because instead of recording minutiae he wrote general sketches of conditions and happenings at Fort George on the Saskatchewan, 1794-1795, which are illuminating. The supplementary matter is not as interesting. The Journal was at one time in the hands of John Henry (of the "Henry Letters"), and consequently in the preface the editor, Professor Arthur S. Morton, gives an outline of Henry's career. "The Introduction is intended to be a swift account of the course of the fur trade on the River Saskatchewan in the early days", but the adjective does not seem to have been well chosen. The appendix takes up "the Last of Fort George and Duncan M'Gillivray". The volume is published by Macmillan, at Toronto, in a handsome, limited edition.

A. D. H. Smith's *John Jacob Astor, Landlord of New York*, is a picture of 64 years of big business (Philadelphia, Lippincott).

Under the title *As God Made Them* Gamaliel Bradford has published sketches of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, Edwin Booth, Francis J. Child, and Asa Gray (Boston, Houghton Mifflin).

The Story of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, by Edward Hungerford, is a description of the organization, building, and development of the first American railroad, with a discussion of its effect on the social and economic life of the country through which it passed (New York, Putnam, 1928, two volumes).

Sister Mary Eulalia Herron has published, through Macmillan, *Sisters of Mercy in the United States, 1843-1928*.

The Government Printing Office has brought out *The Platforms of the Two Great Political Parties, 1856-1928*, compiled by G. D. Ellis.

Voyages to Hawaii before 1860: a Study based on Historical Narratives in the Library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (Honolulu, 1929, pp. 108) contains a chronological list of vessels, an index of vessels and persons, and a bibliography of 193 works.

Memoirs of the late Frank D. Baldwin, major-general in the United States army, who saw service in the Civil War and in various Indian campaigns, has been brought out by his wife through the Wetzel Publishing Company of Los Angeles.

Samuel Klaus in collaboration with Professor Underhill Moore and James N. Rosenberg has edited *The Milligan Case* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929, pp. 476) as the first volume in *American Trials*. It is a convenient case book, including all the important records. There is an historical introduction by the editor (62 pp.) on military trials during the Civil War. No careful student should fail to read in connection with this version the clearer and more judicious treatment in James G. Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*.

Volumes IX. and X. of the *American Secretaries of State* under the general editorship of Samuel Flaggs Bemis have come from the press. They include sketches of the administrations of John Sherman, William R. Day, John Hay, Elihu Root, Robert Bacon, Philander C. Knox, William J. Bryan, Robert Lansing, Bainbridge Colby, and Charles E. Hughes.

The Carnegie Foundation for International Peace has issued in its series Social and Economic History of the World War *War History of American Railroads*, by W. D. Hines (New Haven, Yale University Press).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains Vital Records of Carmel, Me., communicated by Anna C. Kingsbury; Warnings-out in Chelmsford, Mass., 1790, 1794, communicated by Winifred L. Holman; a continuation of the Memoirs of Deceased Members of the Society, prepared by Rev. Arthur W. Ackerman and Harold C. Durwell; and other continuations.

The October-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society is marked by a brief paper by Professor Fuess on Lowell's political essays in the early *Atlantic* and a longer one by Colonel Banks, bitterly anti-Bradford in tone, on Governor Bradford's portrayal of Rev. John Lyford.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, an article on Witchcraft, by Fred G. Robbins, M.D.

The *Story of Fay House* (Radcliffe College) will be of interest not only to Radcliffe students but to a wider circle, for Christina Hopkinson Baker has told interestingly of many famous people, including Edward Everett and Professor Sophocles, whose lives were associated with Fay House from 1807, when it was built, until 1885, when it was bought for the "Harvard Annex" (Cambridge, Harvard University Press).

The Worcester Historical Society *Publications*, new series, vol. I., no. 2 (April, 1929), has a paper by Zelotes W. Coombs, entitled General Henry Knox and the Ticonderoga Cannon, and one by U. Waldo Cutler, entitled Trail and Pike: a Study in Highway Development. Mr. Coombs's paper is an outcome of a resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1925, creating a special commission to determine and mark the route pursued by General Knox in removing the cannon captured at Ticonderoga to Washington's camp at Cambridge, but includes a sketch of the early military career of General Knox.

The Connecticut State Library has completed the work of arranging and inventorying the records of the Litchfield probate district, deposited in the State library by the judge of the probate district in April, 1927. Of these records, consisting of nearly 35,000 documents relating to 6700 estates and covering the period from 1743 to 1924, an analytical and chronological digest has been prepared, aggregating 231 typewritten folio pages. Besides the town of Litchfield, which gives its name to the probate district, twelve other towns are covered in this digest, namely, Canaan, Cornwall, Goshen, Harwinton, Kent, Morris, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Torrington, Warren, and Washington. This is the sixty-eighth of the Connecticut probate districts to deposit its records in the State Library and to be inventoried in this admirable manner.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently acquired by gift about 1500 letters and several packages of accounts relating to the Dodd family of Hartford. The majority are personal correspondence of the period 1787-1840, but there are invoices and accounts of ships in foreign trade (1805-1813), letters of the firm of Dodd and Ingersoll, merchants of Boston and Charleston (1812; 1816-1819), letters concerning the cotton trade, 1832-1833, and numerous private accounts.

The New London County Historical Society announces the completion of the *History of Griswold*, Conn., by Daniel L. Phillips. The book contains 456 pages of text, 38 illustrations, and 7 maps, with an appendix of documents and an index of names and subjects (New London, the Society).

The Rhode Island Historical Society *Collections* has in the April issue an article on the Meaning of Indian Place Names, being a résumé of an interview with William B. Cabot of Boston; a note by Howard M. Chapin respecting Rhode Island's Place in the History of Naval

Signal Flags; and a part of the log of the sloop *Ranger* of Rhode Island, 1744.

As a companion volume to *The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford* (see page 203), the Rhode Island Historical Society has published *The Letter Book of James Browne of Providence, Merchant, 1735-1738*. Professor Krapp, of Columbia University, furnishes an introduction on early New England pronunciation, and John Carter Brown Woods, a biographical sketch of his ancestor. There are 139 letters which illustrate the methods and articles of trade and give information about prices, especially of rum. It might have been well to give explanations of some cryptic passages, *e.g.*, page 21, "it is ticklish times here my Neighbours threaten to informe against us, so I hope you will not be too bold when you come home".

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The April number of the New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* is chiefly occupied with an account, by John E. Stillwell, M.D., of Archibald Robertson, Miniaturist, 1765-1835, but contains also a continuation of the Revolutionary War Letters of Colonel William Douglas.

Among the contents of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April are a bibliography of the Hellman Collection of Irvingiana, the concluding instalment of the list of works on modern Egypt, and a note concerning the preface said to have been written by John Quincy Adams for a work of Dr. Joseph Seavy.

Among the articles in the April number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are: the Ancestry of William Rogers of Long Island, by L. E. deForest; the Emigrant Ancestor and Ancestress of Abraham Lincoln, by C. E. Banks; the Site of Anne Hutchinson's Massacre, by L. A. Welles; and a note, by Peter Nelson, assistant state historian, on a map of White Plains of 1797, hitherto supposed to have been of 1776. The Westchester County Miscellanea, contributed by Dr. Amos Canfield, the Federal Census of 1800, contributed by L. D. Scisco, the Schaghticoke Dutch Reformed Church Records, copied and annotated by the late W. B. Cook, jr., the Abstracts of Wills Recorded at White Plains, contributed by Theresa H. Bristol, the Abstracts of Sales by the Commissioners of Forfeitures in the Southern District of New York State, also contributed by Mrs. Bristol, the Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York—Church Members' List, together with other series, are continued.

In the January number, page 437, attention was called to the article by A. J. Wall on Governor Horatio Seymour. Now the latter's niece, Mrs. Fairchild, has had the article, with additions, published in a limited edition under the title, *A Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour, 1810-1886*. The additions include a short account of his ancestry and early training, and a list of his addresses, speeches, and writings (New York, 1929, pp. III).

Cazenovia Past and Present: a Descriptive and Historical Record of the Village, by Christine O. Atwell (Cazenovia, New York, the author), contains a brief account of the founding and settlement of the village (the early town records, it is stated, have not been preserved), but is more particularly devoted to institutional history and description. There are chapters on the roadways, the waterways, the industries and institutions, religion, education, and culture. It is therefore in connection with developments in these several particulars that the history of the town is told. The author evidently regards Cazenovia as a charming village and has imparted her enthusiasm to the pages of her booklet.

Vol. III. (1704-1720) of *Oyster Bay Town Records* has come from the press, and it is announced that vol. IV. will be available in July (address: the Town Clerk, Oyster Bay, N. Y.).

Articles in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, April issue, are: Foraging for Valley Forge in Salem and Gloucester Counties with Associate Happenings, by F. H. Stewart; Slavery in Colonial New-Jersey and the Causes Operating against its Extension, by J. C. Connolly; the Nine Roads of New Brunswick, by William H. Benedict; a report in 1826 by Peter Fleming, an engineer, concerning a Proposed New Jersey Canal; a sketch, by G. W. Bartow, M.D., of Dr. George Andrew Viersellius, Early Hunterdon County Physician; and a Supplementary Genealogical Index to materials (printed and manuscript) in the society's library.

Mr. Lloyd W. Smith has established a fund for the "Princeton History of New Jersey", to be prepared under the direction of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker and to be published by the Princeton University Press. It is planned to furnish a series of monographs and later a general history of the state. Among the monographs already in preparation are "A Commercial History of New Jersey" by R. G. Albion, "The Founding of West Jersey" by J. E. Pomfret, "Education in New Jersey" by N. R. Burr, and "Transportation and Travel in New Jersey" by W. J. Lane.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the April issue the first instalment of a biography of Captain William Crispin (1627-1681/2), by M. Jackson Crispin. The author states that since the publication of the account of William Crispin by Oliver Hough, in 1898 (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. XXII.), much new information has been gathered, calling for a new presentation. Mr. C. H. Smith contributes to this number of the *Magazine* a study of Pennsylvania colonial history, explaining Why Pennsylvania never became a Royal Province; Judge W. R. Riddell gives an account of Suggested Governmental Assistance to Farmers Two Centuries Ago, in Pennsylvania; and Dr. E. N. Vollandigham presents a biographical sketch of Lieutenant-Colonel George Vollandigham (1737 or 1738-1810).

In the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Ellis Beals begins a life of Arthur St. Clair, Western Pennsylvania's Leading Citizen, 1734-1818; C. W. Dahlinger gives an account of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair (held in June, 1864); McClelland Leonard, under the title Laurel Hill, writes somewhat at large of the history and geography of the region about Pittsburgh; and J. P. Cowan gives a history of the Beginning of the Early Railroads in Pittsburgh.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Dr. Henry J. Berkley contributes to the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* a list of the physicians and surgeons of the Revolutionary period, 1775-1783, in Maryland, and L. D. Scisco contributes a descriptive account of the Colonial Records of Prince George's County. The series of letters under the title an American Medical Student and his Friends (1784-1785) are continued, as are the extracts from the account and letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis. The Maryland rent rolls in this issue are for South River Hundred.

The Postal Service of the Confederate States of America, by August Dietz, includes the laws governing the service and many illustrations of the stamps used (Richmond, Dietz Printing Company, pp. 438).

The Bibliography of Virginia history since 1865, which is being compiled by Dr. Lester J. Cappon, under the direction of Professor Dumas Malone, will appear within a few months. The compilation is being made under the auspices of the Institute of Research in the Social Sciences in the University of Virginia.

Since the last report, the photostat department of the Virginia State Library has been engaged in making prints of the older records of the counties of the state, one set of prints being turned over to the archives department of the library and another set sent to the county owning the originals. The American Antiquarian Society presented to the department on May 16 two Confederate items—a pay roll of a Virginia infantry company for May-June, 1862, and an application for a furlough made by a Confederate officer. These two items are especially acceptable since the department is engaged in the preparation of as complete a roster as possible of the Virginia troops in the Confederate service. It is hoped that other libraries throughout the country may send in similar material.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the April issue, from a transcript in the London Public Record Office, the "Act [1723] for dissolving the Parish of Wilmington in the Counties of James City and Charles City and adding the same to other parishes", of which the title only is mentioned (under the date May, 1723) in Hening's *Statutes* (IV. 141). Besides numerous genealogical notes the other contents of this issue are for the most part continuations of documentary series hitherto mentioned.

G. H. Gaston, of Chicago Normal College, contributes to the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a paper on the Boundaries of Virginia, with maps; Dr. Philip Auchampaugh, some correspondence between Jeremiah S. Black and Edwin M. Stanton, in August and September, 1864, respecting negotiations with Jacob Thompson, Confederate Commissioner in Canada; and Capt. S. A. Ashe of Raleigh, a brief article on the Assassination of President Lincoln. This number of the *Quarterly* contains also an address by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler entitled General Lee's Birthday, and a list of Virginia Officers in 1776, contributed by J. Neilson Barry of Oregon.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains the second instalment of Alfred Rive's Brief History of Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England; an autobiographical sketch of William Campbell (1837-1925), dated at Bowler's, Va., Apr. 9, 1925; a sketch, by Monroe Johnson, of James Monroe, Soldier; a group of letters (1856-1867) to Hugh Blair Grigsby; a letter from William Cabell to Col. James Higginbottom (written probably in 1788), in behalf of the election of James Monroe to Congress and of the proposed amendments to the Constitution; an index to Fluvanna County wills, 1777-1823, contributed by Mrs. H. E. Lipscomb; and the fourth instalment of marriage bonds of Norfolk County, contributed by Mrs. R. S. Barrett.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has acquired photostats of twenty maps from the William L. Clements Library, a manuscript history of the Scots in North Carolina, by A. W. McLean, a letter from George E. Badger to J. M. Carlisle (Nov. 9, 1858), four rare issues of Tarboro newspapers, and a rare pamphlet: *Dr. Jones' Speech on the Bill to Amend the Penal Laws*, delivered in the house of commons of North Carolina, Nov. 20, 1802. The commission continues its acquisition of transcripts of North Carolina materials from the British Public Record Office.

The *North Carolina Manual*, 1929, compiled and edited by A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and published by the commission, is somewhat larger than that of 1927 (618 pages as against 560), including as it does some sections of new matter. Some abolitions, consolidations, and new creations have taken place among the state departments, boards, and commissions (to a denizen of the outer world they seem to be a numerous horde), and the chapters in the *Manual* have been revised accordingly. It is also observed that a number of institutions heretofore classified as educational have been transferred to the category of charitable and correctional. The national election of 1928 called, naturally, for considerable space, both for the several party platforms and for a tabulation of the election returns. Only a slight increase of space has been allotted to biographical sketches of officials.

In the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Professor P. M. Hamer of the University of Tennessee gives an account of what has been done for the Preservation of Tennessee History, largely a story of sad neglect. An article by Dr. G. G. Johnson of the University of North Carolina on Social Characteristics of Ante-Bellum North Carolina is another of those interesting and valuable studies which he has been making of life in North Carolina before the Civil War. Professor C. K. Brown of Davidson College contributes an interesting bit of economic history, an account of the Southern Railway Security Company (1871-1918): an Early Instance of the Holding Company. Mr. A. R. Newsome presents the third instalment of sketches of Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811 (see the January *Review*, p. 439); the counties included in this instalment are Franklin, Greene, and Lenoir. In the section of Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, are excerpts from eighteenth-century newspapers, among them a proclamation for a fast May 18, 1757 (issued by Governor Dobbs, April 14), an account of the celebration at Newbern of the Fourth of July, 1778, Governor Martin's proclamation for the celebration of the Fourth, 1783, the celebration at Halifax in 1796, a "Republican Prayer" (September, 1796), in which the Jay Treaty comes in for condemnation, and numerous other items.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* reprints in the April number, from the *Scottish Historical Review* of January, 1928, the material respecting the arrival of the *Carolina Merchant* (1684), bearing the settlers for Stuart's Town, the settlement projected by Lord Cardross and William Dunlop, and prints an account of the Spanish Depredations in 1686 in which Stuart's Town was destroyed. The account, a representation to the Lords Proprietors in London, was contributed by J. G. Dunlop, with notes by Mabel L. Webber. The Marriage and Death Notices from the Charleston *Courier*, 1806, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, are continued, as are the Laurens and the Garth correspondence.

The Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* is printing a series of Documents relating to El Destino and Chemonie Plantations, Middle Florida, 1828-1868, edited, with an historical introduction, by Professor Kathryn T. Abbey of the Florida State College for Women. These plantations were located a short distance from Tallahassee, the former being one of the well-known pioneer estates of the territory, the latter having been acquired by the owner of El Destino in 1839 or 1840. The documents, a minute and instructive record of the operation of these plantations, will be continued through several numbers of the *Quarterly*. The January number has an article by Abbot C. H. Mohr, O.S.B., on St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine: the Franciscans in Florida, and part II. of Samuel Pasco's history of Jefferson County, Fla., 1827-1910. The April number contains, besides an instalment of the plantation

documents mentioned, an account, by T. F. Davis, of the Seminole Council, Oct. 23-25, 1834, and a letter from Col. James Gadsden, one of the American commissioners at the council, written to the *St. Augustine News*, July 3, 1839 (printed in the *News* of July 13), relative to those negotiations. The April number has also an account of the annual meeting of the society at St. Augustine, Feb. 8.

WESTERN STATES

Twenty years ago Professor Alvord proposed that the Mississippi Valley Historical Association should publish a series of documents for the history of the valley, and prepared material for a first volume. Now the association has decided to carry out his idea and asks subscriptions for a revolving fund to publish the "Clarence W. Alvord Fund Publications". The first will be the volume prepared by Alvord. Dr. S. J. Buck is chairman of the commission.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its meeting in Vincennes created an historical manuscripts commission, along the lines of the Royal Manuscripts Commission, to compile and publish catalogues and inventories of manuscript material, non-archival, for the history of the Mississippi Valley. Dr. Herbert A. Kellar was made chairman.

The general assembly of Ohio at its recent session provided for the creation of an Ohio Revolutionary Memorial Commission of fifteen members, two of whom shall be the director and the secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the others to be appointed by the governor. The assembly made appropriations for several memorials, but failed to provide funds for Ohio's share in the National George Rogers Clark Memorial, which is to be erected on the site of old Fort Sackville at Vincennes.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has removed its newspaper collections and a part of its library into the new wing of the museum and library building, which will be equipped with steel stacks, etc. Meanwhile several thousand manuscripts, record-books, reports, etc., have been transferred to the custody of the society from the offices of the governor and adjutant-general. Another important addition to the society's collections has been an extensive file of Greenville, O., newspapers, extending back into the 'sixties. At the annual meeting of the society, May 4, Dr. Beverly W. Bond gave an address on the Old Northwest to Eastern Eyes and Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, a full-blooded Indian, one respecting intimate phases of American Indian life. A facsimile of no. 1 of the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory* (Nov. 9, 1793) was presented to those in attendance.

The *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio presents in its second number (April), under the title General Wayne's Campaign of 1794 and the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Lieutenant

John Boyer's diary of the campaign, together with selections from General Wayne's orderly book.

The Detroit Biography in the May number of the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* is of James Henry (1771-1812), who came to Detroit in 1797 as agent for Colonel James O'Hara and afterward engaged in mercantile business independently. The sketch is by Louise Rau.

The March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* has an article by Charles Roll on Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860, being largely an investigation of the ways and means by which the Indiana delegates to the convention were won over to the support of Lincoln. A contribution to Lincoln genealogy is made by Louis A. Warren in an article on Hananiah Lincoln in Revolutionary and Pioneer History. A study of quite a different sort is *Foreigners and their Influence on Indiana*, by Robert L. Lafollette, chiefly an examination into the elements of population that have come together in Indiana. The article entitled Recognition of George Rogers Clark, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, points out that, with a few exceptions, such as Jefferson, the significance of Clark's conquest was long inadequately recognized; not, in fact, until after Lossing had published his *Field Book of the Revolution*, and Lossing's recognition was the result of contact with Lyman C. Draper. Stanley Coulter contributes an Appreciation of the late Thomas F. Moran, and Harlow Lindley a document by Robert Dale Owen pertaining to Indiana's common school fund.

The Indiana Historical Society has brought out (*Publications*, vol. VIII., no. 8) *Indiana Coverlets and Coverlet Weavers*, by Kate Milner Rabb. Coverlet weaving, if not quite a lost art, is in a way of being forgotten, the remaining products of the art, often of beautiful design and skillful weaving, being largely relegated to uses unrelated to their purpose and remote from thoughts of art. It was probably not in Indiana that the art chiefly flourished, but the Indiana Historical Society has done well to rescue this scrap of pioneer civilization from perishing, bringing to light at the same time something of the careers of those professional weavers who wrought within the borders of the state.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for March prints the section of the act of Congress of 1925 respecting the collection and editing of official papers of the territories, together with the amendment of 1929. The April number contains a brief article by Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston on the Character and Achievements of George Rogers Clark (reprinted from the Louisville *Herald-Post*).

Professor G. D. Harmon of Lehigh University contributes to the January number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society an extended study of Douglas and the Compromise of 1850, wherein he finds that Douglas was the author of four of the six compromise meas-

ures, which he put through one by one, then lent his moral support to the other two; that Clay was not the author of a single one of the measures, and that, having left his post after the wreckage of his plan, not he but Douglas should be regarded as the author of the Compromise of 1850. In the same number of the *Journal* P. M. Angle discusses the "Peoria Truce" of Oct. 16, 1854, between Lincoln and Douglas and comes to the conclusion that "the story of the Peoria truce and Douglas' subsequent treachery should be relegated from its place as an established incident in the lives of these two men to the growing category of hoary tales which may be true—but probably aren't". Among the other contents of this issue are: Nauvoo, Ill., under Mormon and Icarian Occupation, by Thomas Reeves; an account of Rock Creek Cumberland Presbyterian Church, by Margaret K. Schnapp; an account of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Presbyterian Church of Vandalia, Ill., by N. C. Gouchenour; and a sketch, by L. H. Pammel, of Benjamin D. Walsh (1808-1869), entomologist.

In the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* A. T. Donohue tells the story of Financing a Catholic College [St. Mary's Mission] in Kansas in 1850, H. S. Spalding concludes his studies of Colonial Maryland, as does Rev. Marian Habig his account of the First American Foreign Missionaries, while Dr. J. J. Thompson continues his papers on Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America.

The April number of the *History Quarterly of the Filson Club* is largely occupied by the second part of Minute Book A, Jefferson County, Ky., March, 1781-September, 1783, part I. of which was described in the April number of the *Review*. This number contains also an article by A. L. Prichard entitled the Beginning of Old Vienna, now Calhoun in McLean County, one by Isabel C. Courtenay concerning some descendants of Col. Richard Lee of Virginia, and one by T. S. Erwin on the Clay and Erwin Families.

The Critical Court Struggle in Kentucky, 1819-1820, by A. M. Stickles, is published in Bowling Green, Kentucky (College Heights Book-Store).

The contents of the *Michigan History Magazine*, spring number, include an article by H. A. Haigh on Old Days and Early Authors of Michigan State College; one by G. B. Catlin on Michigan's Early Military Roads; one by C. T. Hamilton on Western Michigan History: Colonial Period; one by Sue I. Silliman entitled "A Prince in Puddelford", being a sketch of Governor John S. Barry (1802-1870); one by Hon. W. R. Riddell entitled a Pretty Quarrel over Rum at Old Michillimackinac; the third instalment of William A. Spill's history of the University of Michigan: Beginnings; a group of Letters Relative to William A. Burt, 1851-1854; and the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Michigan Historical Commission, 1928.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* prints in the March number a translation, by Dr. Joseph Schafer, of Carl Schurz's account of the Surrender of Rastatt, the closing episode of the German Revolution of 1848-1849, together with an account of the discovery of the document, by Dr. Schafer. In this issue of the *Magazine* Mr. W. A. Titus adds to his occasional articles on Historic Spots in Wisconsin one on Hazel Green, the Last Resting Place of a Poet (James Gates Percival). The Pioneer and Political Reminiscences of Nils P. Haugen and the Journal of William Rudolph Smith are continued.

A dozen or more years ago W. W. Bartlett began to contribute historical material to the Eau Claire *Telegram*. Requests to put the material into more permanent form have led him to publish *History, Tradition, and Adventure in the Chippewa Valley* (Chippewa Falls, Wis., 1929, pp. 244). The longest article is on the Sioux-Chippewa Feud. There is also much of interest on historic personages and events.

The March number of *Minnesota History* contains an article by Herbert Heaton entitled Development of New Countries: Some Comparisons. The author is inclined to believe that a hundred years hence "the biggest European achievement" will be thought to have been "the settlement of large parts of America, Africa, Australasia, and perhaps Siberia, by the white-faced folk", and he compares these great movements of population in the nineteenth century, their characteristics and consequences, and he finds many points of similarity and likewise many differences. In this number Dr. S. J. Buck recounts what the Minnesota Historical Society has achieved in the past year (1928), and V. E. Chatelain gives an account of the 1929 annual meeting of the society. There are memorials of the late Herschel V. Jones and Gideon S. Ives, by E. C. Gale and Harold Harris, respectively.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an account, by D. C. Mott, of the twenty-first session of the Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa, held in Des Moines Feb. 13-14; the addresses delivered are printed *in extenso*. An article of particular interest and value is a discussion by E. R. Harlan of the Ethics involved in the Handling of Personal Papers, the subject being treated primarily from the point of view of a custodian. Appended to the article is an alphabetical list of such papers in the historical, memorial, and art departments of Iowa.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Dorothy Schaffter brings to a conclusion her study of the Bicameral System in Practice; C. M. Meyers presents the results of his investigation of the Mexican Problem in Mason City; and H. C. Cook contributes a first instalment of a paper on the Administrative Functions of the Department of Public Instruction in Iowa, discussing the development of the department, its organization, the powers of the superintendent, etc.

In the March number of the *Palimpsest* Pauline Grahame discourses upon Some Songs of Long Ago. In the April number W. J. Petersen gives a biographical sketch of Capt. Joseph Throckmorton (1800-1872), noted among the pioneer river captains on the upper Mississippi.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an article on Palmyra and its Historical Environment, by F. H. Sosey; one on the Military Prisons of St. Louis, 1861-1865, by W. B. Hasseltine; the first chapters of a study, by Sceva B. Laughlin, of Missouri Politics during the Civil War; part II. of W. G. Bek's biography of George Engelmann, Man of Science; part II. of P. S. Rader's account of the Great Seal of the State of Missouri; and a biographical sketch, by H. D. Hooker, of George Husmann (1827-1902), viticulturist.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Missouri Historical Society are: the Caleb Green Collection (1849-1882), including the observations of Green, a convert to Mormonism, during a residence of five months in Utah and his return to England in disgust, also a diary of his return to St. Louis, written in 1857; the John O'Fallon Collection (1807-1878), relating to mercantile, military, and personal matters and including letters of William Clark, John C. Calhoun, Ninian Edwards, Henry Clay, and Thomas H. Benton; photostatic copies of nineteen autograph letters (1811-1816) of John Jacob Astor relating to the fur trade; some letters of Kate Field, journalist, lecturer, and actress; and a biographical sketch of Adelaide Neilson by N. M. Ludlow.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers, 1846-1862, edited by Eleanor D. Pace. The diarist was a captain of volunteers in General Taylor's army in Mexico, and his diary covers the period of his service in that war. In the Civil War he was a colonel, and the letters here printed are all of the year 1862. The last letter in the series is from Dabney H. Maury to Mrs. Rogers announcing the death of her husband in battle October 3. Another diary in this issue is one kept by J. W. Benedict of a campaign against the Comanches in 1839. The other contents are continued documentary publications.

Frank H. Trego has brought out through the firm of Greenberg a small volume which he has entitled *Boulevarded Old Trails of the Great Southwest*.

Professor Eugene C. Barker has prepared for use in the schools *Readings in Texas History* (Dallas, Southwest Press, pp. viii, 653). The chapters cover the history from 1528. Most of the material is taken from the best available accounts, especially in the publications of the Texas State Historical Association, but when for a subject no satisfactory account was available Professor Barker himself has furnished an excellent brief narrative. He has drawn upon the writings of Austin and other contemporaries, has utilized the contributions of R. C.

Clark, C. W. Ramsdell, and other modern authorities. The book is excellent for its purpose.

Memories of Old Emigrant Days in Kansas, 1862-1865, by Mrs. Adela E. R. Orpen, which Blackwood brought out in London in 1926, has now been published in this country (New York, Harper).

The March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains Captain Nathan Boone's journal of his expedition from Fort Gibson and return, May 14 to July 31, 1843, his report to Gen. Zachary Taylor, Aug. 14 following, and Taylor's letter of transmittal to the adjutant-general at Washington Aug. 23. The documents are accompanied by a map of the march, a portrait of Captain Boone, and an introduction by W. J. Fessler. Among the other contents of this issue are an account, by C. N. Gould, of the Dedication of the Monument on Black Mesa, near Kenton, marking "the high point of Oklahoma", with the several addresses; a paper on Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creeks, by Carolyn T. Foreman; and a continuation of Grant Foreman's contribution, Early Post Offices of Oklahoma.

The May number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article by Professor A. B. Thomas of the University of Oklahoma on San Carlos: a Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, characterized by the author as a study in Comanche history and Spanish Indian policy. In the same number Dr. J. F. Willard describes, principally by means of excerpts from newspapers, how the news of the early discoveries of gold in Colorado was spread.

Articles in the April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* are: the Apaches, by J. P. Clum, largely a narrative of the author's experiences and his observations; the Exploitation of Treason, an aftermath of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, by E. D. Tittmann; some Documents bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819, edited by A. B. Thomas; an article by Mr. Thomas concerning Spanish Reaction to American Intrusion into Spanish Dominions in the same period; the Instructions to Peralta by the Vice-Roy, Mar. 30, 1609 (original, from the archives at Seville, transcribed by L. B. Bloom, translation by I. L. Chaves); a discussion by Mr. Bloom of the question When was Santa Fe Founded? and a continuation of the series of Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, contributed by France Sholes.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly*, continuing its series of articles on the history of science in the state of Washington, has in the April issue an article on bacteriology in the state, by Professor John Weinzirl, one on pharmacy, by Dean C. W. Johnson, and one on home economics, by Professor Effie I. Raitt. Mr. John F. Stevens, the engineer, relates briefly how he located the original line of the Great Northern Railway through the mountains in 1890-1891—a condensation of his address

delivered in connection with the celebration, in January last, of the opening of the Cascade tunnel; Judge F. W. Howay tells the story of the Ballad of the Bold Northwestman: an Incident in the Life of Captain John Kendrick (part of the same material was contributed to the *New England Quarterly* for January, 1928); the editor writes a sketch of Ezra Meeker, the Pioneer, with a list of his writings; L. A. McArthur contributes a brief article concerning Early Washington Post Offices; J. N. Barry gives some account of San Juan Island in the Civil War; and Professor E. S. Meany discusses the Congress-Captain Cook Falsehood. In the section of Documents is a statement concerning the manuscripts saved from fire in 1889 by Judge H. G. Struve, one of the manuscripts, instructions from Secretary Cass to Governor McMullin, July 29, 1857, being printed entire.

The first three items in the March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* pertain to the late editor of the *Quarterly*, Dr. Frederic G. Young (1858-1929); Dr. Joseph Schafer writes a sketch of his career, Mr. E. H. McAlister an Appreciation, and the Oregon Historical Society offers a Tribute. Other contributions are: Some Early Maps and Myths, by C. H. Carey; the Oregon Coast as seen by Vancouver in 1792, by T. C. Elliott, with a reprint of Vancouver's narrative; the Use of Soil Products by Indians, by J. N. Barry; the fourth instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne*, by H. B. Brewer, with notes by John M. Canse; and some Reminiscences of John Y. Todd, a pioneer of 1852, by L. A. McArthur.

The University of California *Publications in Economics*, vol. VI., no. 1, is a monograph entitled *Mexican Labor in the United States Imperial Valley* (pp. 94), by Paul S. Taylor. This is essentially a study of present economic and social conditions in the Imperial Valley, where a unique situation exists, especially in "the conglomerate mixture of races at the basis of its socio-economic structure", with the background and history of labor in the valley briefly sketched. It is only within recent years that Mexicans have come to be the predominant labor element and a permanent part of the community. The author states that this is the first of a projected series of studies of Mexican labor in the United States.

In the *California History Nugget's* series *Pioneers of the North Pacific* the article in the November number is an account of the *Golden Hind*.

Milo M. Quaife has edited for the Lakeside Classics *Echoes of the Past about California* and *In Camp and Cabin*, by John Bidwell and John Steele (Chicago, Lakeside Press).

CANADA

The *Report of the Public Archives of Canada* for the year 1928 records large accessions both of original manuscripts and of transcripts

and photostats. It also contains a catalogue of the J. A. Roebuck Papers, translated extracts from the journal of Asseline de Ronual, 1662, perhaps the first tourist in Canada, and an account of the trade carried on by the North West Company, written by Duncan McGillivray (died 1808), and given by his brother to the John Henry who obtained unfortunate notoriety in 1812.

The *Canadian Historical Review*, volume IX., no. 4 (December, 1928) contains La Vérendrye: Commandant, Fur-trader, and Explorer, by A. S. Morton, laying stress on Vérendrye's interest in the fur trade rather than in exploration; Selkirk's Work in Canada: an Early Chapter, by Helen I. Cowan, adding somewhat to our knowledge of Selkirk; and an interesting account of Canadian Migration in the Forties, by Frances Morehouse.

To meet the need of a medium for studies on economic subjects of especial interest to Canada the librarian of the University of Toronto has published (1928) *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, vol. I. Of especial interest to students of history are the *Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, by the late James Mavor, part of an unfinished work, and the two bibliographies, first, of research work done at the university in the department of political science, and second, of important material on the *Economic History of Canada* published in 1927.

The Kelsey Papers, with an introduction by Arthur G. Doughty, Keeper of Public Records, and Chester Martin, Head of the Department of History, University of Manitoba, is published by the Public Archives of Canada and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, 1929, pp. lxxxiii, 128). When an attempt was made in 1749 to deprive the Hudson's Bay Company of its charter on the ground of "non-user" the company submitted journals of Henry Kelsey to prove that they had sent out expeditions into the interior. The genuineness of the journals was attacked and a Kelsey myth gradually grew up. Now the good faith of the company is vindicated by the publication of the journals and other papers which describe the adventures of Kelsey while in its service between 1683 and 1722. Of an especial interest are his observations on Indian beliefs and superstitions. The introduction is in both English and French. There is an index, but no table of contents.

Dollier de Casson's *History of Montreal, 1640-1672*, translated from the French by Ralph Flenley, with a life of the author, has been brought out in London and Toronto by Dent and in New York by Dutton.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* has in the May number an article by Miss Mary W. Williams of Goucher College on Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan; one by V. A. Belaunde on Factors of the Colonial Period in South America working toward a New Régime; and one by

J. Lloyd Mechem on the Papacy and Spanish-American Independence. All three of these papers were read at the Indianapolis meeting of the American Historical Association in December. In the section of Documents are three accounts of the Expedition of Fernando Cortés, printed in Germany between 1520 and 1522, contributed, with an introduction, by H. R. Wagner. The accounts are given in English translations by Ruth Frey Axe. To the section of Notes and Comment T. P. Martin, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division in the Library of Congress, contributes an account of the transcripts, facsimiles, and manuscripts in the Spanish language in the Library of Congress, 1929. (Through error Mr. Martin is named in the table of contents as having contributed the Cortés documents and introduction.) In the Bibliographical Section are notes on the Hispanic American Bibliography and the Library of Congress Project B, the Report on the Proposed Critical Bibliography dealing with Hispanic American History, and the Inter-American Historical Series, by E. C. Richardson, A. C. Wilgus, and J. A. Robertson, respectively.

No. 28 of the Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano is *La Labor Diplomática de D. Manuel María de Zamacona, como Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores*, the work of the late Antonio de la Peña y Reyes (Mexico City, 1928, pp. xxv, 160).

We have received a small pamphlet entitled: *El Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América: Nota Informativa sobre su Carácter y Funcionamiento*. The institute, founded in Seville by D. Rafael González-Abreu and occupying the historic Convento de los Remedios, has for its principal object the promotion of the study of American history in general and Cuban in particular, and, as a necessary preliminary to effectuating its purpose, it has sought to establish a library suitable to its purpose, but complementary to other libraries in Seville. The institute's first constructive undertaking has been the preparation, for the benefit of investigators, of a catalogue of the materials, printed and manuscript, relating to American history which are to be found in the repositories of Seville. Already, within the year, three such volumes have been published, bearing the general title *Catálogo Sistemático de los Fondos Cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*; and a first volume of a series, *Catálogo General de los Fondos Americanistas del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, is announced as in press. It is the purpose of the institute in due time to extend this series of catalogues to include similar materials in libraries elsewhere in Spain and to publish other helpful bibliographies and critiques. Finally, the institute announces as one of its objects coöperation with similar organizations in the Hispanic-American countries, and, in short, its aspiration to become "un centro vivo de cultura, que contribuya eficazmente a fomentar una relación de cordialidad y de inteligente comprensión entre todos los distintos Estados americanos y España".

lished in the Western Hemisphere [Venegas' *Compendio de la Medicina: 6 Medicina Practica*; Mexico, 1788] (Annals of Medical History, March); Anon., *Colonial Forts of the Gulf Coast* (Coast Artillery Journal, March); *Colonial Forts on the Pacific Coast* (*ibid.*, May); Henry S. Spalding, *The Ethnologic Value of the Jesuit Relations* (American Journal of Sociology, March); Carl H. Kraeling, *In Quest of the Muhlenbergiana* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, April); Benjamin Rand, *Philosophical Instruction in Harvard University from 1636 to 1906* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, March); A. R. M. Lower, *New France in New England* (New England Quarterly, April); Mary C. Hughes, *Reminiscences of Pioneer Teachers* (Catholic Educational Review, May); Harriet L. Herring, *Cycles of Cotton Mill Criticism* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Bernard Faÿ, *The Course of French-American Friendship* (Yale Review, Spring); Earle D. Ross, *Benjamin Franklin as an Agricultural Leader* (Journal of Political Economy, February); William Smith, *The Labrador Boundary Case* (Queen's Quarterly, Spring); Robert W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy: Ranger* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); James M. Beck, *The Political Philosophy of George Washington* (Constitutional Review, April); Lawrence S. Mayo, *Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, 1782-1784* (New England Quarterly, April); Karl Fenning, *The Origin of the Patent and Copyright Clause of the Constitution* (Georgetown Law Journal, February); Casenava, *Les Émigrés Bonapartistes de 1815 aux États-Unis*, I., concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLIII. 1, 2); Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, *The Development of American Policy* (Foreign Affairs, April); Frank S. Perry, *James Madison and the Federal City* (Georgetown Law Journal, February); Harold U. Faulkner, *The Development of the American [Tariff] System* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January); W. Y. Elliott, *Le Rôle Politique des Associations aux États-Unis*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Manley O. Hudson, *The "Injunction of Secrecy" with Respect to American Treaties* (American Journal of International Law, April); Charles S. Sydnor, *Pursuing Fugitive Slaves* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Rear-Ad. Elliot Snow, U. S. N. Retired, *The U. S. S. Niagara* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Capt. S. A. Ashe, *North Carolina in the War between the States* (Confederate Veteran, May); Maj. D. B. Sanger, *The Gettysburg Campaign* (Infantry Journal, May); Anon., *The Battles around Chattanooga* (Coast Artillery Journal, March); George H. Evans, *The Early History of Preferred Stock in the United States* (American Economic Review, March); W. L. Thompson, U. S. N., *The Virgin Islands of the United States* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Albert P. Taylor, *The Storming of the United States Consulate at Honolulu in 1870* (*ibid.*); David S. Muzzey, *Colonel House's Story* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Brig.-Gen. F. H. Pope, Q. M. C., *Reminiscences of the Motor Transport Corps in the*

A. E. F. (Quartermaster Review, March-April); Maj.-Gen. B. F. Cheatham, *Reminiscences of the World War* (*ibid.*); Charles E. Perry, *The Voice of New Hampshire in the Slave Controversy* (New Hampshire; formerly the Granite Monthly, February-March); Fred W. Lamb, *Four Chapters in [the] Early History of Manchester* (New Hampshire, February-March); R. L. Morrow, *The Liberty Party in Vermont* (New England Quarterly, April); Earl J. Bowman, *Efforts to Christianize the Indians of Pennsylvania, by the Moravians* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, April); Stringfellow Barr, *The Uncultured South* (Virginia Quarterly Review, April); M. W. Jernegan, *The Development of Poor Relief in Colonial Virginia* (Social Service Review, March); Désiré Pasquet, *La Formation de l'Orégon* (Revue Historique, January); Merton K. Cameron, *The Experience of Oregon with Popular Election and Recall of Public Service Commissioners* (Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, February); Sir Andrew Macphail, *Sir Sandford Fleming [1827-1915]* (Queen's Quarterly, Spring); Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Monroe Doctrine and Latin-American States* (Edinburgh Review, April); Lieut. B. D. Gill, *The Triumvirate Influence in Mexican History* (Infantry Journal, May); Paul V. Shaw, *José Bonifacio, the Neglected Father of his Country, Brasil* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the West*, by J. T. Shotwell (Current History, May); *Cambridge Medieval History*, V., by B. Schneidler (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, by F. M. Powicke (English Historical Review, April); N. Neilson (ed.), *The Cartulary and Terrier of Bilsington*, by Charles Johnson (*ibid.*); C. W. Previt -Orton (ed.), *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*, by James Sullivan (Speculum, April); C. Robinson (ed.), *Great Roll of the Pipe for 14 Henry III., Michaelmas 1230*, by J. F. Willard (*ibid.*); J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany* (London Times Literary Supplement, May 16); Gaston Zeller, *La R union de Metz   la France, 1552-1648*, by Wilhelm Mommsen (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); Gu rard, *Life and Death of an Ideal*, by F. C. Palm (Journal of Modern History, June); Harry Elmer Barnes, *Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* [tr. of *Genesis of the War*], by Alfred Stern (Historische Zeitschrift, CXL. 1); Sidney B. Fay, *Origins of the War* (London Times Literary Supplement, April 25); John B. Brebner, *New England's Outpost*, by Adolf Hasenclever (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 3); Garner, *American Foreign Policies*, by C. R. Fish (Journal of Modern History, June).

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